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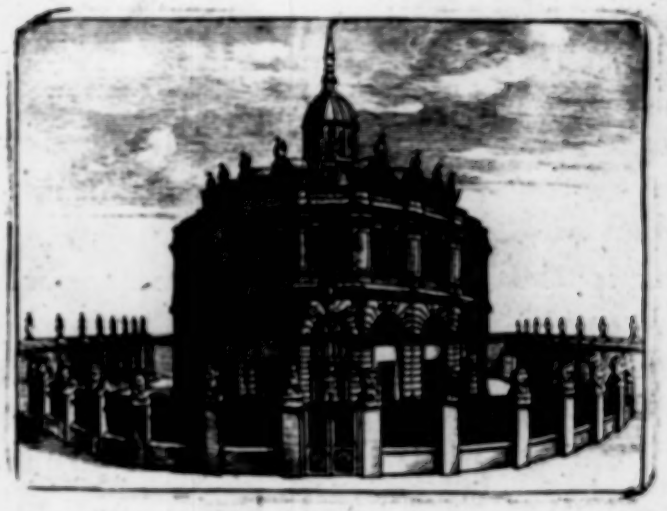
# A SHORT VIEW OF THE Late Troubles IN ENGLAND;

Briefly setting forth,

Their RISE, GROWTH, and TRAGICAL CONCLUSION. As also, some Parallel thereof with the BARONS-WARS in the time of King HENRY III. But chiefly with that in *France*, called the HOLY LEAGUE, in the Reign of HENRY III. and HENRY IV. late Kings of that Realm.

To which is added

*A Perfect Narrative of the Treaty at* Uxbridge *in* an. 1644.



*OXFORD*,

Printed at the *THEATER* for *MOSES PITT* at the *Angel* in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, *London*. MDCLXXXI.

Carolus Primus D.G. Anglia Scotia Francia et Hibernia Rex F.D.

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THat all Rebellions did ever begin with the faireſt Pretences for Reforming of ſomewhat amiſs in the Government, is a Truth ſo clear, that there needs no manifeſtation thereof from Examples. Nor were they ever obſerved to have greater ſucceſs, than when the Colours for Religion did openly appear in the Van of their armed Forces; moſt men being deſirous to have it really thought (how bad and vile ſoever their practiſes are) that zeal to God's glory, is no ſmall part of their aim. Which guilded bait hath been uſually held forth to allure the Vulgar, by thoſe, whoſe ends and deſigns were nothing elſe, than to get into power, and ſo to poſſeſs themſelves of the Eſtates and Fortunes of their more opulent Neighbours.

Should I look far backwards for diſcovery of the firſt ſource and fountain, whence that viperous brood, which not long ſince hath ſo miſerably infeſted theſe Kingdoms, did ſpring, of whoſe unparallel'd practiſes the enſuing Narrative doth ſpecially take notice; I muſt aſcend to the times of Moſes and Aaron (the one the ſupreme Magiſtrate, the other the chief Prieſt): Corah, Dathan, and Abiran, then riſing up, and taking upon themſelves an authority equal with thoſe choſen ſervants of God; and ſaying that all the Congregation was Holy. In like manner afterward when Abſolom the rebellious ſon of David roſe up againſt his father, there was a demure face of Godlineſs put on, of a ſolemn vow to be performed to God at Hebron; and large promiſes of reformation of all abuſes in Government were made by the unnatural uſurper.

This ſort of practice continued in the Jewiſh Church till the time of the Goſpel, as is conſpicuous enough from the words of our bleſſed Saviour, where he ſpeaks of the Scribes and Phariſees; that they did outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within were full of Hypocriſy and Guile; devouring Widows houſes; and for a pretence making long Prayers: Our Lord in the xith and xvith Chapter of St. Luke, making likewiſe a farther Deſcription of them. St. Paul alſo in his Epiſtle to Timothy, plainly foretelling us, that ſuch ſhould again ſpring up in the laſt times Men (ſaith he) who ſhall be Lovers of themſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud &c. Traiterous, heady, high-minded &c.

having a form of Godlineſs, but denying the power thereof.

*Now, that the Offſpring of theſe, did more or leſs infeſt the world throughout all after-times, would be no difficult thing to manifeſt, were it here neceſſary or convenient; In the time of heathen perſecution of Chriſtianity, roſe up* Novatian *the father of the Cathari or Puritans; to whom may be added* Donatus *and his followers, who confin'd Godlineſs to themſelves; and religion to* Africa *their country. After the ſettlement of the Church in Chriſtian Emperors, appear'd* Aerius *the firſt inventor of Presbytery; which tho it ſeem'd a long time dead, has been of late raked out of its aſhes, and made to trouble and ſet on fire the Weſtern Church.*

*As to the uſual practiſes of the men of this ſect, there is nothing more clear, than that* Religion, *nay the Reformation thereof to its purity, hath bin the thing which they have ever cryed up: and that meekneſs, ſanctity and the power of Godlineſs, are the Cloaks in which they have alway at firſt ſhew'd themſelves; by which plauſible devices, they have captivated thouſands. But it is no leſs evident, that having by this means got power into their hands; deſtruction of civil Government, Rapine, Spoil, and the greateſt miſchiefs imaginable, have bin the woful effects of thoſe their Specious pretences; whereby they have really verified that expreſſion of our Saviour;* viz. *that* they were of their father the Devil, and the Works of him they ſhould do.

*But to come nearer my preſent buſineſs.*

*That the Actions of our late times, chiefly from the year* 1637 *till* 1660, *can be eaſily forgotten; or that there is any need of reviving the memory of them to this preſent Age, 'tis not to be imagin'd. Nevertheleſs, for their ſakes, who are ignorant of the means and preparations made in order to thoſe grand Exploits, then done: and that Poſterity may have a ſhort view thereof, I have adventured upon the publiſhing of this Diſcourſe which was long ſince compiled. Wherein I firſt deduce our late Troubles in* England, *and other his Majeſties Realms, from the principles of thoſe perſons; who, about an hundred and fifty years before, under the ſame Hypocritical pretences, did greivouſly infeſt* Germany. *And, having finiſhed that Narrative as particularly and fully as I may; afterwards manifeſt, that the original*

*ginal project of our chief Contrivers here, was* to reduce the King to Neceſſities ; *and thereby to expoſe him to the uſe of ſuch extraordinary ways of Supply, as might moſt conduce to the raiſing of diſcontent amongſt all his good Subjects. Which they did, by engaging firſt his father in a war for the* Palatinate, *and their failing to aſſiſt him, notwithſtanding their moſt ſolemn promiſes.*

*As alſo by* planting Schiſmatical Lectures *in moſt corporate-Towns, and populous places throughout the Realm ; ſo to poiſon the people with Antimonarchical principles.*

*In the next place I ſhall take notice of the riſe and progreſs of the late troubles in* Scotland, *which were the Prologue to theſe of ours.*

*Then of the* Scottiſh Invaſion, *which occaſioned the unhappy* long Parliament, *and likewiſe of ſome proceedings in that Parliament, before the predominant party therein did put themſelves in Arms.*

*After this I ſhall point at the diſſolution of the* Presbyterian *power, and growth of the* Independent, *whereupon enſued the nefarious murther of King* Charles *the firſt : and after that, ſuch confuſions, as made way for the happy Reſtoration of our preſent Soveraign King* Charles *the ſecond.*

*Which being done, I ſhall make ſome obſervations upon their firſt fair and ſmooth pretences, ſet forth in ſeveral* Declarations *and* Remonſtrances, *by which the too credulous people were miſerably deluded, and drawn from their due Allegiance.*

*And laſtly give ſome brief Account of thoſe Actings by the Rebellious Barons here, in the time of King* Henry *the third, which had moſt reſemblance with the practiſes of theſe our pretended Reformers. As alſo ſhew how exact a parallel theſe great Maſters in miſchief have held with thoſe of the* Holy League *in* France: *whoſe Rebellion terminated, in ſome ſort as ours did, in the Murther of their King.*

*What falleth within my own cogniſance, I deliver with mine own words : what is beyond my knowledge, in the words of my Authors ; moſt of which I have quoted ; the reſt being taken from the common* Mercuries, *and other public-licenſed Narratives of the chiefeſt occurrences in thoſe times.*

*If the Reader think it diſproportionat that ſo particular an account is given of the counſels and proceedings leading to the Rebellion ; but one more brief of the tranſactions in it : He may be pleas'd to know that the Author being not a military man, was*

more

*more enabled to relate what paſt in counſel than in the field. The Diary part until the year* 1646, *was compos'd at* Oxford, *in the time of the late troubles, before that Garriſon of his Majeſtie was rendred up to General* Fairfax, *as the Original copy will apparently ſhew; which hath bin ſeen and read by ſeveral perſons of great honour and credit, many years ſince, who are yet living, and upon occaſion, if need be, will aſſert the ſame. Which original was a good while ſince, with little variation tranſcrib'd for the Preſs; and has now for many months been out of the Author's hands, and far diſtant from him, in order to the publiſhing thereof; ſo that he has wanted opportunity to review, piece by piece what he had written; or correct the errors which in ſo long a work muſt needs eſcape; for which the Readers candor is deſir'd.*

*If the Reflections on what is paſt, are ſometimes ſevere, let it be imputed to the juſt indignation conceiv'd againſt thoſe men, who under ſpecious pretences mask'd the moſt black deſigns; and an abhorrence of thoſe proceedings which embroil'd the nation in a civil war; perfidious in its riſe, bloody in its proſecution, fatal in its end, and which to this day proves miſchievous in its conſequents.*

*When the ſubjects of this miſerable Kingdom had murder'd the defender both of us and of our faith; and driven away his children, Princes and Nobles, into ſtrange lands; bidding them, as* David *ſpeaks on a like occaſion,* go ſerve other Gods; *the divine vengeance gave us the natural product of this ſin of ours, ſeveral of our Princes and great men, returning back corrupted in their principles, and tainted with the religion, wherewith they long converſt. And in like manner, when men had for a long time falſely cried out of the intentions to bring in Popery, thereby the more eaſily to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion by Law eſtabliſh'd; the ſame divine juſtice has permitted the whole Proteſtant Religion, to be now under the greateſt danger imaginable, by the real plots, and execrable machinations of Papiſts among us at this day; who, both in this and our ſiſter Kingdoms, by Combinations among themſelves, and by fomenting diviſions among us, have gone very far towards the ruine of our Church, and ſubverſion of the State; and ſay of both,* there there, ſo would we have it; down with them, down with them even to the ground. *But that alpowerful God, who by miracle ſo lately reſtored unto us our Religion and our Laws, will as we hope and earneſtly pray, preſerve them ſtill againſt the joint attemts of Popery on the one hand, and Fanaticiſm on the other; and make his* Jeruſalem a praiſe in the earth. *In which prayer all true Proteſtants; and, what is commenſurat thereto, all loyal Subjects, will joyn their ſuffrage and ſay, Amen.*




A Short View of the

# Late Troubles IN ENGLAND.

## CHAP. I.

THE chief deſign of this enſuing Diſcourſe being to ſhew the miſchievous fruits of *Hypocriſy*; which is, under the colour of *Sanctity* to act any ſort of wickedneſs: And that theſe great pretenders to Godlineſs were they who have been the chief diſturbers of our bleſſed peace; I ſhall obſerve, that upon the departure, long ſince, of moſt of the Subjects of this Realm from the Church of *Rome*, by reaſon of its apparent corruptions; there were ſome, who did unhappily infuſe into ſundry well meaning people, a bad opinion of our *Reformation*. Theſe were men of proud and peeviſh Spirits, who had not light enough in themſelves to diſcern the truth, becauſe they wanted learning to ſearch into Antiquities; nor knowledg to trace thoſe of that Church in the paths by which they

had deviated from the Doctrine of Chriſt and his holy Apoſtles; and ſo (by reaſon thereof) ran from one extremity to another. Thus ſleighting the authority of the learned and pious Reformers, who ſhew'd the Errors of the *Romiſh* Church, ſuch a liberty to the private Spirit, was at that time by them allow'd, as at laſt, when the giddy multitude became in that ſort deluded by thoſe their falſe Teachers, every Brain-ſick perſon ſtampt the Seal of God's Spirit upon his own falſe and erroneous conceits.

Which falſe Teachers, among other their Artifices to captivate the Vulgar, and to beget a diſaffection in them to that reverend Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline which was then eſtabliſh'd, have cunningly ſuggeſted to them, that all the *Reformed Churches* in forreign parts, do utterly diſlike thereof, as too much ſavouring of the *Romiſh* polutions. And by this ſubtle inſinuation, tho moſt notoriouſly falſe *, have ſo far prevail'd upon their Proſelytes, that they do not only refuſe to communicate with us in our Divine Offices; but in that, and whatever elſe their own vain fancies do prompt them, are become diſobedient and refractory to the ſuperior powers which God hath ordain'd.

* See a view of the Government and public Worſhip of God in the Churches beyond Sea; by Dr. Durell. impr. Lond. 1662.

They who would know more of theſe things, may repair unto the Relations of ſuch learned men, as have written of our *Reformation*, and make their own obſervations thereon; as alſo upon what I ſhall further ſay in this Hiſtorical Work, whereunto I refer them; beginning with the *Anabaptiſts* of *Germany*, from an Author * of good credit.

* Guy de Bres contre l'erreur des Anabaptiſts. p. 5.

They had always in their mouths (ſays he) thoſe great things, *Charity*, *Faith*, the *true Fear of God*, the *Croſs*, the *Mortification of the Fleſh*. All their exhortations were to ſet light of the things in this world; to account Riches and Honours vanity.

Ib. p. 118, 119, 120.

They were ſolicitous of men to Faſts, and to often meditations on Heavenly things. Wherever they found men, in Diet, Attire, Furniture of Houſe, or any other way obſervers of Civility and decent Order; ſuch they reported as being carnally and earthly minded.

Ib. p. 177.

They ſo much affected to croſs the ordinary cuſtom in every thing, that when other men uſed to put on better

better attire, they would be ſure openly to ſhew themſelves abroad in worſe.

The ordinary names of the days of the week, they thought it a kind of prophaneneſs to uſe; and therefore accuſtomed themſelves, to make no other diſtinction than by numbers.

From this they proceeded unto public Reformation; firſt Eccleſiaſtical, and then Civil. Touching the former, they boldly vouched, that themſelves only had the Truth, which thing, upon peril of their lives, they would at all times defend; and that ſince the Apoſtles lived, the ſame was never before in all points ſincerely taught. Wherefore, that things might be brought again to that integrity which Jeſus Chriſt by his word requireth, they began to controll the Miniſters of the Goſpel, for attributing ſo much force and virtue unto the Scriptures of God read; whereas the Truth (ſaid they) was, that when the word is ſaid to engender faith in the Heart, and to convert the ſoul of man, or to work any ſuch ſpiritual divine effect, theſe ſpeeches are not thereunto appliable, as it is read and preached; but as it is engrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghoſt, opening the eyes of our underſtanding, and ſo revealing the Myſteries of God.

No marvel was it, to ſee them every day broach ſome new thing, not heard of before; for they interpreted that reſtleſs levity, to be their growing to ſpiritual perfection, and their proceeding from faith to faith. Ib. p. 27.

But the differences amongſt them, growing by this means in a manner infinite, there was ſcarcely found any one of them, the forge of whoſe Brain was not poſſeſt with ſome ſpecial Myſtery. Whereupon, although their mutual contentions were moſt fiercely proſecuted amongſt themſelves, yet when they came to defend the Cauſe, common to them all, againſt the adverſaries of their faction, they had ways to lick one another whole; the founder in his own perſwaſion, excuſing the *Dear Brethren*, who were not ſo far enlightned. Ib. p. 65, & 66.

Their own Miniſters they highly magnifyed, as men whoſe Vocation was from God: but their manner was to term others *Diſdainful Scribes and Phariſees*; to account their calling a humane Creature, and to detain the people, as much as might be from hearing them. Ib. p. 71. Ib. p. 124.

Ib. p. 748. The cuſtom of uſing Godfathers and Godmothers at
Ib. p. 122. Chriſtenings, they ſcorn'd: and hated conformity to the Church, in obſerving thoſe ſolemn Feſtivals which others did; in as much as Antichriſt (they ſaid) was the firſt Inventor of them.

The pretended end of their civil Reformation was, that Chriſt might have dominion over all; that no other might reign over Chriſtian men but He: and for this cauſe, they laboured with all their might in overturning the Seats of Magiſtracy.

Ib. p. 40. Certain it is, that theſe men at firſt, were only pityed
Ib. p. 6. in their error; the great Humility, Zeal, and Devotion, which appeared to be in them, being in all mens opinion, a pledge of their harmleſs meaning. Whereupon *Luther* made requeſt unto *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*; that within his dominion they might be favourably dealt with and ſpared; for that (their error excepted) they ſeemed otherwiſe right good men. By means of which toleration, they gathered ſtrength, much more than was ſafe for the State of the Commonwealth, wherein they lived. For they had their ſecret meetings in Corners, and Aſſemblies in the night, the people flocking unto them by thouſands.

Ib. p. 420. Nor were the means, whereby they both allured and retained ſo great multitudes ineffectual; *viz.* Firſt, a wonderful ſhew of Zeal towards God. Secondly, an hatred of Sin, and a ſingular love of Integrity. Laſtly, a cunning ſleight which they had to ſtroak and ſmooth up the minds of their followers; as well by appropriating unto them all the favourable titles, the good words, and the gracious promiſes in Scripture; as by caſting the contrary always on the heads of ſuch as were ſevered from that retinue.

Ib. p. 27. And in all theſe things, being fully perſwaded, that what they did, it was in obedience to the will of God, and that all men ſhould do the like; there remain'd after ſpeculation, practiſe, whereby the whole frame thereunto (if it were poſſible) might be ſquared.

Ib. p. 6. But ſeeing that this could not be done without mighty oppoſition and reſiſtance againſt it: therefore to ſtrengthen themſelves, they ſecretly entred into *a League of Aſſociation*; concluding, that as *Iſrael* was deliver'd out of the

*Egypt*

*Egypt* of the worlds ſervile thraldome, to ſin and ſuperſtition. As *Iſrael* was to root out the Idolatrous nations, and to plant inſtead of them, a people which feared God. So the ſame Lords good will and pleaſure was now, that theſe new *Iſraelites*, ſhould under the conduct of other *Joſhuas*, *Sampſons* and *Gedeons*, perform a work no leſs miraculous, in caſting out violently the wicked from the Earth, and eſtabliſhing the kingdom of Chriſt with perfect Liberty.

But theſe men in whoſe mouthes at the firſt ſounded nothing but mortification of the fleſh, were come at the length, to think they might lawfully have their ſix or ſeven wives apiece. They who at the firſt, thought judgment and juſtice it ſelf to be mercileſs cruelty; accounted at the length, their own hands ſanctifyed with being imbrued in Chriſtian bloud. They who at firſt were wont to beat down all Dominion, and to urge againſt poor Conſtables, Kings of Nations; had at the length, both Conſuls and Kings of their own erection amongſt themſelves. Finally, they who could not brook at firſt, that any man ſhould ſeek, no not by law the recovery of his goods injuriouſly taken, or withheld from him: were grown at the laſt to think they could not offer unto God more acceptable ſacrifice, then by turning their adverſaries clean out of Houſe and Home; and by enriching themſelves with all kind of ſpoil and pillage.

For a further Character of them, *Sleidan* tells us; that *Muncer*, by his new Doctrine, touching goods to be in common, incited the Boores of *Franconia* and *Turingen*, to undertake the *Holy-war* (as he call'd it) againſt their Princes; telling them, that he was commanded of God to deſtroy all wicked Princes, and ſubſtitute new ones in their places; and that they were call'd indeed Princes, but were Tyrants. Moreover, that they would not reſtore unto the people their liberty; nor permit them to have the true Religion and ſervice of God: exhorting them rather to dye then to allow their wickedneſs, and ſuffer the Doctrine of the Goſpel to be taken from them; and therefore to play the men, and gratify God, in deſtroying ſuch unprofitable people. An. 1525. Sleidans Comment. lib. 5. f. 55. a. b. Ib. f. 56. b.

Likewiſe, that this their great zeal towards God, and outward humility, got them in the beginning many fol- Ib. 59. b.

lowers; for their demands were, firſt, that they might chooſe them ſuch Miniſters, as ſhould preach Gods word ſincerely, without any mixture of mens traditions. Secondly, that thenceforth they would pay no Tythes, but of Corn only; and the ſame to be diſtributed by the diſcretion of good men; partly to the Miniſters of the Church; partly upon the poor; and partly upon common affairs. Thirdly, that they had till that time, been unworthily kept in Bonds, conſidering how they were all made free in the bloud of Chriſt. Fourthly, that they refuſed not to have a Magiſtrate, knowing that he is ordain'd of God, and would obey him in all honeſt things; but could not abide to be any longer bound, unleſs it were ſhewed reaſonable by the teſtimony of Scripture.

Ib. f. 63. a. Fifthly, that in all their Letters, which they wrote to provoke and allure others to their fellowſhip; they made their boaſt that they took up arms by Gods Commandment; and for a certain love and zeal to the Commonwealth, to the intent the Doctrine of the Goſpel might be ſet forth, augmented, and maintained. And ſixthly, that Truth, Equity, and honeſt living might reign and flouriſh: as alſo, that they might ſo provide for them and theirs, that thenceforth they ſhould not be oppreſſed with any violence.

And that when they had thus, at few words, declared the cauſe of their enterprize, they would then command their Neighbours to arm, and come unto them immediately, and help them: If not, then would they threaten to come upon them, with all their force. But, having gotten the power and Arms into their hands, they committed divers horrid outrages; inſomuch as *Luther* exhorted all men, that they would come to deſtroy them as wicked Theeves and parricides, in like caſe as they would come to quench a common fire; having moſt ſhamefully broken their faith to their Princes; taken other mens goods by force, and cloak all this abomination and wickedneſs, with the cover of Chriſtianity: which (ſaith he) is the vileſt and unworthieſt thing that can be imagined.

Ib. f. 64. b. & 65. a.

In *Suevia* and *Franconia* about forty thouſand Peſants took Arms; rob'd a great part of the Nobility, plunder'd many Towns and Caſtles, *Muncer* being their chief Captain:

tain: ſo that the Princes of the Empire, *Albert* Count of *Mansfeild*, *John* Duke of *Saxony*, and his Couſen *George*, *Philip* the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, were neceſſitated to raiſe what power they could; and having offered them pardon upon ſubmiſſion, and delivering up their principal Leaders, which was refuſed; marcht againſt them. But *Muncer* preparing for Battel, encouraged his followers; crying out to them to take their weapons, and fight ſtoutly againſt their Enemies, ſinging * a Song, whereby they call'd for help of the Holy Ghoſt. The ſucceſs of which Battel was, that the Rebels at the firſt onſet, were ſoon put in diſorder, and above five thouſand ſlain on the place: and that *Muncer* fled and hid himſelf: but being found and brought to the Princes, was (with his fellow *Phifer*) beheaded at *Mulhuſe*.

Sleidans Com. f. 57.

Thus did the Rebels here in England at the laſt Battel of Newbery 27. Oct. 1644.

And about the year 1535, *John* of *Leyden* (a Taylor by trade, and of this Tribe) preaching the Doctrine of *Rebaptization*, ſo much infected the inferior ſort of people, by the means of private Conventicles, that his followers grew numerous, and exerciſed violence againſt thoſe that were not of their Sect. At laſt robbing their adverſaries, and gathering together in great Troops, they poſſeſt themſelves of the ſtrongeſt part of the City of *Munſter*; declaring, that all ſuch as were not rebaptized, ought to be accounted Pagans and Infidels, and to be killed. His Companions were *Roſman* and *Cnipperdoling*, who gathered together to that City great numbers of the baſe ſort of people: and ſeeing their ſtrength, choſe new Senators of their own Sect, making *Cnipperdoling* the chief; who taught that the People might put down their Magiſtrate. And albeit that the Apoſtles had no commandment to uſurp any juriſdiction: yet ſuch as were their Miniſters of the Church, ought to take upon them the right of the Sword, and by force to eſtabliſh a new Commonwealth. Hereupon they ſpoil'd the Suburbs, and burnt the Churches; ſo that the Biſhop of *Munſter* (who was Lord of the City, and forced out) beſeiged them; the neighbour Princes giving aſſiſtance: which ſeige continuing long, the famine grew to be ſuch, as that the beſeiged miſerably periſhed in great numbers: and at length the beſeigers forcing their entrance by aſſault, ſlew many,

An. 1535.

Sleidan ut ſupra lib. 1. f. 131. b.

took the Ring-leaders; and having put them to death, hang'd their Bodies in ſeveral Cages of Iron on the higheſt Towers of that City. Thus far *Sleidan.*

It is not unworthy obſervation, that divers of theſe *German* Phanatiques, to the end they might at that time be the better known to thoſe of their own Sect, did cut their hair round, as *Petrus Crinitus* (an Author of good credit) in his Book *de Bello Ruſticano Tom. 3. pag.* 209. averreth.* From which example, there is no doubt but that theſe of ours took their pattern, whence they were generally called *Roundheads.*

*Agmen tonſile a rotunde detonſis capitibus.

Concerning theſe men, the teſtimony likewiſe of Mr. *John Calvin*, may (I preſume) be here not unfitly produced; as well for other reſpects, as for that he lived in that time.

*Calvin's Comment on the Pſalms f. 330. Pſal. 71. verſe 14.

*Olim* * *Fanatici homines* (ſaith he) *ut ſibi applauderent in ſua inſcitia jactabant, Davidis exemplo, ſpernandas eſſe omnes literas, ſicut hodie Anabaptiſtæ; non alio prætextu ſe pro ſpiritualibus venditant, niſi quod omnis ſcientiæ ſint expertes. Brainſick men, in times paſt, would take example from* David, *to deſpiſe all learning, as now our* Anabaptiſts; *who only hold themſelves inſpired with gifts, becauſe they are ignorant of all literature.* And he addeth, * *Cum ſub ſpecie ſtudii perfectionis, imperfectionem nullam tolerare poſſumus, aut in corpore, aut in membris Eccleſiæ, tunc Diabolum nos tumeſcere ſuperbia & hypocriſi ſeducere moneamur. Whereas under the colour of a deſire of perfection, we can tolerate no imperfection, either in the body or the members of the Church; then may we be admoniſhed, that it is the Devil which puffeth us up with pride, and ſeduceth us with hypocriſy.* And in another place he further ſaith, *Quia nulla ſpecie illuſtriori ſeduci poſſunt miſeri Chriſtiani* &c. *Becauſe ſilly Chriſtians, who with a zeal to follow God, cannot by any more notable ſhew be ſeduced, then when the word of God is pretended; the* Anabaptiſts (*againſt whom we write*) *have that evermore in their mouths, and always talk of it.*

* Calvin adverſ. Anabap. Art. 2.

There is an undoubted Tradition, that upon the ſuppreſſing of this pernicious Sect in *Germany*, many of them fled into the *Netherlands*; and that thence two Ships laden with ſome, got into *Scotland*, where they firſt propagated their miſchievous Principles. Which within a ſhort time ſpreading hither, have not a little endangered the utter

utter ruine of Church and State. For that they ſoon after arrived here to a conſiderable increaſe, it may very well be concluded, from what the ſame perſon hath expreſſed, in an Epiſtle of his, written to *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*, then Protector to King *Edward* the ſixth, in theſe words: *Ampliſſime domine, Audio eſſe duo ſeditioſorum genera,&c. Sir, I hear there are two ſorts of ſeditious men among you, who lift up the head againſt the King, and ſtate of the Kingdom; the one are a ſort of Giddy-headed men, who promote their ſedition under the name of the Goſpel. The other are ſo hardned in the ſuperſtitions of Antichriſt, that they cannot endure a revulſion of them; and both theſe muſt be reſtrained by the revenging Sword, which the Lord hath put into your hand; ſince they riſe up not only againſt the King, but againſt God himſelf, who hath placed the King in his Royal Throne, and made you Protector of his perſon, and his Royal Majeſty.* Calvin. Epiſt. p. 67.

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## CHAP. II.

AND, as this evil Generation, became at that time firſt tranſplanted hither, upon the diſſipating of thoſe *German* Sectaries; ſo had it ſhortly afterwards, much furtherance in its growth from ſome perſons of more able parts, and of no mean quality; who having embraced the *Reformation* here, in the time of King *Edward* the ſixth; to avoid the ſtorm in Queen *Mary's* Reign, fled beyond Sea: where having form'd ſundry congregations (as at *Francfort*, *Strasburg*, *Geneva*, and other places) they deviſed ſuch new models of *Diſcipline* (but all of them more or leſs favouring of thoſe Tenets) as upon their return, after the death of that Queen, not a few both of the Clergy and Laity, were unhappily tainted therewith. And at length, through the countenance of ſome chief Miniſters * of State, who then ſeemed to favour them for certain private reſpects, became dangerous Enemies, not only to the *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of this Church, but to the very temporal Government of the Realm, as by their heterodox opinions, which they boldly promoted and

* Dudley Earl of Leiceſter, and Secretary Walſingham.

ſpread under the ſpecious Title and name of the *Goſpel*, will evidently appear: of which I have here thought fit, out of their own Books and Writings to give a Taſte.

The principles of the Puritans. R. A. Conf. of Brow. p. 113. Corda Angl. prop. 16.

Lay men may teach to get Faith.

Lay men may preach to Congregations, to exerciſe their abilities.

Barrow Diſc. p. 236.

Every member of the Church hath power to examine the manner of adminiſtring the Sacrament.

Barrow Ref. p. 244.

That to have a Liturgy, or form of prayer, is to have another Goſpel.

Chriſt on his Throne f. 67.

Some Proteſtants are of opinion, that Ordinances cannot be performed but by a Prelate, or at leaſt by Miniſters only, without whoſe Impoſition of Hands it were no Ordination, as if it did confer ſuch an order: whereas the prime and proper conferring of this Order, is by Chriſt himſelf, inwardly calling and gifting a man for the work of the Miniſtry.

Prelacy miſery f. 7.

To the people belongeth the laying on of Hands, as a token of their approbation, and confirmation of him that is choſen.

Ha'y' any work &c. p. 14. 15. 20. 21. Alſo Mart. Marprel. in his Epiſtle to the terrible prieſts. Sion's plea. 155.

Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops are ſuperfluous members of the Body of Chriſt. They are unlawful, falſe, and baſtardly Governours of the Church: they are the ordinances of the Devil; yea they are petty-Popes, petty-Antichriſts, Biſhops of the Devil, and incarnate Devils.

If the Hierarchy be not removed, and the Scepter of Chriſt's Kingdom, namely his own Diſcipline advanced, there can be no healing of the ſore.

Supplic. an. 29. Eliz. p. 25 Bancroft f. 50.

If the Parliament do not abrogate the government of Biſhops, they ſhall betray God, the Truth, and the whole Kingdom.

Unlawfulneſs of unlimited Prelacy f. 12. Bancroft f. 169.

Though the Parliament be for Biſhops; yet all the Godly and Religious will be againſt them.

If the Brethren cannot obtain their wills by Suit, nor Diſpute, the multitude and people muſt work the feat.

Knox to the Commonalty f. 49. 50.

Reformation of Religion belongs to the Commonalty.

T. Cartw. lib. 2. p. 48.

Chriſtian Sovereigns ought not to be called Heads under Chriſt, of the particular inviſible Churches within their dominion.

Ib. lib. 1. p. 192.

They ought not to meddle with the making of Laws,

Laws, Orders, and Ceremonies for the Church.

The people may well enough be without Kings; for there was none till *Cain's* days. These therefore being their Principles; that their continued Practises have been sutable thereto, is not unknown to many; *viz.* to subject all Princes and Governours to their own Rule and Authority: and *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, to determine in temporal matters. Covenanters Inform. for Defensive. Arg. 3.

Hence I shall proceed a little farther, and out of their own Writings, make manifest, what a noise they have made, that their *Discipline*, founded on these Principles, might be firmly setled.

The establishing the Presbytery (saith *T. Cartwright*) is the full placing of Christ in his Kingdom. Lib. 1. p. 3.

The *Presbyterian Discipline* is the Scepter of Christ, swaying his own House according to his hearts desire: the Soul; the Cheif Commander in the Camp Royal. Sion's plea.

*Huic Disciplinæ omnes orbis Principes & Monarchas, fasces suas submittere, & parere necesse est.* There is a necessity that all Princes and Monarchs should submit their Scepters, and obey this Discipline. Travers de Discipl. Eccl. p. 142.

This Discipline ought to be set up, and all Princes ought to submit themselves under the yoke of it. Yea what Prince, King, or Emperor shall disanul the same, he is to be reputed God's Enemy; and to be held unworthy to reign above the people. Exhort. to Engl. p. 91, 92.

This Discipline is no small part of the Gospel: it is the substance of it. T. Cartw. lib. 1. p. 6. & 48.

This Discipline is the Gospel of the kingdom of God. Knox Exhort. p. 35.

They that reject this Discipline, refuse to have Christ reign over them; and deny him in effect to be their King, or their Lord. 43. T. Cartw. p. 220.

This Discipline is the eternal Council of God. Epist. before the Supplic. 2. Eliz.

If any refuse to have the Lord Jesus set up as Lord (*i. e.* to submit to this Discipline) let him be *Anathema Maranatha.* Christ on his Throne f. 76.

*Aut hoc, aut nihil* is their Ensign. They who hinder Discipline, bring the Estate at length to an extreamly desperate point. None but Enemies to Christ are Enemies to this Government. Sion's plea. f. 340. & 244.

Strike neither at great nor small, but at those troublers of Israel. Smite that *Hazael* in the fifth rib. Yea, if Ib. f. 240.

Father or Mother ſtand in the way, away with them. Down with the colours of the Dragon. Advance the ſtandard of Chriſt.

Title page to Sion's plea. Thoſe mine Enemies, who would not that I ſhould reign over them, bring hither and ſlay them before me.

Sion's plea f. 262. Strike the Baſilic vein. Nothing but this will cure the Pleuriſy of our State.

Bancroft's Surv. f. 28. And *Gibſon* threatned King *James*; that, as *Jeroboam*, he ſhould be rooted out and conclude his race, if he maintained Biſhops.

Which dangerous poſitions being thus maintained by this ſort of men, occaſioned Mr. *Perkins* (an eminent Divine of thoſe times) thus to expreſs;

Treatiſe of applying Gods word to the conſcience. p. ult. *There is in* England (ſaith he) *a Schiſmatical, and indiſcreet Company, that would ſeem to cry out for Diſcipline. Their whole talk is of it; and yet, they neither know it, nor will be reformed by it. They are full of pride, thinking themſelves to be full when they are empty; to have all knowledg, when they are ignorant, and had need to be catechiſed. The poiſon of aſpes is under their Lips. They refuſe not to ſpeak evil of the bleſſed ſervants of God.*

And, as the *German* Sectaries, upon the Principles before mention'd, did act in thoſe parts: ſo did the *Scots* upon

Knox app. 28. 30. thoſe Documents they had received, chiefly from *John Knox*; who told his Countrymen in print, that *the Nobility and Commonalty ought to reform Religion: and in that caſe might remove from Honours, and puniſh ſuch as God hath commanded, of what eſtate, condition, or honour whatſoever.*

A. D. 1557. Hereupon, taking an Oath of confederacy and Subſcription, under hands, to ſome agreement for a Reformation; much ſtrength was added thereunto by the Sacrilegious, hoping thereby to ſwallow up the Church-Re-

A. D. 1558. venues. Next, without the authority of Sovereignty, or knowledg of it, thoſe Confederates preſcribed orders for

Knox Hiſt. p. 217, 218. Reformation of Religion, to be obſerved and practiſed throughout the whole Kingdom. Then preach'd againſt the Queen-Regent and Parliament; and wrote to the Biſhops and Clergy, *that except they did deſiſt from dealing*

Ib. p. 275, & 276. *againſt them, they would with all force and power, execute juſt vengeance and puniſhment upon them; likewiſe begin the ſame war, which God commanded Iſrael to execute againſt the Cananites.*

*nites.* And laſtly, arriving at the higheſt pitch of Rebellion, they depoſed their Queen. Ib. p. 372. 378.

By that which hath been ſaid, it is no leſs apparent, what thoſe *Diſciplinarians* in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, did alſo aim at, had their Power been anſwerable to their Wills. Whereof ſhe was not ignorant, as may appear by her Speech at the diſſolving that Parliament *an.* 1585 (the 27*th.* of her reign) wherein, taking notice of them, ſhe pronounc'd them *dangerous to Kingly rule; every man according to his own cenſure, making a doom of the validity, and privity of his Princes Government, with a common veil and cover of God's word.* Whereunto I ſhall add what Serjeant *Puckering*, being Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in the Parliament held the next enſuing year (*viz.* 28. *Eliz.*) did by that Queen's direction then expreſs. Stow's Annal. Holingſh. Chr. p. 1396.

*And ſpecially you are commanded by her Majeſty,* (ſaith he) *to take heed, that none ear be given, or time afforded to the wearyſome ſolicitations of thoſe that commonly be called* Puritans, *wherewithall the late Parliaments have been exceedingly importuned. Which ſort of men, whilſt* (*in the giddineſs of their Spirits*) *they labour and ſtrive to advance a new Elderſhip; they do nothing elſe but diſturb the good people of the Church and Common-wealth; which is as well grounded, for the body of Religion it ſelf, and as well guided for the Diſcipline, as any Realm that profeſſeth the Truth. And the ſame thing is already made good to the World, by many the Writings of Godly and Learned men; neither anſwered, nor anſwerable, by any of theſe new fangled Refiners. And as the preſent caſe ſtandeth, it may be doubted, whether they, or the* Jeſuits *do offer more danger, or be more ſpeedily to be repreſſed. For albeit the* Jeſuits *do impoyſon the hearts of her Majeſty's Subjects, under a pretext of Conſcience, to withdraw them from the obedience due to her Majeſty; yet do they the ſame but cloſely, and only in privy corners. But theſe men do both publiſh in their printed Books, and teach in all their Conventicles ſundry opinions; not only dangerous to the well ſetled Eſtate, and policy of this Realm, by putting a pyke, between the Clergy and the Laity, but alſo much derogatory to her ſacred Majeſty and her Crown, as well by the diminution of her antient and lawful Revenues, and by denying her Highneſſes Prerogative and Supremacy, as by offering peril to her Majeſty's ſafety in her own Kingdom. In all which things, howſoever in many other points, they pretend to be at*

*war with the* Popiſh-Jeſuits; *yet by this Separation of themſelves from the unity of their fellow-Subjects, and by abaſing the ſacred Authority and Majeſty of their Prince, they do but joyn and concur with the* Jeſuits, *in opening the door, and preparing the way to the* Spaniſh *Invaſion, that is threatned againſt the Realm.* And ſhall conclude, with what is moſt judiciouſly obſerved by the worthy Author * of the Hiſtory of the ſometime Famous and Reverend *Hooker's* life. "So "that theſe very men, ſaith he (ſpeaking of the Puritans "in that Queen's time) that began with tender and meek "*Petitions*, proceeded to *Admonitions*; then to ſatyrical *Re*"*monſtrances*: and at laſt, having numbred who was not, "and who was for their *Cauſe*, they got a ſuppoſed certain"ty of ſo great a party, that they durſt threaten, firſt the "*Biſhops*; then the *Queen* and *Parliament*. To all which "they were ſecretly encouraged by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, "then in great favour with her Majeſty, and the reputed "Cheriſher and Patron-General of theſe pretenders to ten"derneſs of conſcience; his deſign being, by their means, "to bring ſuch an odium upon the Biſhops as to procure "an alienation of their Lands, and a large portion of them "for himſelf. Which avaritious deſire had ſo blinded "his reaſon, that his ambition and greedy hopes, had "almoſt put him into a preſent poſſeſſion of *Lambeth*-"Houſe.

Mr. Iſaac Walton.

That Queen therefore had not only a vigilant Eye upon them, but a ſtrict hand; as theſe ſeditious Pamphleters; *Udall, Barrow, Greenwood, Studley, Billots, Bowdler, Copping, Thacker, Penri*, and others deſervedly felt.

Copping and Thacker hang'd at St. Edmunsbury; an. 1583, for publiſhing Pamphlets written by Browne againſt the Book of Common-Prayer.

But, upon the coming in of King *James*, they began to raiſe unto themſelves better hopes of countenance and favour; being ſo confident of his Indulgence, that within few weeks after his entrance here, they took the boldneſs to preſent him with a Petition againſt the Government and Liturgy eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*. Whereupon his Majeſty, who well knew the temper of that Sect (though he was abundantly ſatisfyed with what he found here ſetled) did with great prudence by his Royal Proclamation, appoint an Aſſembly of divers ſelect Divines, ſuch as could beſt repreſent the deſires of theſe diſſenting men, as others, to meet at *Hampton-Court* upon the twelfth of *January* following; where Dr. *Reynolds*, and Dr. *Sparkes*

Penri hang'd an. 1593 for his libellous Book called Mart. Marprelate.

A. D. 1603. Conference at Hampton Court.

of

of *Oxford*, and Mr. *Knewſtubs*, and Mr. *Chaderton* of *Cambridge*, appear'd on their behalfs, and freely hearing whatſoever could be objected by the *weak Brethren* (as they were then modeſty ſtiled) he clearly diſcern'd that all the Exceptions which they made, were no other than frivolous ſcruples of indiſcreet men, and ſo convinced every one of them thereupon, that they went away amply ſatisfyed; promiſing thenceforth, not only full obedience to the Government and Liturgy; but Dr. *Sparkes* wrote a Book to perſwade all others thereunto.

Nevertheleſs, notwithſtanding this, the *Myſtery of Iniquity* work'd on ſtill in the Hearts of other buſy-headed *Diſciplinarians*: many of which, though they received Ordination from the Biſhops, Subſcribed, took Oaths, and outwardly ſeemed to conform, ſtuck not, underhand, to uſe all the arts and devices of cunning Impoſtors, to bring the people by degrees into an utter diſlike of the Eccleſiaſtical Government, the better to fit them for ſome deſperate Rebellion, whenſoever there ſhould be any fair opportunity. To which end their practiſe was, in their officiating, ever to omit ſome portions of the Liturgy, and to read the remainder with but little reverence at all; whereby they might by degrees, beget an opinion in their auditory, that the ſervice of God did conſiſt meerly in the *Sermon*, and thoſe long-winded prayers immediately preceding and following it, which be expreſly oppoſite to a ſpecial Canon * eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament in 1. *Jac.* Which Prayers, (if they be worthy of that name) they are not aſham'd to ſay, are uttered by the immediate direction of Gods Holy Spirit; though therein, they have oftimes, not only taken the liberty to deprave the Goverment in Church and State, by divers ſubtil expreſſions; but made ſuch a ſeeming ſhew of Zeal therein, by altering their Countenances, and changing their Voices into an affected tone; uſing therein many abſurd and unmannerly expreſſions; that one * of their own Fraternity, after he became farther reformed by an Independent-light, could not forbear, but cryed out againſt them, in a certain Book, intituled *The Clergy in their Colours*, printed at *London an.* 1651. *pag.* 33. *l.* 17. in theſe words; *I cannot let paſs one obſervation; and that is the ſtrange poſture theſe men put themſelves into, when they begin their Prayers, before their*

Canon 55.

Colonel John Frye, a member of the then Parliament.

*their Sermons. Whether the Fools and Knaves in Stage-plays took their pattern from theſe men, or theſe from them, I cannot determine*, &c. *What wrye Mouths, Squint Eyes, and Screw'd faces do they make?* And pag. 41. l. 3. *Again, how like a company of Conjurers do they mumble out the beginning of their Prayers, that the people may not hear them: and when artificially they have raiſed their voices, what a pulling do they make.*

But that which afforded them no little advantage, was that horrid *Gun-powder Plot*, which happened in the third year of King *James*; being hatch'd by thoſe fiery-ſpirited men of the Romiſh-perſwaſion, whom the bloudy-minded Jeſuits had influenc'd for that moſt wicked practiſe. For, after this, to terrify the people with the *Church of Rome*, their Sermons were little leſs than Declamations againſt the Papiſts; aiming thereby to repreſent them formidable and odious; inſinuating to the world, that all the fear of danger was from thoſe of that Religion; whilſt they themſelves, in the mean time, did inſenſibly poyſon the people with ſuch other unſound Doctrines, as became at length the fountain of this late unparallel'd Rebellion, which terminated in the execrable Murther of our late gracious King: and would have put a Period to this famous and long flouriſhing Monarchy, had not almighty God of his great mercy miraculouſly prevented it.

But how far the Principles of theſe Holy Reformers do differ, from the moſt rigid of the Romiſh profeſſion, againſt whom they have ſo long and loudly clamoured, theſe enſuing obſervations will briefly manifeſt.

## The Jeſuits Tenets.

Bellarm. de Concil. lib. 2. cap. 19.

*In Regnis Hominum poteſtas Regis eſt a populo, quia populus facit Regem.* In the Kingdoms of men, the power of the King is from the People.

Bellarm. de Cleric. lib. 3. p. 6.

*Poteſtas immediate eſt, tanquam in ſubjecto, in tota multitudine: & ſi cauſa legitima adſit, poteſt multitudo mutare Regnum in Ariſtocratiam & Democratiam.* The power is immediately, as in the ſubject, in the multitude; and if there be lawful cauſe, the multitude may change the Kingdom into an Ariſtocracy, or Democracy.

The

*De fide certum eſt, quemcunque Principem Chriſtianum, ſi a Religione Catholica deflexerit, & alios avocare voluerit, excidere ſtatim omni poteſtate & dignitate; idq; ante prolatam Papæ ſententiam, poſſeque & debere ſubditos, ſi vires habeant, iſtiuſmodi Hæreticum, & Hominum Chriſtianorum dominatu ejicere.* It is certainly a matter of Faith, that whatſoever Chriſtian Prince ſhall depart from the Catholic Religion, and ſhall withdraw others; doth immediately fall from all power and dignity, even before the Popes ſentence given; and that the Subjects may and ſhould (if they have ſtrength) caſt forth ſuch an Heretick, from the dominion of Chriſtian men. Philopat. 2. p. 109.

*Talis, conſenſu omnium, poteſt, imo debet privari ſuo dominio. Si hoc priſcis temporibus minus factum ſit; cauſa eſt, quia deerant vires.* Such a King, by the conſent of all may, yea ought to be deprived of his dominion. If this in old time was not done, the cauſe was, for that they had not ſtrength. Bellarm. lib. 3. de Pont. cap. 7.

*Non diſſimulandum eſſe*, &c. This is not to be diſſembled; that it is the moſt expedient and ſafe way, if a public meeting may be granted, to deliberate what ſhall be done by common conſent. Firſt of all the Prince is to be admoniſhed, and to be brought to his wits again, *&c.* If he reject the Medicine, and no hope of his recovery be left; when the Sentence is paſſed upon him, the Common-wealth may firſt refuſe his command. And becauſe of neceſſity, there will be a ſtirring up for war, they may unfold their Councils for defence thereof; and ſhew, that it is expedient to have weapons, and to command the people to advance moneys for the charge of the Wars. And if the matter will ſuffer, and the Common-wealth cannot otherwiſe defend it ſelf, with the ſame right of defence, but with a better authority and peculiar of their own----*Principem publice Hoſtem declaratum, ferro perimere.* They may kill the Prince, he being publickly declared an Enemy. Mariana lib. 2. de Reg. cap. 6. p. 59.

## The Presbyterian Tenets.

*Populo jus eſt, ut Imperium cui velit deferat.* The people may confer the Government on whom they pleaſe. Gilby lib. de Obedientia p. 25. & 105. Buchanan de jure Regni apud Scotos. p. 61.

Barrow refut. p. 169. Without the Prince, the people may reform, and mu ſt not tarry for the Magiſtrate.

Knox App. f. 30. Goodman. p. 185. Not Kings and Magiſtrates only, ought to puniſh crimes againſt God; but the whole body of the people, and every member of the ſame to his ability muſt revenge the injury done to God.

Knox to Engl. & Scotl. p. 78. If Princes be Tyrants againſt God, and his Truth, their Subjects are free from their Oath of Obedience.

Goodman p. 190. Subjects do promiſe obedience, that the Magiſtrate might help them; which if he do not, they are diſcharged of obedience.

Goodman p. 144. 145. Evil Princes ought to be depoſed, and inferior Magiſtrates ought chiefly to do it.

Ibid. 43. 57. 72. Subjects muſt withſtand wicked Princes; they muſt take up Arms againſt them.

Knox Hiſt. p. 343. God hath appointed the Nobility to bridle the inordinate appetite of Princes; and in ſo doing they cannot be accuſed as Reſiſters of Authority.

Goodman p. 111. in obedience. Judges ought to ſummon Princes before them, for their crimes, and proceed againſt them as againſt all other offenders.

Ib. p. 185. When Magiſtrates ceaſe to do their duties, God giveth the Sword into the peoples hands.

Buchan. de jure Regni &c. p. 50. & 56. *Let every Soul be ſubject to Superiors.* *Paul* (ſays he) wrote this in the Infancy of the Church. There were but few Chriſtians then; not many of them rich, or of ability, ſo as they were not ripe for ſuch a purpoſe. As if a man ſhould write to ſuch Chriſtians as are under the Turk; in ſubſtance poor; in courage feeble; in ſtrength unarm'd; in number few, and generally ſubject to all kinds of injuries; would not he write as *Paul* did? So as the Apoſtle did reſpect the men he wrote unto; and his words ought not to be extended to the body, or people of a Common-wealth, or whole City.

Ib. p. 57. If *Paul* were alive, and did ſee wicked Kings reigning in Chriſtian Common-wealths, *Paul* would ſay, that he accounted no ſuch for Magiſtrates; he would forbid all men for ſpeaking to them, and from keeping them company. He would leave them to their Subjects to be puniſhed: neither would he blame them, if they accounted no ſuch longer for their Kings.

Engl. compl. againſt the Canons. They may kill wicked Princes, as Monſters and cruel beaſts.

And

And if neither the Magiſtrate nor the people do their office, in depoſing or killing them; then the Miniſter muſt excommunicate ſuch a King. Goodman p. 99. Buchanan, ut ſupra.

Any Miniſter may do it againſt the greateſt Prince. Knox Hiſt. f. 78.

A private man, having ſome ſpecial inward notion, may kill a Tyrant. Goodman p. 110.

In other things alſo, were it not for brevity, the like parallel might be made in what thoſe of the Romiſh Perſwaſion, and the Presbyterians do hold; as *that the Office of Prieſts* and *Biſhops is one and the ſame*, as is judiciouſly obſerved by the learned Author of *the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England*, printed at *London* 1679, pag. 366, whereunto I refer my Reader.

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## CHAP. III.

AND having thus demonſtrated, that the Principles, by which this ſort of men be unhappily guided, are moſt dangerous and deſtructive to civil Government; I now deſcend to thoſe their Arts and Devices; whereof, by the help and influence of a moſt ſubtile, corrupt, and ſchiſmatical party in Parliament, they made uſe, in order to the raiſing this late nefarious Rebellion: the conſequence whereof; *viz.* the extirpating of Monarchy here, was in their deſign long before; however it may be thought by ſome, that *Neceſſity* and *Deſpair*, put them upon that bold Exigent, after they had gone farther, than they thought they could (by any outward reconciliation or pardon) be ſafe: for if need were, ſufficient and undoubted teſtimony might yet be produced, who did hear a principal Actor * in this late woful Tragedy, about a twelve-month after the barbarous murther of King *Charles* the Firſt, expreſs theſe words; *I bleſs God, that I have now lived to ſee the ruine of Monarchy, and that I have been inſtrumental in it: for I do here acknowledge that it hath been in my deſign ever ſince I was at* Geneva, *which is now thirty eight years.*

* Col. Purefoy, one of their Council of State.

Of theſe the firſt, and indeed moſt fatal Artifices, was *the reducing his Majeſty to Neceſſities*, to the end he might be inforc'd to betake himſelf unto ſuch extraordinary means Their Practice for reducing the King to Neceſſities.

means for ſupply, as would certainly attract the odium of his Subjects. For accompliſhing whereof, that war, wherein King *James* became engaged on the behalf of his daughter and her children, for recovery of the *Palatinate*, gave them a ſeaſonable opportunity; the Story whereof, I ſhall briefly here ſet down.

An. 1619. 17. Jac.

*Ruſhw. Hiſt. Coll. impr. Lond. 1659. p. 11. F.

Upon * the death of the Emperour *Matthias* (8. *Aug. An.* 1619. 17 *Jac.*) *Ferdinand* his Brother (adopted by *Matthias* in his life time) was elected Emperour, and crowned 19 *Septemb.* following. Which Election the *Bohemians* diſclaiming, they choſe for their King *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. Who thereupon by his Letters to King *James* (whoſe daughter he had marryed) acquaints him therewith, craving his advice as to his reception thereof. Howbeit, before King *James* his anſwer could come to his hand (which was utterly diſſuaſory) he had accepted * their choice. Whereof King *James* hearing, in no little perplexity diſavow'd * the act, and would never ſtile him by that Title.

* Ib. p. 12.

* E. F.

An. 1620. 18. Jac.

That this unhappy buſineſs prov'd moſt deſtructive to the Count Palatine, will immediately appear. For the Emperor *Ferdinand*, became ſo highly irritated thereat; that he ſoon after publiſh'd a *Proſcription* * againſt him; proclaim'd him guilty of High Treaſon; and declared his reſolution to proſecute him as a public Enemy of the Empire: and accordingly, * ſent Marqueſs *Spinola* with numerous Forces to invade the *Palatinate*; as alſo *Buquoy* and D. *Balthaſar* into *Bohemia*; who with a powerful Army gave him Battail * near to the City of *Prague*, upon the eighth of *November An.* 1620, utterly routed the *Bohemians* and forc'd that new King, with his Queen to flee the Country.

* Ib. p. 14.

* Ib. p. 15. E.

* Ib. p. 17. A.

An. 1620.

* Ib. E.

The Report whereof arriving ſoon after in *England*, cauſed King *James* to adviſe * with the Lords of his Council upon the 13*th* of *January* following, for recovery and protection of the *Palatinate*, it being the antient Inheritance of his Son in Law, and his Children. Whereupon thirty thouſand Pounds was forthwith ſent to the Princes of the Union, for their aſſiſtance therein: and in order to farther help, a *Parliament* call'd to ſit at *Weſtminſter* upon the 30*th* of the ſame month of *January*. At which Convention the King acquainting the two Houſes with what

A Parliament called 30 Jan. 18 Jac.

what had happened; farther repreſented unto them, that he had already treated a Peace in this buſineſs: but Perſwaſions without power, being (as he ſaid) of little effect; he told them, that he thought it fit to provide an Army againſt the Summer following; and deſired them therefore to think upon his Neceſſities.

Which Parliament having ſate about four months and done little in this matter; the King conſidering of a Receſs for a time, in regard of the ſeaſon that might cauſe Infection; repreſented to them, by the Lord Treaſurer, his purpoſe to adjourn them. Whereat the Commons growing diſpleaſed, they deſired the Lords to joyn with them in petitioning againſt it: the King therefore taking much exception thereupon, judging it derogatory to his Prerogative (it being in his ſole power, to call, and adjourn, and diſſolve Parliaments;) they thereupon, for ſatisfaction of his Majeſty, publiſh'd a *Declaration*, wherein they ſignified unto him; that, *in caſe his endeavours by a Treaty, could not effect the reſtitution of the* Palatinate, *upon ſignification of his pleaſure in Parliament, they ſhould be ready to the utmoſt of their powers, both with their lives and fortunes to aſſiſt him; ſo as, by the Divine help of Almighty God, he might be able to do that with his Sword, which by a peaceable courſe could not be effected.* An. 1621. 19. Jac. Ib. p. 35. Ib. p. 36.

After this the Parliament was adjourn'd from the fourth of *June* until the twentieth of *November*; at which time of meeting again (the King being abſent for lack of health) the Lord Keeper told them, that *unleſs they took farther reſolutions, and were expeditious, the Army in the* Palatinate *would fall to the ground.* The Lord Treaſurer alſo acquainting them, how empty the King's Coffers were; and that his Majeſty had aſſiſted the *Palatine*, and Princes of the Union with great Sums, which had ſo exhauſted his Treaſure, that he was much in debt: Alſo, that notwithſtanding the King had declared for War, he purſued Peace; and reſolv'd therefore to cloſe with *Spain*, hoping by that Alliance to heal the breach. Ib. p. 39. D. Ib. p. 40. A. B.

Which Speech of the Lord Treaſurer tending to Peace, ſo ſtartled the Houſe of Commons (wherein the *Puritan* was predominant) that they ſoon after drew up a *Remonſtrance* to his Majeſty, wherein repreſenting Religion to be in danger, by the growth of Popery, they Ib. C.

incited him *to take his Sword into his Hand for the aid of thoſe of our Religion in forreign parts; and that the bent of this War might be againſt that Prince, whoſe Armies and Treaſures had maintained the War in the* Palatinate. Signifying, that they had given him one Subſidy, for the preſent Relief of the *Palatinate.*

3. Dec. Ib. 43. E.

But in this *Remonſtrance* there being alſo divers things which the King eſteem'd to tend unto his high diſhonour, and to trench upon his Prerogative-royal; he forbad them farther to entermeddle concerning his Government, and deep affairs of State; and particularly with the match of his Son with a Daughter of *Spain.*

Ib. 52. E.

Certain it is, that the Parliament made little haſt, in the offering of that, for which they were chiefly called together; *viz.* the giving to the King conſiderable aid, for relief of the *Palatinate* in ſo much as the Lord *Digby* then took occaſion to put the Peers in mind thereof; and that it was to that end they were ſummon'd thither; reporting the preſent diſtreſs of that Country and danger thereto by the Duke of *Bavaria*: as alſo, that the Army of Count *Mansfeild*, which came in for defence thereof, if not ſpeedily ſupplyed, was like to deſert that ſervice.

But, inſtead of haſting ſuch Relief, *Chriſtmaſs* approching, and the King upon the nineteenth of *December*, giving a Commiſſion for their Adjournment till the eighth of *February* following; the houſe of Commons made a *Proteſtation*, wherein they declared for ſundry Priviledges: of which his Majeſty in a Speech * at the Council-Table upon the thirtieth of that month took notice, that *it was unduly gained, late at night, when not a third part of the Houſe was preſent; and penned in ſuch ambiguous and general words, as might ſerve for future times to invade moſt of the Rights and Prerogatives annexed to the Imperial Crown.*

19. Dec. Ib. p. 53.

* Dec. 30.

And, diſcerning that ſome Parliament men, who had a great influence upon the Houſe, rather hinder'd that good progreſs, which he expected they would have made, towards the recovery of the *Palatinate*, then further'd the giving of money in order thereto; did by unanimous conſent of his whole Council, diſſolve that Parliament by Proclamation, upon the ſixth of *January* following.

Parliament diſſolved 6. Jan. Ib. p. 56.

And ſeeing his hopes of raiſing moneys by Parliament

to

to be thus fruſtrate, they firſt endeavoured the reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, by all good means of Treaty, both with the Emperour and King of *Spain*. Which not ſucceeding, he cauſed Letters to be written by the Lords of the Council to the Juſtices of the Courts at *Weſtminſter*; and likewiſe to the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties, and Juſtices of Peace throughout *England*; as alſo to the Mayors and Bayliffs of Towns-Corporate, to raiſe moneys by a *Benevolent contribution* for recovery thereof by force; yet ſtill purſued the *Spaniſh* match, in hope to gain it thereby. Ib. p. 61. Ib. p. 114.

But after many ſubtile delays made by the *Spaniard*, that match being not like to take effect, His Majeſty ſent the Lord *Kenſington* into *France*, to try whether a match might there ſpeed: which was well accepted. Whereupon the King call'd another Parliament; which began 19 *Febr.* 1623. At which time he acquainted them with the ill ſucceſs of that dilatory Treaty, in order to the match with *Spain*; and deſired their advice, on the behalf of his Son the *Count-Palatine*, and his Children. An. 1623. 21. Jac. Another Parliament called Ib. p. 115.

In anſwer to which they ſignified, *that the ſaid Treaty, both for the Marriage and the* Palatinate, *could not longer be continued with the honour of his Majeſty, the ſafety of his People, welfare of his Children and Poſterity; and aſſurance of his antient Allies and Confederates.* Ib. p. 128. B.

Whereunto the King replyed; that he ſhould be loath without neceſſity to imbroil himſelf in war. And manifeſting to them his wants, for the ſupport of a war, deſired their advice: offering, that, *in caſe he took a reſolution, by ſuch their advice to enter into a war, they themſelves by their own Deputies, ſhould have the diſpoſal of the moneys.* Ib. 129. D. Ib. 131. A.

Hereupon the Parliament tendred three Subſidies and three Fifteens, to break off both the Treaties; *viz.* that of the match with *Spain*, and that concerning the *Palatinate, deſiring his Majeſty that he would be confidently aſſured they would never fail in a Parliamentary-way, to aſſiſt him in ſo royal a deſign.* Ib. 135. C. Ib. 136. A.

But the King eſteeming that too little, demanded five Subſidies, and two Fifteeens for every Subſidy, towards the ſupport of that war; and one Subſidy and two Fifteens yearly till his debts were pay'd. Nevertheleſs told Ib. 137. A.

them, that he would be content to quit that demand for his own debts, in caſe they gave ſix Subſidies and twelve
Ib. 138. B. Fifteens for the war: declaring his reſolution to diſſolve
Ib. 139. A. the Treaties (whereupon Bonefires were made in *London*, and the Bells rang for joy.) And farther told them, that he did aſſure himſelf, they would make good what they had ſaid; and, that what they had adviſed him unto, they would aſſiſt him in, with their Wiſdom and Council, as alſo with Forces, if need required.

Ib. p. 156. D. An. 1624. 22. Jac. Shortly after which, Count *Mansfeild* arriving in *England*, twelve thouſand Foot, with two hundred Horſe, were raiſed to go under his Command, for recovery of the *Palatinate*; and in *Auguſt* following, the match with *France* was concluded.

Ib. 158. E. But this hopeful Army under Count *Mansfeild* (conſiſting of twelve Regiments) was by tedious ſtay on Shipboard, ſo infected with the Peſtilence, that ſcarce a third part thereof came ſafe to Land: a third part likewiſe mouldring away, ſo that the deſign came to nothing.

An. 1625. Ib. p. 159. C. The Death of King James. And upon the ſeven and twentieth of *March* following, King *James* departed this life. Unto whom King *Charles* the firſt ſucceeded: who reſolving to purſue the recovery of the *Palatinate*, upon the grounds of thoſe great promiſes ſo made by the Parliament to his Father,
Ib. p. 172. B. did, in the beginning of *May* next enſuing, iſſue out Warrants, for the levying of Souldiers, to be imploy'd in that Expedition; whereof eight thouſand to rendezvouz at *Plymouth*, one thouſand at *Hull*, to be tranſported into the *Netherlands*, for the ſervice of the United Provinces; and two thouſand returned thence, for his Majeſties preſent ſervice.

The firſt Parliament of King Charles the firſt. 18. Junii. Ib. p. 174. And having marryed a Daughter of *France*, who arrived at *London* upon the ſixteenth of *June*, he began his Parliament at *Weſtminſter* within two days following. Where, in his Speech to both Houſes, he put them in mind, how they had engaged his Father in the war, for the *Palatinate*; earneſtly preſſing their ſpeedy aſſiſtance. And the Lord Keeper added, that the principal cauſe of calling that
Ib. p. 175. C. & 176. C. Parliament (beſides the beholding his Subjects faces) was to mind them of the great Engagements for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, impoſed on his Majeſty by the King his Father, and by themſelves, who thereupon brake off

off the two Treaties with *Spain*: as alſo to let them underſtand, that the Subſidies granted by the preceding Parliament, with much more of the King's own Revenue, were already ſpent in the following Treaties and Alliances, upon the Armies ſent into the *Low-Countries*, and in repairing of the Forts, with the Fortifying of *Ireland*; all which did meet in one center, the *Palatinate*, whereof the Account was ready.

Hereupon the Houſes preſenting the King with two Subſidies, the Lord *Conway* (then one of the Secretaries of State) ſignified his Majeſties gracious acceptance thereof: yet told them, that the neceſſity of the preſent affairs, were not therein ſatisfied, and therefore required their farther Councils; Reminding them, that the late King was provoked beyond his nature, to undertake a war for recovery of his Childrens antient Patrimony; the charges whereof did appear by computation to amount unto ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds a year; *viz.* in ſupporting the *Netherlands*; in preventing the Emperour's deſign of concluding with the Princes of *Germany*, for utter excluding the *Palſgrave*; and levying an Army under Count *Mansfeild*. Farther repreſenting to them, that the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and Princes of *Germany* had levyed another. That *France*, *Savoy*, and *Venice*, joyn'd together for a war of diverſion; and, that to uphold the *Netherlands*, the charges of *Mansfeild's* and *Denmark's* Army muſt yet continue. Ib. p. 178. A.

But the Plague increaſing ſore in *London*, occaſion'd ſome delay in their Proceedings, by an Adjournment to *Oxford*: at which place they met the firſt of *Auguſt* following. Where, on the fourth of that month, his Majeſty in a ſpeech to both Houſes did again put them in mind, *of their engaging his Father in that war, for recovery of the* Palatinate, *upon promiſe of their aſſiſtance in a Parliamentary-way; and that they themſelves then appointed a Council of war, and Treaſurers.* He alſo acquainted them with the expence of the three Subſidies, and three Fifteens then given. And further expreſſed, that he had thus reaſſembled them upon the death of his royal Father, to receive their farther advice and aid for proceeding in that, *wherein by their Councils* his Father was engaged; as alſo that they had granted unto him two Subſidies, then Ib. p. 178. E. Ib. p. 181. A.

ungathered, which were far ſhort of ſetting forth the Navy at that time preparing.

Ib. p. 182. A. And the Lord *Conway* and Secretary *Cook*, did then more particularly declare unto the Houſe of Commons, the ſtate of Affairs, as they at that time ſtood; manifeſting that much more then the two Subſidies, already given, though not paid, had been diſburſed. Moreover, that the Fleet was then at Sea, haſtening to their Rendezvouz, the Army at *Plymouth*, expecting their Commanders; his Majeſties Honour, Religion, and the Kingdoms ſafety engaged. That the King had certain advice of his Enemies intentions to infeſt his dominions in *Ireland*, and the *Engliſh* Coaſts; and of their increaſe of Shipping in all parts: as alſo, that the preſent charge of his Army and Navy, did amount to above four hundred thouſand Pounds. The Lord Treaſurer likewiſe repreſenting to them the late Kings debts;

*Viz.* To the City of *London* 120000 *l.* beſides Intereſt.

For *Denmark* and the *Palatinate* 150000 *l.*

For his Wardrobe 40000 *l.* All which did then lye upon his Majeſty.

And that his then Majeſty was indebted to the City of *London* 20000 *l.*

That he had laid out upon his Navy 20000 *l.*

For Count *Mansfeild* 20000 *l.*

For Mourning and his Father's Funeral Expences 42000 *l.*

For Expences concerning the Queen 40000 *l.*

And that the pay of the Navy, during the time intended, for that preſent Expedition, with the ſetting forth thereof, would amount to 300000 *l.*

Ib. p. 183. F. But the Commons, inſtead of that calm and temperate Conſideration of the preſent Exigencies, which his Majeſty expected, fell into very high debates; and alledg'd, that the Treaſure was miſimploy'd; that evil Councils guided the King's deſigns; that his Neceſſities grew by improvidence; that they had need to petition the King for a ſtraight hand and better Council to manage his affairs: and that, though a former Parliament did engage the King in a war; yet (if things were managed by contrary deſigns, and the Treaſure miſimploy'd) that Parliament was not bound by another Parliament

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to be carried blindfold in deſigns not guided by ſecond Councils; Adding, that it was not uſual to grant Subſidies upon Subſidies, in one Parliament, and no grievance redreſſed.

Notwithſtanding which objections, it was earneſtly preſſed by ſome Members of the Houſe, that two Subſidies and two Fifteens might be given; his Majeſties Honour, and the Neceſſity of Affairs requiring it; as it then appeared out of Conſiderations, which had been frequently repreſented. But theſe motives little avail'd; for, inſtead of hearkening thereto, the Commons then publiſh'd a plauſible *Declaration*; wherein they *ſolemnly proteſted and vowed, before God and the world, with one Heart and Voice, that they were all reſolv'd, and did thereby declare, that they would ever continue moſt loyal and obedient Subjects to their moſt gracious Sovereign Lord King* Charles: *and that they would be ready, in convenient time, and in a Parliamentary-way, freely and dutifully to do their utmoſt endeavours, to diſcover and reform the Abuſes and Grievances of the Realm and State; and, in like ſort to afford all neceſſary Supply to his moſt excellent Majeſty upon his preſent, and all other his juſt Occaſions and Deſigns.*

Ib. p. 194. B.

Ib. E.

The King therefore plainly perceiving, that the Houſe did not incline to any Supply: and that in their debates they reflected upon ſome great perſons near unto him, diſſolved that Parliament upon the twelfth of *Auguſt*. Which done, he reſolved that the Fleet ſhould ſpeedily put to Sea; and entred forthwith into a League with the United Provinces againſt the Emperour and King of *Spain*, for reſtoring of the Liberties of *Germany*. But being in great and preſent Want of moneys, he iſſued out Letters, under his Privy-Seal, for borrowing to ſupply thoſe Neceſſities; and ſummon'd another Parliament to meet upon the ſixth of *February* enſuing, which was four days after his ſolemn Coronation.

Ib. p. 195. A.

Parliament diſſolved. Ib. E.

Moneys borrowed by Privy Seal.

The ſecond Parliament of King Charles the Firſt.

6. Februarii.

Soon after the ſitting of which Parliament, the Earl of *Pembroke*, at a Conference of both Houſes, repreſented how the affairs of Chriſtendome ſtood, before the breach of the Treaties with *Spain*; and how at that preſent: as alſo the condition of the *Palatinate*; and likewiſe the King of *Denmark's* engagement in the quarrel, with the forwardneſs of the *Swedes*, and contract with the

the *Hollander*; and that the Fruits of all theſe would be loſt, unleſs a ſpeedy Supply were reſolved on.

Ib. p. 218. E. But notwithſtanding all this, the Commons ſtill delay'd the giving of any Supply; which occaſion'd the King, by a Letter to the Speaker, to preſs them again thereunto, and to remind them of their promiſes: withall aſſuring them, that he would willingly apply fit and ſeaſonable remedies, to ſuch juſt Grievances as they ſhould preſent unto him, in a dutiful and mannerly way, without throwing an ill odour upon the preſent Government,

Ib. p. 220. A. or upon the Government of his Father. Unto which Letter, they made a ſpecious general anſwer; intimateing, that they really intended him Supply: and accordingly voted three Subſidies, and three Fifteens, but gave them not.

Not long after this, His Majeſty, by the mouth of the Lord Keeper, took notice to the Houſe of Commons, of a ſeditious expreſſion, made by Mr. *Clement Coke*, one of their members; as alſo of Dr. *Turner's* unparliamentary carriage in reference to the Duke of *Buckingham*: likewiſe of ſuffering his Council of State to be cenſured and traduced in their Houſe, by perſons whoſe Years and Education could not judge of things: that forreign buſineſs had been entertain'd in the Houſe, to the hindrance and diſadvantage of his Majeſties Negotiations: yea that upon the firſt day of his Inauguration, they ſuffered his Council, Governours, and Servants, to be parallel'd with the times of moſt Exception: that their Committees had alſo preſumed to examine the Letters of his Secretaries of State; nay his Majeſties own Letters; and ſent a general Warrant to his Signet Office, commanding his Officers there, not only to produce and ſhew the Records, but their Books, and private Notes, which they made for his Majeſties ſervice. Next he told them, that they had been made acquainted with the greatneſs of his Majeſties affairs, both at home and abroad, with the ſtrong preparations of the Enemy: with the Importance of upholding his Allies; ſtrengthening, and ſecuring, both *England*, and *Ireland*; beſides the encountring and annoying the Enemy, by a powerful Fleet at Sea, and the charge of all. And, that this being calculated unto them, they had profeſſed unto his Majeſty, by the mouth of their Speaker,

their

their carefulneſs to ſupport the Cauſe, wherein he and his Allies were juſtly engaged. Then he reminded them of their unanimous conſent, and real intention, formerly expreſs'd to ſupply him in ſuch a meaſure, as ſhould make him ſafe at home and fear'd abroad; and, that in the diſpatch thereof, they would uſe ſuch diligence, as his preſſing and preſent Occaſions did require. And he obſerv'd, that in two days only of twelve, that buſineſs was thought of; and not begun, till by a Meſſage his Majeſty did put them in mind of it, whilſt their Inquiſition, againſt his direction, proceeded day by day. And, for the Supply intended, he told them, the meaſure thereof was ſo little; that inſtead of making him ſafe at home, and feared abroad, it would both expoſe him to danger and diſeſteem; in regard, that without better help, his Allies muſt preſently disband, and leave him alone to bear the fury of a provoked and powerful enemy; beſides the manner of it, which was diſhonourable and full of diſtruſt; *viz.* that the Bill was not to come into the Houſe, till their Grievances were both preferr'd and anſwer'd.

And his Majeſty himſelf then farther added, he muſt put them in mind, that in the time of his bleſſed Father, they did by their Councel and Perſwaſion prevail both with his Father and himſelf, to break off the Treaties before-mention'd; and told them, that *now they had all things according to their wiſhes, and that he was ſo far engaged, they thought there was no retreat; now they began to ſet the Dice on him*; ſaying moreover, that *it was not a Parliamentary-way; nor a way to deal with their King.* Ib. p. 229. A.

And to this the Duke of *Buckingham*, by his Majeſties Command, farther affirm'd; that *if his Majeſty ſhould accept of a leſs ſum then would ſuffice, it would deceive their Expectations, diſappoint his Allies, and conſume the Treaſure of the Kingdom: whereas, if they would give largely now, the buſineſs being at the* Criſis, *it would come ſo ſeaſonably, as that it might give a turn to the affairs of Chriſtendom:* wiſhing them therefore to enlarge it, but left the augmentation to themſelves. And, to the end the load might not lye on the pooreſt; told them, his Majeſty did likewiſe wiſh, that they who were the abet- Ib. p. 230. B.

tors and councellors of this war, would take a greater part of the burthen to themſelves.

An. 1625. Nevertheleſs all this moved them very little; inſomuch as the King, by a Letter to the Speaker of the 9 Junii. Houſe of Commons (dated upon the ninth of *June* following) hoping to quicken them the better, did put them in mind, how often and earneſtly he had preſs'd them for ſpeeding that Aid, which they intended for his great and weighty affairs; telling them, the time they themſelves had prefix'd, was ſo far ſpent (*viz.* the laſt day of that month) that unleſs it were preſently concluded, it would neither bring him money, nor credit. And, that if it were farther deferr'd, it would be of little uſe; he being daily advertiſed from all parts, of the great preparations by the Enemy really to aſſail him: and moreover, that he held it neceſſary by thoſe his Letters, to give them his laſt and final admonition; as alſo to let them know, that he ſhould account all further Delays and Excuſes, to be expreſs Denials: and therefore did will and require them, to bring in their *Subſidy-Bill*, to be paſs'd without delay, or condition. Adding, that, if by their denial or delay, any thing of ill conſequence ſhould fall out, either at home or abroad; he ſhould take God to witneſs, that he had done his part to prevent it, by calling his people together, to adviſe with them; and opening to them the weight of his occaſions; as alſo by requiring their timely help and aſſiſtance in thoſe Actions, wherein he ſtood engaged by their Councel.

Ib. p. 402. B. But, inſtead of any ſatisfactory return unto this his Royal Letter, wherein he had earneſtly preſt unto them, the ſpeedy and neceſſary conſideration of his preſent Exigencies; they made what haſte they could, to perfect a *Remonſtrance* againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*; and concerning *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, taken by the King, ſince the death of his Father, without conſent of Parliament. Which was no ſooner finiſhed, but they had intimation, that the King would diſſolve the Parliament; whereupon they forthwith order'd, that every Member Ib. p. 403. D. of their Houſe ſhould have a Copy of that *Remonſtrance*.

The

The Parliament being therefore diſſolv'd by Commiſſion, upon the fifteenth of *June*, his Majeſty did preſently ſet forth a *Declaration*, manifeſting the reaſons he had for diſſolving thereof; as alſo of the former Parliament: whereby he did clearly publiſh to the world, how he became engaged in a war with a potent Enemy, upon his Father's death; and that he was enforc'd thereto, for the neceſſary defence of himſelf and his Dominions; as alſo for the ſupport of his Friends and Allies; recovering the patrimony of his Siſter, and her Children, and maintenance of the true Religion. Moreover, that *he was invited thereto, and encouraged therein, by the advice of both Houſes of Parliament; and by their large Promiſes and Proteſtations to his Father, to give him full and reall aſſiſtance in thoſe Enterprizes, which were of ſo great importance to this Realm; and to the general peace and ſafety of all his Friends and Allies:* but, that inſtead of making performance of thoſe their undertakings, he found them ſo ſlow and full of delays and diverſions, that no fruit came thereof. And farther added; that *tho he had by his Letters, bearing date the ninth of June, preſs'd them earneſtly therein, with a clear and gracious manifeſt of his reſolutions, they never ſo much as admitted one Reading to the Bill of Subſidies; but inſtead thereof prepared and voted a* Remonſtrance, *which they intended to prefer unto him; containing (tho palliated with gloſing terms) as well many diſhonourable Aſperſions upon himſelf, and upon the memory of his deceaſed Father, as dilatory Excuſes for their not proceeding with the Subſidies. Adding thereto alſo colour'd conditions, croſſing thereby his direction.* All which his Majeſty plainly underſtanding; and eſteeming the ſame to be a denial of the promiſed Supply: finding likewiſe withall, that no admonition could move, nor reaſons or preſumptions prevail, the time being ſo far ſpent, as that they had put an impoſſibility upon themſelves to perform their Promiſes; upon mature advice, he diſſolv'd the Parliament, as hath been already obſerved.

The ſecond Parliament of K. Charles I. diſſolved. 15 Junii.

Being therefore thus expoſed to extreme Neceſſities, he was conſtrain'd to require a *Loan* of money from the Nobility, the City of *London*, and others: as alſo

An. 1626. 2 Car. 1. Ib. p. 419. B. C. A Loan of money required by the K.

Ship-money required.

to lay a Charge upon the Ports and Maritime Towns, for the furniſhing certain numbers of Ships, for the guarding of the Coaſts againſt attempts from *Spain* or *Flanders*; and likewiſe upon the Counties adjoining, to contribute thereto.

Privy Seals. Ib. p. 420.

After which he iſſued out *Privy-Seals* unto ſeveral perſons, for borrowing of money; and to others propoſed a *Benevolence*, according to the proportion

A Benevolence propoſed.

of *four Subſidies* and *three Fifteens*, which were by the late Parliament reſolv'd on, to have been given to the King; ſetting forth a *Declaration*, to manifeſt

Ib. p. 422.

the reaſons of his requiring that *Loan*. Soon after which, he ſent away ſix thouſand Foot-Soldiers, under the command of Sir *Charles Morgan*, and others, for the ſervice of the *United Provinces*.

An. 1626. Short View of the Life of K. Charles, impr. Lond. 1658. p. 46.

Moreover, to heighten and increaſe theſe his wants, about this time a moſt unlucky occaſion hapned, which (in ſhort) was this; that the *French* Prieſts, and Domeſtics of that Nation, which came into *England* with the Queen, were grown ſo inſolent, and had put ſo many affronts upon the King; that (as the *French* King had ſent back all the *Spaniſh* Courtiers, which his Queen brought with her) his Majeſty was forc'd to ſend them home. But that King, not looking on this Example, and knowing upon what ill terms our King ſtood, both at home and abroad; firſt ſeized on all the Merchants Ships which lay in the River of *Bourdeaux*, and then brake out into open war; ſo that the King was conſtrain'd to make uſe of thoſe Forces againſt the *French*, which were deſign'd to have been uſed againſt the *Spaniard*, and to comply with the deſire of the *Rochellers*, who humbly ſued for his protection and defence: but the Fleet ſet forth for that purpoſe, being encountred with great Tempeſts, was forc'd to return, without doing any thing farther, then ſhewing his Majeſties good will, and readineſs to aſſiſt them.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IV.

BUT the next year the King, having made new Preparations for a war with *France*, to manifeſt what ground he had for it, declared, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* (conſpiring the ruin of all thoſe of the Reform'd Religion through Chriſtendom, as he ſaid plainly appear'd in the wars of *Germany*) had ſuch an influence upon the Councel of *France*, as to prevail with the *French* to obſtruct the landing of Count *Mansfield*'s Army, contrary to promiſe, with whom they ſhould have join'd Forces for the relief of the *Palatinate*, and the *German* Princes; the failure wherein proved the ruin of that Army, the greateſt part whereof periſhed. Furthermore, that having by his mediation prevail'd for a Peace between the *French* King and his Proteſtant Subjects; and engaged his Word, that the Proteſtants ſhould obſerve the Articles of Agreement: nevertheleſs the King of *France*, contrary to thoſe Articles, block'd up their Towns, Garriſons, and Forts, committing many ſpoils upon them, though they had done nothing in violation of the Edict of Peace. An. 1627. Ruſhw. Coll. p. 428. F. p. 429.

Whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham*, in order to the relief of the *Palatinate*, being made Admiral, and Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces, on the 27th of *June* ſet out from *Portſmouth* (the Fleet conſiſting of an hundred Sail, whereof ten were of the King's Royal Navy, having aboard ſix or ſeven thouſand Land-Soldiers) and towards the later end of *July* appear'd before *Rochel*. Where, attempting to gain the Iſle of *Rhee*, which lay before that Town, and imbarr'd their Trade, his unskilful conduct therein was ſuch, that he was forc'd to a retreat *, with the loſs of many valiant men, and not a little of his Honour; the more full relation of which ill ſucceſs I refer to our Hiſtorians. 27 Junii. Ib. F. * 8 Nov. Ib. p. 469.

This Expedition proving thus unhappy, his Majeſties neceſſitous condition forc'd him to pawn much of his Lands to the City of *London* for an hundred and twenty thou- Life of King Charles by Dr. Perenchef impr. Lond. 1676.

thouſand pounds, which he then borrowed; and alſo to borrow thirty thouſand pounds more of the *Eaſt-India* Company. But all this, being not ſufficient to ſupport the charge of the Fleet; notwithſtanding theſe former great diſcouragements, ſtill hoping by a Parliament to obtain ſome reaſonable Supply, in theſe his preſſing Neceſſities; he call'd another Parliament, to begin on the ſeventeenth of *March* next following. At the meeting whereof he told them, *None there but knew, that common danger was the cauſe of that Parliament, and Supply at that time the Chief end thereof.* Likewiſe, *that if to maintain their own advices; and, as the caſe then ſtood, for the following thereof, the true Religion, Laws and Liberties of this State, and the juſt defence of its true Friends and Allies, were not ſufficient; then no Eloquence of men and Angels could prevail*; the particular dangers being laid open by the Lord Keeper.

An. 1627. 3 Car. I. Ruſhw. Coll. p. 480. C. The third Parliament of K. Charles I. 17 Martii.

Ib. p. 481. D.

Hereupon (after ſome time ſpent in debate of theſe things) *five Subſidies* were voted, and the *Petition of Right* aſſented to by his Majeſty. After which the Parliament was firſt prorogued from the 26th of *June* till the 20th of *October*. And then, by Proclamation, till the 20th of *January*. At which meeting the Clergy alſo gave the King as many Subſidies.

Ib. p. 531. B.

26 Junii 1628.

Ib. p. 644. B. Ib. D.

In the interim of which Prorogation, the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had formerly been the Darling of that Parliament, which made uſe of him to King *James* for breaking the match with *Spain*, being now grown odious, and in this Parliament repreſented to be the chief cauſe of all their Grievances; not only by reaſon of the loſſes at the Iſle of *Rhee*, but for many other reſpects, as in the Annals of that time may at large be ſeen; hoping as well to regain the honour he loſt in the laſt year's attempt in that Iſle, as a better opinion of the People; deſign'd another Expedition to *Rochel*. In order whereunto, being Commander of the Royal Fleet, ready to ſet ſail from *Portſmouth*, he was there deſperately murther'd by one *John Felton* (a diſcontented Officer of the laſt years Army) upon the 23d of *Auguſt*; who gave no other reaſon for that his barbarous and bloody Act, then *that the Duke had been declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth, in a Remonſtrance tendred*

Short View of the Life of K. Charles. p. 26.

Ruſhw. Coll. p. 647. C.

to

*to the King by the Houſe of Commons in the former Seſſion.* But I proceed, notwithſtanding this fair ſhew of an hopeful accordance; there were not a few turbulent-ſpirited men, both in the Parliament and elſewhere, who ſought all advantages for breaking thereof; divers Merchants refuſing to pay *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, in regard it had not been granted to the King by a ſpecial Act ſince the death of his Royal Father King *James*. Whereupon his Majeſty firſt ſent for thoſe Merchants to the Council-Table; and after, by a Speech to both Houſes, told them he expected they ſhould paſs the Bill for it. But inſtead of complying therein, the Commons publiſht a *Declaration* concerning *Religion*; alledging, that they muſt prefer it before all other buſineſs. Whereupon the King, whoſe urgent *Neceſſities*, for want of the Supply expected, preſſed hard upon them; iſſuing out a ſpecial Commiſſion *, for taking of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Againſt which the Commons not only proteſted, but ſome of their Members behaved themſelves therein ſo diſobediently and ſeditiouſly, to the contempt of his Regal authority; that fearing they ſhould be diſſolved before they had vented their own paſſions in that particular, they lockt the doors of the Houſe of Commons, kept the Key, and held the Speaker by ſtrong hand in his Chair, till they had thunder'd out their Anathema's; not only againſt ſuch as ſhould dare to levy it, but againſt thoſe who ſhould willingly pay it. The News whereof, being thereupon brought forthwith to the King, he did, upon the ſecond of *March*, by Proclamation diſſolve that Parliament: And about a week following coming to the Houſe, declared, that *he did not impute thoſe Diſaſters to the whole Houſe of Commons, knowing that there were amongſt them many religious, grave, and well-minded men: but that the ſincerer, and better part of the Houſe, were overborn by the practices and clamours of the other: who, careleſs of their duties, and taking advantage of the times, and his* Neceſſities, *did inforce him to break off that meeting. Which, had it been anſwer'd with like duty on their parts, as it was invited and begun with love on his, might have prov'd happy and glorious, both to himſelf and the whole Nation.* And farther added, that *he did thus declare the manifold cauſes he had*

Ib. p. 651. C.

Ib. p. 656. C.

An. 1628. * Febr.

Ib. p. 670. F.

Short view of the life of K. Charles p. 53.

The third Parliament of King Charles the firſt diſſolved. 2. Martii.

Ruſhw. Coll. p. 672. A.

*to*

*to diſſolve that Parliament; that all the world might ſee, how much they had forgotten their former engagements, at the entrance into the war, themſelves being the Perſwaders of it; promiſing to make him feared by his Enemies, and eſteemed by his Friends: and how they had turned the* Neceſſities *grown by that war, to enforce him to yield to conditions incompatible with Monarchy.*

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## CHAP. V.

THe ends in reducing his Majeſty to *Neceſſities*, being by thoſe means thus unhappily accompliſh'd, and the King thereby expoſed to ſome extraordinary ways of Supply (*viz. Loanes, Benevolences, Ship-money* &c.) their next work was to poſſeſs the people with an opinion, that theſe were but the beginnings of farther and greater oppreſſions; by which his purpoſe was; firſt by degrees to weaken them in their Eſtates; and then to bring upon them no leſs a vaſſalage, than that of the *French* Peſant. And, not only ſo, but to endanger their ſouls, by enthralling them to the Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*. To which purpoſe, under a ſeeming Devout and Holy pretence, to advance and promote the *Preaching of the Goſpel*, they got in a number of *Lecturers* into moſt of the Corporate Towns, and populous places of this Realm (according to the pattern * of *Geneva*) eſpecially into the City of *London*; whom they maintained by Voluntary contributions, to the end * they might be engaged to preach ſuch Doctrine, as ſhould (upon occaſion) prepare the People for any diſloyal attempt, and diſpoſe them to Rebellion when opportunity ſerved.

Planting Schiſmatical Lecturers.

* Hiſt. of the Presbyterians by Dr. Heylin. p. 11. & 12.

* Hiſt. of the life and death of Archbiſh. Laud. p. 9.

And for the better ſupport of theſe *Bouteſeus*, they purchaſed * in divers Impropriate Tithes; conſtituting Feoffees, ſome of the Clergy, ſome Lawyers, ſome Citizens (all of the *Puritan* Party) under colour of *redeeming the Lord's Portion out of Lay hands* (as the Phraſe then was.) By which ſubtile Practiſe, they gained many large ſums in order thereto, from ſundry well-meaning People; eſpecially ſuch as lay on their Death-beds; who being

Buying in impropriate Tythes for their ſupport.

* Ib. p. 211. 212.

being thus incited to this ſeeming glorious work, ſaw nothing at all of the main deſign, which was under-hand driven on by the Grand Contrivers. Beſides this, they likewiſe cunningly wrought, that ſuch as were of their Party, might by one means or other be made Heads of ſome Houſes in the Univerſities; as they did in *Emanuel Colledge*, and *Catherine Hall* in *Cambridge*; *New-Inne*, and *Magdalen Hall* in *Oxford*. And for an eſſay of thoſe whom under colour of Preaching the Goſpel, in ſundry parts of the Realm, they determin'd to make inſtrumental for carrying on the work, they ſet up a Morning-Lecture at St. *Antholines*-Church in *London*; where (as Probationers for that purpoſe) they firſt made tryal of their abilities; which place was the grand Nurſery, whence moſt of the Seditious Preachers were after ſent abroad throughout all *England*, to poyſon the People with their Antimonarchical Principles. Theſe being the men, who firſt began to infuſe into their Auditors a diſaffection to the *Church Diſcipline* eſtabliſh'd by Law, pretending it to favour of Popery: and after a breach made therein, then to cry out againſt miſcarriages in Government. So that having in a ſhort time wean'd the People from kneeling at Prayers, and bearing part in the publick Service of God by their mutual *Reſponſes*, as the *Liturgy* directs; they then cryed down thoſe reverend Set-forms of Devotion, which were enjoyned by the Law: and by degrees uſing them to long-winded *ex tempore* Prayers, of their own indigeſted compoſure (which they call'd Praying by the Spirit (at length inſinuated to them, that the *Liturgy* by Law eſtabliſh'd was no other than the Maſs tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and a thing utterly nauſeous to God Almighty: by which means multitudes deſerted the Publick Prayers of the Church in divers places, where the Incumbents continued regular, and forbore to come there, until the Pſalm preceding the Sermon began. So that in the end, the decent and pious Order, in ſerving God, according to the Laws, not only became by little and little wholly antiquated; but ſuch of the Clergy, as making any conſcience of their Subſcriptions, and Oaths of Canonical obedience, obſerved the Rule; were frequently ſcandaliz'd with Innovation in Religion, and inclination to Popery; few regarding any thing but the Sermons,

Ib. p. 311, 312. and thoſe tedious *ex tempore* Prayers of the Preacher in order thereto: placing all Religion in being preſent at thoſe wild and frothy Exerciſes, though they ſlept when they came there, or little regarded what was ſaid.

The abſurdity and ill effects of them. In which Prayers (if I may ſo call them) it was no wonder to hear them, cunningly to inſinuate that, which might put the people into a jealouſy of the King, and the inferior Magiſtrate; by praying againſt this or that miſcarriage; of which, by their ſubtile expreſſions they would have their auditory believe them to be guilty, in point of Government, or perſonal demeanour. Nor were thoſe their Sermons, for the moſt part, other than vain and frivolous declamations againſt Popery, wherewith they affrighted the more ignorant ſort of people; as if that were the only thing which would endanger their ſouls, enſlave their conſciences, and utterly ruine them in their temporal eſtates. By which ſleight, in drawing their thoughts from what was really the grand danger, they led them blindfold into thoſe miſts of error and ignorance, wherein they became afterwards miſerably ſhakled, and were made Slaves to thoſe Grand Contrivers; who, at length, by theſe devices, got the full power of the Sword into their hands; verifying therein that Prophetical expreſſion of the venerable and judicious *Hooker*, in that excellent Preface to his Books of Eccleſiaſtical Policy; *viz. after the Puritans have firſt reſolved, that attempts for Diſcipline are lawful; it will follow in the next place to be diſputed, what may be attempted againſt Superiors.*

In further order to which malevolent deſign for the utter extirpation of Monarchy, being not ignorant in what high eſteem the memory of the ſame Mr. *Hooker* was with all pious and learned men, for thoſe five Books of *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*, made public in his life time: and having heard that there were three more written by him upon the ſame ſubject; which under colour of a deſire to ſearch after his death, for ſome Writings in his Study, were by certain Clergy-men who ſtood diſaffected to the Diſcipline of the Church, unhappily lurch'd away: they did at length gain thoſe very Books into their hands; and not long after the beginning of this late unparallel'd Rebellion, for the better accompliſhing their long ſtudyed ends, moſt ſhamefully corrupted them in ſundry places, omitting

omitting divers paſſages which were unſutable to their purpoſes; and inſtead thereof inſerting what they thought might give countenance to their preſent evil practiſes: amongſt which was this, *in terminis*, that, *though the King were ſingulis major, yet he was univerſis minor*; and having ſo done, caus'd them to be publiſh'd in Print. By which fallacy, divers well meaning people were miſerably captivated and drawn to their Party. And, at length were not aſhamed, in that Treaty which they had with his Majeſty in the Iſle of *Wight*, to vouch the authority of this venerable man, in derogation of his Supremacy, and to place the Soveraign power in the People; that great Antimonarchiſt, *William* late Vicount *Say* and *Sele*, being the perſon who boldly urged it. Whereunto the good King anſwered; that *though thoſe three Books, were not allowed to be* Mr. Hookers; *yet he would admit them ſo to be, and conſent to what his Lordſhip endeavoured to prove out of them, in caſe he would aſſent to the judgment of* Mr. Hooker, *declared in the other five Books, which were unqueſtionably His.*

But as to theſe their indirect dealings, in thus corrupting the works of that excellent man; (whoſe memory for his profound learning, ſingular piety, and moſt exemplary life will be ever precious to ſucceeding ages) and his neceſſary vindication therein; I ſhall, for more full ſatisfaction to my Reader, refer him to that ſeaſonable Hiſtorical diſcourſe, lately compiled and publiſhed, with great judgment and integrity, by that much deſerving perſon Mr. *Iſaac Walton*, containing a perfect Narrative of the life and death of this right worthy perſon.

Of which I hold it neceſſary, that ſpecial notice ſhould be taken; by reaſon that ſince the happy Reſtauration of our preſent Soveraign K. *Charles* II. Dr. *Gawden*, then Biſhop of *Exeter*, upon the reprinting thoſe five genuine Books of Mr. *Hooker*, together with the other pretended three; taking upon him to write a Preface to the whole; and therein to give an account of Mr. *Hooker*'s life; hath not only, with great confidence, uſed divers Arguments to ſatisfie the world, that thoſe three Books were penn'd by Mr. *Hooker* (notwithſtanding thoſe poyſonous aſſertions againſt the Regal power, which are to be found therein) but

much misreported him, in the Narrative of his life; representing him to have been a single man, with many other gross mistakes; as whoso compares it with Mr. *Walton's* History of him, may easily see.

Moreover, well knowing, that the City of *London*, in respect of its Riches and Populousness, must be the principal stage for this Tragic-Action; there was no small care taken for fitting all places of Authority therein, especially the *Common-Council*, with such active men as might advance this blessed work. Wherein, having made a fair and successful progress; but discerning, that the Sword must at length be made use of; they then began to frequent the *Artillery-yard*, and to be diligent Practisers of military Discipline: in which they grew in a short time so great Proficients, that most of the cheif Officers in that School, were men of that stamp, and got into their hands the best and choicest Arms.

Their practising of military Discipline.

And, that they might make the more secure progress in this their long studyed design; they laid the Scene at first in *Scotland*, the Subjects of that Realm being most tainted with *Presbytery*: so that in case this their contrivance should speed there, they might the more boldly adventure upon the like here.

His Majesties Declaration printed at London, An. 1639. p. 6.

The first thing therefore, that was made use of, towards their Master-piece in *Scotland*, was an exception (or rather cavil) by divers eminent persons in that Kingdom, at his Majesties Revocation of such things, as had been passed away in prejudice of that Crown (especially by some of his Progenitors in their minorities) though not without example. This, being advised by those, that were then his Majesties Privy-Councellers and Officers of State in that Realm (whose late Actions have sufficiently manifested what effect they desired it should produce) did accordingly occasion much repining by divers principal persons, who thereupon infused into his Subjects a distaste of his Government. And, though the King was pleased to wave his interest therein; and to remit as well the Equity, as rigour of the Laws in that point, the Male-contents would not be satisfyed, but still endeavoured to work a disaffection in the people thereto.

Ib. p. 7.

Ib. p. 9.

And whereas his Majesty out of his pious care of the Clergy, who had been much oppress't by the Laity, that pay'd

pay'd Tythes, being pleaſed to grant out Commiſſions in their behalf; had ſo good iſſue therein, as that both Parties were abundantly ſatisfyed; the maintenance of the Clergy being thereby improv'd, and the Laity freed from a dangerous dependance upon Subjects: yet the Nobility and Lay-Patrons, fretting privately for being rob'd, as they conceiv'd, of the dependance of the Clergy and Laity, bent their envy againſt the Biſhops, under pretence that they were the principal cauſers thereof.

To quiet therefore theſe diſcontents, in the year 1633, his Majeſty made a progreſs into *Scotland*, and was there crowned (having not been perſonally there, till then, ſince the death of his Royal Father) at which time he alſo held a Parliament in that Realm; wherein great ſuggeſtions were made of fears, that dangerous Innovations in Religion would be attempted, as alſo inſtead of acceptance of an Act for Ratification of all other Acts, concerning the Religion profeſſed and eſtabliſhed, it was diſſented to by divers of the after-chiefeſt *Covenanters*. And, no ſooner was he returned back into *England*, but that infinite Libels were diſperſt abroad, to impoyſon the People with his Majeſties proceedings at that Parliament. Of which Libellers (amongſt others) the Lord *Balmerino* was found guilty by his Peers; and accordingly ſhould have receiv'd ſentence of death for it: nevertheleſs, through his Majeſties goodneſs, was not only pardoned, but enlarg'd, and afterwards became an eminent *Covenanter*. An. 1633.

Which Inſolency of the *Scots* did not a little animate and encourage the Puritan-faction here, who loudly declaimed againſt the *Diſcipline of the Church*, as it then by Law ſtood eſtabliſh'd: and to beget a greater contempt thereof in the generality of the people, repreſented it to be ſuperſtitious, and like to uſher in Popery: diſperſing many ſcandalous, ſeditious, and libellous Pamphlets to that purpoſe: infuſing likewiſe into them ſtrange apprehenſions, that their *Liberty* and *Property* were in no little danger: and the better to give colour to their pretended fears of theſe approaching Evils, they took ready hold of this following occaſion. An. 1634.

The Soveraignty of the Britiſh-Seas, by antient right juſtly appertaining to the Crown of *England*, having not only been invaded by the *Dutch*, but their bold uſupation

therein openly juſtifyed by certain public Writings; the King, with the advice of his Council-learned, did, about the ſame time, iſſue out certain Writs, directed as well to all the Inland Counties, as to the reſpective Port-Towns, according to the example of his Royal Progenitors, to ſet out a certain number of Ships, furniſh'd with Mariners, Amunition, Victual, and all other neceſſaries for defence of the Realm. By which means he did not only aſſert and recover that dominion on the Sea, which really belong'd to this Kingdom, but much improved Trade and Commerce, whereby the generality of his Subjects were not a little enrich'd.

The Inland parts charg'd with Ships for defence of the Realm.

But this juſt and rational practiſe, ſome of the malevolent Members of his former Parliaments, and others of that ſtamp, under pretence of ſtanding up for the *Rights and Properties of the Subjects*, did ſtubbornly oppoſe, though his Majeſty had the clear and unanimous opinion of all the grave and learned Judges of his Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, under their hands, to juſtify thoſe his Proceedings: Nevertheleſs, waving any arbitrary power, he freely gave leave, that the Caſe ſhould be ſolemnly debated in the Exchequer-Chamber. Which being publickly done after divers ſolid Arguments thereon; no leſs then ten of thoſe twelve Judges fully declared their opinion for the Legality thereof; Sr. *George Crook*, and Sr. *Richard Hulton* only diſſenting, though they had formerly ſubſcribed thereto.

This as to the *Civil Liberties*, and what (as hath been before obſerved) of the great noiſe made every where touching the fear of Popery, was it whereof not only the factious people here took great advantage, but thoſe of that leven in *Scotland*; who thereupon began to ſet on foot a contrivance, whereby they might have the colour of Religion * to help on their work. Whereunto the riſe they took, was a pretended apprehenſion, that the *Liturgy* ſent to them in *an.* 1637, was a meer Popiſh *Service-book*, and purpoſely deſign'd to introduce the Romiſh worſhip into both Kingdoms. From the ground of which ſeeming jealouſies, they fell foul upon the Biſhops; under colour, that they were the framers thereof, and the chief Inſtruments for obtruding it upon them.

A uſual mask for evil deſigns. Hiſt. of Arch-Biſhop Laud's life &c. p. 92. 93. Multitudo, ubi religione capta eſt, potius vatibus quam Ducibus ſuis paret. Curtius lib. 4.

An. 1637. The Service-book ſent into Scotland.

To

To clear them therefore of this moſt impious ſcandal, I ſhall here breifly repreſent to the world, what that ſo much defam'd *Liturgy* was, and on what occaſion it was ſent into that Realm.

King *James* after he came to enjoy the Crown of *England*, well obſerving the Decency and Uniformity of God's worſhip here, and the Deformity thereof in his own native Kingdom, where no ſet, or public form of Prayer was uſed, but oftimes ſeditious expreſſions, girding at Sovereignty and Authority, and ſtuft with falſe Reports; upon his Progreſs into *Scotland an.* 1616, an Aſſembly being then held at *Aberdene*, he propoſed to that Convention a public *Liturgy*, to be uſed in that Realm. Which pious motion, being then and there well approved of, a *Liturgy* was accordingly framed, and in all points properly fitted for that Kirk; and after his return into *England*, convey'd to him, where it was viewed by ſome of his *Scottiſh* Subjects: yet not ſent thither whilſt that King lived. King Charles his large Declaration. p. 16. Ib. p. 17.

Being thus compoſed, his Son and Succeſſor K. *Charles*, after a review thereof, finding it in ſubſtance, the ſame with the *Engliſh Liturgy*, which his Majeſty in point of prudence declin'd to recommend unto them, leſt they might cavil thereat, under colour, that it would be look'd upon as a badge of Dependency upon the Church of *England*, then ſent it to the Lords of the Privy-Council of that Realm, by their advice to be publicly read, without the leaſt ſuſpition of any diſlike thereof, in regard it did ſo little differ from the *Engliſh Liturgy*, wherewith his *Scottiſh* Subjects of all ſorts were well acquainted, by reaſon of their frequent reſort to his Majeſties own Chappel, and many other Churches in this Realm, where it was conſtantly uſed; as alſo in his Royal Chappel at *Haly-Rood-Houſe* (whereunto the Nobility, Biſhops, Judges, Gentry, and people of all degrees did uſually come), Cathedrals of *Scotland*, and Univerſity of St. *Andrews*: and not only ſo, but commended in the Sermons of ſome of their after principal Covenanters, eſpecially Mr. *Rollock*. Ib. p. 18. & 19. Ib. p. 19. Ib. p. 22.

But Rebellion being the cloſe and underhand deſign of theſe great Pretenders to Godlineſs; whereby, in caſe they did proſper, they might ſwallow up the Poſſeſſions of the

Crown and Church, with the Eſtates of all his Majeſties loyal Subjects; the contrivance was ſo laid, that the Common people ſhould be poſſeſs'd with an opinion, that the King having married a Popiſh Queen, did reſolve to introduce the Romiſh Religion firſt into *Scotland*, and afterwards into the reſt of his dominions; and to that end, firſt to ſettle this *Liturgy* there, it being privately whiſpered, that it was the very Maſs tranſlated into their Language. Which ſo far incenſed the vulgar; that upon the reading thereof, in the great Church at *Edenborough*, upon the 23*d* of *July* the ſame year (1637) they made ſuch a tumult, as that the Dean, who read it, and many other perſons of note, had much adoe to eſcape thence with their lives.

Ib. p. 23, 24, 25.
23 Julii. 1637.

Which uproar was ſo barbarous, that the day following, the Lords of the Council there, ſet forth a Proclamation * in diſlike thereof. And, the Magiſtrates of *Edenborough* (to make up the Pageant) ſent Letters into *England* to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, deſiring him to recommend to the King's Majeſty their zeal and forwardneſs, for ſetling the peaceable practiſe thereof. Neither would any man of note, then ſeem to own that Tumult; but attributed it to the Rogues and baſe multitude, except the zealous Kirkmen, who cryed it up in their Pulpits, and magnifyed them for the moſt heroical Sparks, that ever God inſpired, and raiſed up, in this laſt age of the world; and for their happy Mouths and Hands; which God was pleas'd to honour that day, with the beginning of their new *Bleſſed Reformation*, and occaſioning their *celeſtial Covenant* (as they call'd it) *that their memorial ſhould be eternal, and all ſucceeding generations ſhould call them bleſſed.*

Tumults at Edenborough, by reaſon of the Service-book.
* Ib. p. 26, & 27.
Ib. p. 31.

After this (about the end of Harveſt) began a tumultuous conflux of the Nobility, Gentry, Miniſters, and others at *Edenborough*, from all parts of the Kingdom: howbeit, as yet the principal perſons in authority there, ſeemed to ſtand right enough in their loyalty (ſo that his Majeſty the leſs feared the enſuing miſcheifs) the more to prevent any ſuſpition thereof, ſet forth three *Proclamations.*

17. Oct. 1637.

Firſt, *that nothing ſhould be treated of at the Council-Table there, about Church-buſineſs, till they ſaw the times and*

*meeting*

*meeting of his Majeſties Subjects more quiet and peaceable.* 1638.
The Second, *for removing the Seſſion* (or Term) *from* Edenborough *to* Lithgow, *for fear of preſent danger.* The third, *for burning a ſeditious Book, diſperſed in derogation of the Eccleſiaſtical Government in* England.

But theſe *Proclamations* were for little elſe then ſhew; lb. p. 35.
the Tumults increaſing; ſo that the next day, the Biſhop 18. Oct.
of Galoway, and the Lord chief Juſtice of that Kingdom, were aſſaulted by the multitude, and the Lords beſet in the Council-houſe; the people, in their clamorous noiſes, crying, *God defend all thoſe, who will defend God's cauſe;* lb. p. 37.
*and God confound the Service-book, and all the maintainers thereof.* And ſo great were their outrages, that they pull'd down the Lord Treaſurer; took his Hat, Cloak, and White-Staff from him; and ſet upon the Provoſt, as he was entring his own Houſe.

Theſe with the like were the beginnings to their intended glorious work of *Reformation* (as they call'd it) which they ſaid *God even to a miracle had ſo graciouſly proſpered in their Hands.* In which laſt Tumults none were more forward than two of thoſe, who were lately Bayliffs of Edenborough, and had ſubſcribed the before-mention'd Letters to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury.*

Subſequent to which Tumults, two Petitions were lb. p. 41.
preſented to the Lord Chancellour and Council againſt the Service-book: the firſt in the name of all the Men, Women, Children and Servants of Edenborough; the ſecond by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Miniſters and Burgeſſes: ſuggeſtions being made to the people of the King's inclination to Popery.

Of which ſtirs in Scotland, the King having adver- lb. p. 47.
tiſement, he ſent over the Earl of *Roxborough* (Lord Privy-Seal) into that Kingdom. Whereupon a *Proclamation* * was ſet forth there, by his Majeſties appoint- * 19. Febr. 1638.
ment, for diſperſing of the dangerous multitudes got together at Sterlyn. But againſt this *Proclamation* the Earl of *Hume*, and Lord *Lindſey*, with many others of all ranks, made a *Proteſtation*; which *Proteſtation* they publiſhed at Lithgow, and afterwards at Edenborough, forcing the Heraulds that proclaim'd the ſame, to ſtay and hear the *Proteſtation* againſt it.

1638. So that, 'tis obſervable, that the firſt Tumult was by the name of *Raſcals* and Scum of the people. The ſecond by the *beſt ſort of Citizens*: and the third by the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Magiſtrates*.

Ib. p. 40.

Tables of Advice erected. After which *Proteſtation*, they erected public Tables of Advice and Council, for ordering the affairs of that Kingdom, in contempt of his Majeſties authority; entring into a formal Combination, which they call'd *a Covenant* againſt all that ſhould oppoſe them. Which *Covenant*, Mr. *Andrew Cant*, in his Sermon at Glaſgow, told the people, he was ſent to them with, by a Commiſſion from Chriſt, to bid them Subſcribe; it being Chriſt's contract: and that he himſelf came, as a wooer to them, for the Bridegroom; and call'd upon them to come to be hand-faſted, by ſubſcribing that contract. Adding, that he would not depart the Town, till he got all the names of thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe that Contract, of whom he promiſed to complain to his Maſter.

The firſt Covenant by the Scots.

His Majeſties Declaration. Ib. p. 40. * Dated at Windſor 20 May 1638. The Marq. of Hamilton ſent into Scotland, to appeaſe the people there. The King therefore hearing of the increaſe of thoſe troubles, ſent over the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, with Commiſſion * for compoſure of them. Who, on the ſixth of *June* following arrived at Dalkeith; where the Lords of his Majeſties Council of that Kingdom, were then aſſembled for ſafety (as 'twas pretended) in regard of the combuſtions at Edenborough, which daily increaſed.

But the cheif of the *Covenanters* grew daily more violent in their courſes; increaſed the meetings of their Tables; ſubdivided them into ſeveral Committees; augmented their Proviſions of Armes; and infuſing fears and jealouſies into the people, by ſeditious Sermons; cauſed Edenborough-Caſtle to be girt with ſtrong Guards; hindred all perſons to go to the Marqueſs, to treat or ſpeak with him in the buſineſs for which he was ſent; giving out, that there was a *Plot* to blow them up with Gunpowder, if they ſhould go to Dalkeith; and received in two Ships-lading with Armes and Amunition at that time.

Ib. p. 85. 86. Whereupon, at the requeſt of the Citizens of Edenborough, the Marqueſs took his journey from Dalkeith to Haly-Rood-Houſe. But, before he got thither, the *Covenanters* meeting

meeting him on the way, with multitudes that made great Exclamations againſt Popery and Biſhops; required a *General Aſſembly* of the Church, and then a Parliament; juſtifying their *Covenant*, as being more available and uſefull to them (as they ſaid) than all the Laws and Acts of Parliament, which had been enacted in that Kingdom ſince the time of *Fergus*, the firſt King thereof. 1638.

The Peoples fury alſo growing more hot than ever, new Guards were clap'd upon the Caſtle of Edenborough; the Pulpits rung of Libellous Sermons and Prayers: yea ſo inſolent they were, that they ſent a Prohibition againſt reading the Engliſh-Service in the King's peculiar Chappel, where the Marqueſs (his Majeſties Commiſſioner) and the Council were to be. Ib. p. 88.

Which Tumults (as 'twas ſaid) occaſioning the Marqueſs to go back to Dalkeith; the *Covenanters* ſent Letters to every one of his Majeſties Council, requiring their Subſcription to the *Covenant*. And, underſtanding, that the Marqueſs did reſolve to publiſh a *Declaration* of his Majeſties forwardneſs, to maintain the Religion profeſſed in that Kingdom, and his averſneſs to Popery; diſſwaded him, as he tendred the King's honour, his own ſafety, and peace of the Publick from doing it.

But notwithſtanding theſe arguments, the Marqueſs did cauſe his Majeſties *Proclamation* to be publiſh'd by Heraulds, at the Market-Croſs in Edenborough; declaring his reſolution to maintain the true Proteſtant-Chriſtian-Religion. And for farther clearing of ſcruples, aſſured them; that he would neither then, nor thenceforth preſs the practiſe of the *Canons* and *Service-Book*, otherwiſe than in ſuch a fair and legal way, as ſhould ſatisfy his loving Subjects, that he neither intended Innovation in Religion, or Laws; warning all his good people to beware of diſobedience. Ib. p. 96. 28. Junii.

But all this no whit ſufficed them; for in open affront thereto, they cauſed multitudes of people to fill the ſtreets (eſpecially near the Croſs) in an hoſtile equipage; with Piſtols and Swords out of their Belts; giving out, that if this *Proclamation* were hearkned unto, it would bring undoubted ruine to their Religion, Laws, and Liberties: and upon a Scaffold (erected for that purpoſe) they mounted, with a Rebellious *Proteſtation*, in defence of

their *Covenant*, which they publiſhed openly: concluding, that if his Majeſty would not allow their proceedings, they themſelves would call a *General Aſſembly*; juſtifying all their doings to be moſt neceſſary, and an orderly means, agreeable to the Laws and practiſe of that Church and Kingdom.

Ib. p. 110. & 111. Whereupon the Marqueſs returning into **England**, to acquaint the King with what had paſſed; reſolving to be back again before the Fifth of *Auguſt* with new inſtructions; they in his abſence inform'd the People, that he was well ſatisfied with their *Covenant*. Againſt which calumny, upon his return, he publiſh'd a *Manifeſto* in Print. And having direction from his Majeſty to indict an *Aſſembly*; ſent to divers of the principal *Covenanters*, concerning ſome Propoſitions to be reſolv'd upon before the meeting thereof. But this Meſſage was receiv'd with ſo much choler and contempt; that they blazed it abroad for a propoſition, tending to the utter ruine of the Laws and Liberties of that Church and Kingdom.

Which much ſtartling the Marqueſs, he told them of his reſolution to go back into **England**, and that he could not concur with them: but that he had power to grant them a new *Aſſembly*; which he could not conceive to be free, if they ſhould bring in every man to have a voice, whom they had a mind to. And accordingly went again into **England**. Where having acquainted the King with what had hapned, he returned. Howbeit, before he came back, the *Covenanters* (contrary to promiſe) had elected Commiſſioners for the *Aſſembly*.

22 Sept. Upon which his Return, he delivered to his Majeſties Council at **Haly-Rood-Houſe**, Letters concerning the *Confeſſion of faith* of the date at **Edenborough** *Jan.* 28. 1580; and ſigned by King *James*. But the *Covenanters* hereupon gave out to the people, that the News brought by the Marqueſs, did tend to the utter ſubverſion of their *Religion* and *Liberties*: alſo that there was a new *Covenant* to be ſet on foot by the King, to deſtroy theirs; and that if now they reſiſted not, all was loſt that they had already done. Nevertheleſs the Marqueſs cauſed his Majeſties *Declaration* and *Confeſſion of Faith* (*ut ſupra*) to be publiſh'd at
Ib. p. 137. the Market-Croſs in **Edenborough**: and at the ſame time,

not

not only a *Proclamation* for indicting a *General Aſſembly* at Glaſgow the one and twentieth of *November* enſuing; Ib. p. 147. but an Act of the Lords of the Council, requiring all his Majeſties Subjects, to ſubſcribe the ſaid *Confeſſion of Faith*, and Band annexed. Which *Declaration* contain'd a grant for redreſs of all the particular Grievances, deſired in their *Supplications*, *Remonſtrances*, *Proteſtations*, *Declarations* &c. and beſides all this, their own *Confeſſion of Faith* (the ground, as they pretended of their *Covenant*) renewed and eſtabliſhed.

But the principal *Covenanters* having poſſeſs'd the People with a prejudicate opinion of this gratious *Declaration* (before they heard it) as deſtructive to the *Laws* and *Liberties* of that Church and Kingdom; erected a large Scaffold near the Croſs, where the ſame was to be publiſhed; at which divers Earls, Lords, Gentlemen, and others, with their Swords in their Hands, and Hats on their Heads, ſtood jeering and laughing, during the time of the ſame *Declaration*: and it being ended, with Inſolent and Rebellious behaviour, aſſiſted one *Archibald Johnſton*, in the publiſhing a moſt wicked and treaſonable *Proteſtation*; wherein they invoked God's holy name, as a witneſs to many notorious falſhoods; attributing Infallibility to their Rebellious *Covenant*: affirming, that *it was approved from Heaven with rare and undeniable inſtances.* And the next Sunday after, all the Pulpits rang with bitter invectives and Declamations againſt his Majeſties *Declaration*; branding it with the depth and policy of Satan. Ib. p. 156.

Nevertheleſs, this *Declaration* and *Confeſſion of Faith*, ſo ſent by his Majeſty was very well received in all places, except ſuch whereunto the *Covenanters* from their Tables had prepared their Emiſſaries to diſſwade the acknowledgment of it; witneſs the Letter ſent to the Marqueſs, dated 24 *Sept.* from the Provoſt, Bayliffs, and Council of Glaſgow, 24 Sept. and the Miniſters there. And the *Aſſembly* at Glaſgow being thus indicted, they cunningly contrived, that the Commiſſioners, ſhould be elected of the moſt rigid and fanatic ſpirits that were; the Principal *Covenanters* perſwading the People, that the King intended no performance of what he promiſed in his laſt *Proclamation*; no not the *Aſſembly* it ſelf; but to gain time until he were ready for Ib. p. 188, & 189. Ib. p. 195.

1638. their ruine: ſending likewiſe for all their party, to flock
* 13. Oct. to * Edenborough, as if then there had been greater danger
Ib. p. 197. than ever; increaſing alſo their Guards about the Caſtle; their Preachers publiſhing in the Pulpits; that *whoſoever ſubſcribed his Majeſties Confeſſion and Covenant, were perjur'd Villains.*

Ib. p. 208. Moreover they cauſed a moſt falſe, odious, and ſcandalous Libel, to be drawn up againſt the Archbiſhops and
Ib. p. 210. Biſhops; and exhibiting it to the Presbytery of Edenborough, procured it to be publicly read in the Pulpits. Whereupon the Archbiſhops and Biſhops were cited by the Presbytery of Edenborough, to appear before the General
Ib. p. 226. Aſſembly, to be holden at Glaſgow 21 *Nov.* following. And the more to infatuate the giddy-headed multitude, they ſet up ſuch another Impoſtor, as the *Holy Maid* * *of*
An. 1534. 25. H. 8. Holinſh. p. 936. 937. *Kent* in King *Henry* the Eighth's time was, *viz.* one *Michelſon's* daughter, ſaid to have been long diſtracted by Fits, and then pretended to be inſpired with *Divination*; who was cryed up for raving againſt the Biſhops, in her mad Fits; *Rollock* (one of their fierceſt Presbyters) giving out, that *God ſpake through her*; her expreſſions be-
Ib. p. 228. ing, that *it was revealed unto her from God, that their* Covenant *was approved from Heaven.*

Ib. p. 229. & 230. And ſoon after this, they indicted an *Aſſembly*, by their own authority upon the one and twentieth of *November* following. But upon knowledg that the Lord Marqueſs (his Majeſties Commiſſioner) was reſolv'd to hold the *Aſſembly* at the time and place appointed by the King's *Proclamation*, they altered their purpoſe, and ſent out Papers for a General meeting at Edenborough upon the twelfth of *November*; and to ſtay there, till they were to go to Glaſgow on Saturday the ſeventeenth of that month.

Which meeting (according to the King's *Proclamation*) being very great; after his Majeſties Commiſſion read, the Marqueſs exhorted them to a peaceable and moderate carriage; giving ſome touch of the diſorders that had paſſed. Whereunto anſwer being made by a Nobleman (a Lay Elder) that *they had given his Grace ſatisfaction for all their proceedings*, they went on to the choice of a Moderator, without the approbation and conſent of his Majeſties Commiſſioner; appointing for that purpoſe Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* (the moſt rigid *Covenanter*) A-

againſt

gainſt whom, when the Marqueſs proteſted, ſuch was their heady and exorbitant carriage; that, by the hands of Doctor *Hamilton*, they preſented to the Marqueſs a a *Declinator* and *Proteſtation* againſt his proceedings, in the name of the Biſhops. Nay ſo formidable they ſoon after grew, as that the Univerſity of Aberdene, having been threatned with the loſs of their lives, for writing againſt the *Covenant*, durſt not ſend any of their Profeſſors to that *Aſſembly*. And on the eight and twentieth of *October* a calumnious Libel againſt the Biſhops was read in all the Churches of Edenborough; one *Gibſon* (in the Aſſembly) thundring out a verbal Proteſtation; that *they would purſue their Libel againſt the Biſhops, ſo long as they had lives and fortunes.* 1638. Ib. p. 224. 28. Oct. Ib. p. 248.

Which *Aſſembly* was form'd of Miniſters (Commiſſioners to it) choſen by Lay Elders, the Lay Elders themſelves being likewiſe preſent in it; a courſe ſo much diſtaſted by ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, that they thereupon made Proteſtations againſt their proceedings; divers of which were read at the inſtance of his Majeſties Commiſſioner: but the Lord *Lowdon* hindred the reading of that from Glaſgow. And, as their *Elections* were wholy undue, ſo were their *Actions* in the *Aſſembly*; all being carried by faction, and clancular contrivances, as appeared by their own Private Papers of Inſtructions (ſome whereof were diſcovered by the Marqueſs) neither was any freedom of debate therein, but what tended to the advancement of their evil deſigns. Ib. p. 264. Ib. p. 281, 282, 283.

The Marqueſs therefore ſhewing a diſlike to thoſe their ſiniſter dealings, departed from the Aſſembly at Glaſgow. Whereupon the *Covenanters* proteſted againſt all that he had ſaid and done there, as his Majeſties Commiſſioner. And at the ſame inſtant the Lord *Areskyn*, and three other mean perſons, came and beg'd to be admitted into their bleſſed *Covenant*. Which offer (though of purpoſe contrived) was made ſo good uſe of by the Moderator, that he deſired it might be admired as God's approbation and Sealing of their proceedings. And it being put to the queſtion whether they ſhould adhere to their *Proteſtation*, and continue the *Aſſembly*, notwithſtanding the King's Commiſſioners departure, it was voted (by moſt) affirmatively. Secondly, whether the Aſſembly, Ib. p. 287. 27 Nov.

1638. Aſſembly, though diſſolv'd by his Majeſties Commiſſioner, was competent judge againſt the Biſhops, and whether they would go on in their Tryal; it paſſed alſo affirmatively, *nemine contradicente*.

Ib. p. 290. 29. Nov. The Aſſembly at Glaſgow diſſolved.

And now, no ſooner was the Marqueſs thus departed, having cauſed his Majeſties *Proclamation* to be publiſh'd by Heraulds, at the Market-Croſs in Glaſgow, for diſſolving the *Aſſembly*; but that Mr. *Archibald Johnſton* (the then Clerk to the Aſſembly) made a ſcandalous *Proteſtation* againſt it. After which all things were tranſacted by ſome few pack'd Committees of the moſt fierce *Covenanters*, which ſate till the thirtieth of *December* following. Which Committees, amongſt other of their Acts declared ſix general *Aſſemblies* to be Null and void, whereof two were then in force by ſeveral Acts of Parliament; and divers Acts of the other four, confirm'd by Parliament. They condemned likewiſe, all the *Arminian Tenets* (as they call'd them) without defining what thoſe *Tenets* were. They alſo deprived all the *Arch-Biſhops* and *Biſhops* of that Realm; excommunicating many of them, without examining any one witneſs to prove, no nor offering to produce any to teſtify ought againſt them. And next declared *Epiſcopal Government* to be inconſiſtent with the Laws of that Church and Kingdom; aboliſhing it for ever, though it then ſtood confirm'd by many Acts both of Parliament and Aſſemblies. They alſo depriv'd divers Miniſters for *Arminianiſme*, without ever queſtioning them for what Tenets or opinions they held.

Ib. p. 294.

Ib. p. 317.

Epiſcopal Government aboliſh'd in Scotland.

Ib. p. 319.

Moreover, towards the end of their *Aſſembly*, they divided themſelves into ſeveral Committees; which, after their riſing, ſhould ſee all their Acts put in execution. And, at the concluſion of all, the *Moderator* gave God thanks for their good ſucceſs, congratulating the Nobility for their great pains; giving thanks alſo to the Earl of *Argyle* for his Preſence and Council. Which Earl, in a long Speech, then excuſed his late declaring himſelf; yet proteſting, that he was always ſet that way, though he delay'd to profeſs it, ſo long as he found his cloſe carriage might advantage their Cauſe, but now he muſt openly adjoyn himſelf to their Society, or prove a *Knave*, as he ſaid.

Hereupon

Hereupon the Marqueſs (his Majeſties Commiſſioner) reſolving to ask the King's leave to return for **England**, came firſt to **Edenborough**, where he found ſtrong Guards put upon the Caſtle, and the people much abuſed by falſe Reports; *viz.* that his Majeſty had made good nothing at all, which was contained in his *Declaration* at **Edenborough** upon the two and twentieth of *September* laſt; whereupon he cauſed a Proclamation * to be publiſhed in his Majeſties name, at the Market-croſs there, containing the ſum of his whole proceedings at **Glaſgow**. Which being encountered with a bluſtering and undutiful *Proteſtation*, in the name of the general Aſſembly of the Kirk of **Scotland**, and publiſhed at the ſame time and place, he return'd into **England**. 1638. lb. p. 366. * 18 Dec. lb. p. 375.

Then the Faction proceeded to levy Soldiers, impoſe Taxes; and requiring obedience to their Acts, menac'd the Refuſers; raiſed divers Fortifications in that Kingdom; block'd up his Majeſties Caſtles and Forts; and took the Caſtle of **Edenborough**; procuring their Preachers ſeditiouſly to teach the People, that there was a Neceſſity of bearing Arms againſt his Majeſty under pain of Perjury and Damnation; and cauſed ſuch an infamous Ballad to be ſung up and down againſt the Biſhops; as that, in hatred of them, the people called a Dog with black and white ſpots, a Biſhop as he went in the Streets. lb. p. 402.

Moreover they procured divers Libels to be ſcattered in **England**, for juſtification of their rebellious courſes, and defamation of Eccleſiaſtical Government; inciting his Majeſties Subjects in this Realm, to attemt the like Rebellion here: refuſing to admit ſuch to the Communion, who had not ſubſcribed their *Covenant*; and preaching that the Non-ſubſcribers were Atheiſts. Nay one of them, in his Sermon exhorted the people never to give over, till they had the King in their power, and then he ſhould ſee what good Subjects they were. Others preach'd, that the *Service-Book* was fram'd at **Rome**. Theſe and many other groundleſs ſcandals and falſhoods, to amuſe the People, they publiſhed in their Pulpits (which they call'd the *Chairs of truth.*) And to haſten on the Peoples Inſurrection, endeavoured to perſwade them, that his Majeſty intended an Invaſion of that Kingdom, and to make it a Province; as alſo to deſpoil them of their lb. p. 404

1639. Laws and Liberties, and to give them new Laws, as if they were a conquer'd Nation. And having thus prepared the People and fitted themſelves with all Proviſions for war, they put themſelves in Armes, and march'd to the Frontiers of **England**, pretending they came as Petitioners.

The Scots put themſelves in Arms.

The King therefore diſcerning the danger, raiſed a gallant Army, whereof he made *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel* his General; and on the ſeven and twentieth of *March* ſet forwards toward **Scotland**; having with him the flower of his Engliſh-Nobility and Gentry, whoſe cheerfulneſs then to ſerve him was very great. Yet was the Earl of *Eſſex* at that time his Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horſe (ſo much was his Majeſty then miſtaken in their affections to him, who did afterwards ſufficiently diſcover themſelves). And advancing with his Army,* encamp'd four miles Weſt from **Barwick**.

The King raiſed an Army, whereof he made the Earl of Arundel General. 27 Martii. 1639.

* 28 Maii, at the Birks.

What correſpondence was then held, betwixt the *Scots*, and divers of the great ones, then in his Majeſties Camp (conſidering alſo who were of his Bed-chamber) may eaſily be gueſt by the conſequences. Certain it is, that divers of them grew cool in the buſineſs: ſo that, after the *Scots* had, by a formal Petition expreſſed; *that they falling down at his Majeſties feet, did moſt humbly ſupplicate him, to appoint ſome of the Kingdom of* **England**, *to hear by ſome of them, their humble deſires:* his Majeſty aſſented thereunto; and after ſeveral meetings thereupon, and their demands preſented in writing, profeſſed; *that it was their greif that his Majeſty had been provoked to wrath againſt them, his moſt humble and loving Subjects: and that it ſhould be their delight, upon his gracious aſſurance of the preſervation of their* **Religion** *and* **Laws**, *to give example to all others, of all civil and temporal obedience, which could be required of loyal Subjects.*

The King's Declaration, ſince the Pacification in the Camp near Barwick. p. 3. & 4.

To which his Majeſty anſwered, that if their deſires were only the enjoying of their *Religion* and *Liberties*, according to the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Laws of his Kingdom of **Scotland**; he did not only agree to the ſame, but ſhould always protect them to the utmoſt of his power; they yielding him in the mean time, ſuch civil and temporal obedience, as could be juſtly required of loyal Subjects.

Upon

1639.

Upon this Petition therefore, Articles of *Pacification* were concluded * on at Barwick; whereby his Majeſty was contented not only to confirm whatſoever his Commiſſioner had promiſed in his name; but that all Eccleſiaſtical matters, ſhould be determined by the *Aſſemblies* of the Kirk. Likewiſe matters Civil by the Parliament, and other inferior Judicatories eſtabliſh'd by Law.

Ib. p. 17.
* 17 Junii. Articles of Pacification with the Scots.

Moreover, that for ſetling the diſtractions of that Kingdom, he was willing to grant a free general *Aſſembly*, to be kept at Edenborough the ſixth of *Auguſt* enſuing; and after that a Parliament the twentieth of *Auguſt*; for ratifying what ſhould be concluded in the Aſſembly; being graciouſly pleaſed to declare, that *upon disbanding of their Forces, diſſolving all their pretended Tables; reſtoring his Forts, Caſtles, and Amunition* &c. *To his good Subjects their Liberties, Lands, Goods* &c. *detained ſince the late pretended general Aſſembly; he would recall his Fleet; retire his Land-forces; and make reſtitution to them of their Ships, and Goods arreſted* &c.

Which Agreement was entertained by them, with ſo much outward acceptance; that by the Subſcriptions of the chiefeſt of them, it was promiſed, *they would ever, in all things carry themſelves like humble, loyal, and obedient Subjects.* But, inſtead of performance on their parts, at the very publiſhing * the Articles in their Camp, a *Proteſtation* was made, diſhonourable to his Majeſties Government, to the further encouraging of the People in their diſobedient and mutinous ways. And at the ſame time, they delivered into the hands of ſome of the Engliſh Nobility, and ſpread among others, a ſcandalous Paper, intituled, *Some conditions of his Majeſties Treaty with his Subjects of* Scotland; wherein were contained ſuch untruths and ſeditious poſitions, and ſo contrary to what was concluded in the Articles of Pacification; that, howſoever they pretended a deſire of peace, yet they intended nothing leſs; and inſtead of disbanding their Forces within forty eight hours, after publication of thoſe Articles; they kept great parts of them together, and held in pay almoſt all their Officers; continuing their unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great vexation and trouble of all ſuch his Majeſties good Subjects, as did not adhere to their rebellious *Covenant*, and Act of the pretended

* 20 Junii.

1639. *Aſſembly* at Glaſgow; keeping up all their Fortifications. Yea ſuch was the fury of the People (animated by that *Proteſtation*, with divers ſcandalous Papers, and ſeditious Sermons) that they deterred his Majeſties good Subjects, from going to their dwellings; threatning them with loſs of their lives, if they repaired to their own Houſes; labouring alſo to pervert them in the choice of the Commiſſioners for the general *Aſſembly* appointed; by anticipating their voices, in making them ſwear to, and ſubſcribe the approbation of the ſame *Aſſembly* at Glaſgow, and Acts thereof; deterring others from repairing thereto. So that, by theſe new diſorders, the peace and quiet of his Subjects, was greatly diſturbed (great Inſolencies being offer'd to the Earl of *Kinnoul*, his Majeſties high Treaſurer; as alſo to Sir *James Hamilton* Juſtice-general, and other his Majeſties Councellors and good Subjects) ſo that the King forbore to come to Edenborough; ſuch of his Loyal Subjects as attended his Perſon, and adhered to him, being branded by them with the vile aſperſion of *Traitors to God and their Country*, and threatned to be proceeded againſt with cenſures accordingly. And laſtly, ſhaking off all reſpect due to ſacred Majeſty, proteſted, that *all members of the Colleges of Juſtice and Leiges, were not to attend the Seſſion; and that all Acts, Decrees, and Sentences therein paſt againſt any of them, ſhould be null, void and ineffectual*; contrary to the King's expreſs Warrant for the down-ſitting thereof, and the heavy damage of his good Subjects, who were thereby fruſtrated of Juſtice.

Ib. p. 17.

Ib. p. 19.

Ib. p. 20. And having laid theſe inſolent and ſeditious foundations for a Parliament, it could not be expected, but that the ſtructure muſt be full of confuſion (as indeed it proved) their Actions, and demands favouring of nothing but undutifulneſs and diſloyalty: for they ſtuck not to deny to his Majeſty the moſt eſſential, and inherent Prerogatives of his Crown; ſtriving by all means to change and alter the conſtitutions of the Parliament, and frame of Government. Likewiſe to reſtrain his power in point of coinage, cuſtody of Caſtles, grants of Honour, and Commiſſions-Juſticiary, or Lieutenancy.

* 2 Julii. And his Majeſty by his Commiſſion, * having allow'd them

1639.

them the liberty of convening and meeting, until a certain day, for diſtributing of their pretended charges, amongſt ſuch as ſhould willingly condeſcend thereunto; they did not only, without Warrant, continue their Conventicles and Tables, ſince that Commiſſion expired,* contrary to the poſitive Laws of that Kingdom, the Act of Pacification, and their own acknowledgment in petitioning for the aforeſaid Commiſſion; but urged, that *all thoſe his good Subjects, who adhered to him in defence of his Royal authority, againſt their rebellious commotions, ſhould be made equal* (if not more liable) *to the defraying of their pretended charges.* Which might imply his Majeſties countenance and juſtification of all their Rebellions and Treaſons.

* 20 Julii.

Ib. p. 30.

The King therefore diſcerning their perſiſtance in ſuch unſufferable demands, return'd to **England**, ſignifying to the Earl of *Traquier* (his Commiſſioner) that *it did evidently appear unto him, that their aim was not now for Religion, as they always pretended, but rather the alteration of the Government of that Kingdom, and withall the total overthrow of Royal authority*: commanding his ſaid Commiſſioner to prorogate the Parliament, till the ſecond of *June*, next following.

Auguſt.

Novemb.

Notwithſtanding which Prorogation, they continued their ſitting at **Edenborough**; and ſent their Deputies * over into this Kingdom, to make *Remonſtrance* of their doings, (without knowledg of his Commiſſioner.) Whereupon his Majeſties Commiſſioner came over, and acquainting him with thoſe Inſolencies; alſo by his command, relating * them at his Council-board; the King there propoſed to the conſideration of the Lords then preſent; *whether it were not more fit to reduce them to their duty by force, than give way to their demands, ſo much prejudicial to his Honour and ſafety.* Which being unanimouſly voted in the affirmative, his Majeſty reſolved to call a Parliament ſoon after.

* Earl of Dumfermelyn. Lord Lowdon.

* 5 Dec.

Ib. p. 41.

In which Interim the *Scots* loſt no time, but making fair pretences by their *Remonſtrance*, proteſted againſt this Act of *Prorogation*; and declared, *that the ſame was contrary to the Conſtitutions and practiſe of all precedent Parliaments; contrary to the liberties of that Kingdom, and repugnant to the Articles of the late Pacification; and that*

18. Dec.

*it*

1639. *it was ineffectual and of no force to hinder their proceedings; profeſſing, that it was never their intention to deny his Majeſty any part of that civil and temporal obedience, which is due to all Kings from their Subjects, and from them to their dread Soveraign, after a more ſpecial manner; but meerly to preſerve their Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom: and that whatſoever courſe they ſhould take, it ſhould be no imputation to them, being conſtrain'd thereto, for beſt ſecuring that Kirk and Kingdom from the Extremity of confuſion and miſery: taking God and man to witneſs, that they would be free of all outrages, and Inſolencies that ſhould be committed in the mean time.*

Scots raiſe more forces. And then they began again to levy and raiſe Forces in ſeveral parts of the Realm in great numbers; excerciſed, train'd, and aſſign'd them a Rendezvouz; as alſo a day to be in readineſs to march; making Proviſions of Artillery, Amunition, and Armes in great quantities, from forreign parts; laying Taxes and Impoſitions of ten marks in every hundred, upon all the Subjects of that Kingdom, according to their ſeveral Revenues, for ſupport of their Rebellion; exacting the ſame with the greateſt rigour that could be imagined; ſpreading ſundry Papers and Pamphlets ſcandalous to the King's proceedings; block'd up the Caſtle of Edenborough, and fortified divers places; impriſoned the Earl of *Southeske* (one of his Majeſties Privy-Council there) and ſundry others of quality, for not adhering to them in their Rebellious courſes: endeavouring to ſettle Intelligencers in parts beyond-Sea; and practiſing to let in forreign power; inclining rather to proſtitute themſelves to a forreign Government, and different in Religion, than yield obedience and conformity to his Majeſty their natural Soveraign; as appears by their Addreſſes, and Letter to the *French* King.

Jan. 1639. Act. 34.

Ib. p. 57.

By what hath been ſaid, it appearing, that the firſt glimpſe of this grand and deſtructive Rebellion ſhew'd it ſelf at Edenborough upon the three and twentieth of *July, an.* 1637; the ſcum of the people then taking fire at the reading of that *Service-book*, which was ſent over by his late Majeſty (of bleſſed memory) as a proper Liturgy for the Church of Scotland, and moſt nearly ſuting with this of England. Foraſmuch, therefore, as from

from thoſe Sparks the enſuing flames aroſe; which from and after that time continued burning, for the ſpace of many years, until they had overſpread, and much waſted the cheif parts of this great Iſle: to make the Biſhops of both Kingdoms odious, there are not a few, who either out of malice to their ſacred function, or ignorance as to matter of fact, have imputed the original of all this miſcheif unto them, as the firſt Authors or procurers of that Book, which they would have believed to be the firſt riſe thereof. 1639.

To the end therefore, that thoſe reverend perſons (ſoon after ruin'd, and ſince dead) may be fully vindicated from being primarily inſtrumental therein (though had they ſo been, no perſon of upright judgment could juſtly have blamed them from endeavouring an uniformity in the ſervice of God in both Kingdoms.) I ſhall deſire my Reader to caſt his eye upon that faithful *Narrative*, ★ written by the command of our late Soveraign King *Charles* the firſt (and corrected throughout with his own hand, as many yet living can teſtify;) whereby he will clearly diſcern; that *the then Lords of the Privy-Council of* Scotland, were the men, who adviſed the King to commend a *Service-Book*, to be received and uſed in all the Churches of that Realm, of which there was no little want, every man being left to his own giddy fancy.

The King's Declaration printed at Lond. 1639.

Now, whether this advice of thoſe Lords was not with purpoſe to trepan his Majeſty to do that; which (as they reſolv'd to order the buſineſs) ſhould occaſion a tumultuous Inſurrection by the rabble, whence their grand Deſign of raiſing a general flame of war might enſue, let the Reader judge, when he looks back upon their diſcontents upon his Majeſties Revocation of ſuch things as had been paſſed away, in prejudice of that Crown, eſpecially by ſome of his Progenitors in their minorities (though not without advice of thoſe who were then his Privy-Councellors in that Realm) as hath been already obſerved. And withall conſider what combinations were driven on divers years before, betwixt the moſt conſiderable perſons of the Puritan-party in England, and the Grand-Contrivers there; Mr. *Knightley's* houſe in *Northampton-ſhire*, being the chief place, where that

Ib. p. 8.

1639. that reſtleſs faction had their frequent meetings: "whence "* a Gentleman * of quality was ſent into Scotland (af- "terwards a great Parliament-man here:) who reſiding "there for ſome time before the troubles broke out, "repreſented to thoſe which had the chief Intereſt there, "that the buſineſs of the Ship-money and Habeas Corpus, "with divers other things, whereof there was much "noiſe made afterwards, had ſo irritated the greateſt part "of the Engliſh Nation; that if they made ſure work "at home, they needed not to fear any thing from *Eng-* "*land.*

* Sir Henry Vane junior.
* Preface to the Memoires of the lives of of James and William D. of Hamilton. Impr. Lond. 1677.

Moreover how earneſtly and eagerly, after that Tumult at Edenborough was ſo raiſed, all ſorts of people took advantage thereof; the Kirkmen laying about them in their Pulpits, ſo that the Citizens, Gentry and Nobles ſpeedily put themſelves in Armes; entring into a rebellious Confederacy, called *the Covenant.* And laſtly, that when his Majeſty moſt gratiouſly offered to recall the *Service-Book* (which was the great buſineſs at which they ſeem'd to take offence) they were no whit lenified. It will be viſible enough to any perſon of judgment, who doth not wilfully ſhut his Eyes, that the hatching of this Rebellion, was of a much elder date than that *Service-Book.*

But I now return to England.

## CHAP. VI.

HIs Majeſty thus ſeeing his danger from Scotland; and hoping of help from his Engliſh Subjects, reſolv'd of calling a Parliament here. But, no ſooner were Writs out for that purpoſe, than that the Schiſmatical Party uſed all poſſible endeavour to ſtrengthen their ſide, by chooſing of their own faction, for Knights and Burgeſſes. And to accompliſh the ſame, ſpared for no pains in packing of Voices, and making

making parties (wherein their Seditious Pulpit-men beſtir'd themſelves to purpoſe:) ſuch being then their fury, that thoſe meetings for Elections appeared more like riotous tumults, than orderly conventions: nevertheleſs, the Nation was not then ſo generally tainted, but that many good men were choſen. 1640.

Which Parliament began at **Weſtminſter** upon the thirteenth day of *April*; wherein his Majeſty declared to both Houſes the indignities receiv'd from his *Scotiſh* Subjects; and to ſuppreſs their Rebellion, propoſed a Supply of twelve Subſidies; in lieu whereof he was content to forbear *Ship-money*, than which nothing ſeem'd ſo grievous. An. 1640. 13 Apr. The Short Parliament call'd.

Had not that Parliament been broke by the ſubtile artifices of the Grand-Contrivers in the immediate Rebellion; no doubt but all thoſe miſeries, which were thereby ſoon after brought upon this Realm, might have been eaſily prevented: and that the breach thereof was wrought by them, is plain enough. For Sir *Henry Vane Senior*, a member of the Houſe of Commons at that time (and one of his Majeſties principal Secretaries of State) having by the King's appointment, moved for a Supply of twelve Subſidies; yet with power to ſtoop to eight: when he ſaw an inclination in the Houſe tending thereto (firſt by a Propoſal of four, then five, nay ſix were mention'd, and the motion not diſlik'd) told them peremptorily; that *it was in vain for them to think of leſs than twelve, in regard he knew, under that number would not be accepted.*

And, having by that ſiniſter dealing kept ſuch diſtance betwixt his Majeſty and his good Subjects, was by ſome other of the faction ſo ſeconded, with a hideous repreſentation of their Grievances, together with dangerous Innovations in Religion, and fears of introducing Superſtition; beſides certain motions as did (not without cauſe) put ſtrange apprehenſions in the Queen of peril to her perſon (or at leaſt ſome others very near unto her) that his Majeſty was conſtrain'd to diſſolve that Parliament. And taking conſideration of the *Scots* rebellious Inſolencies, which every day increaſed, propoſed the buſineſs of money to his Privy-Council, who contributed a conſiderable ſum to his aid; his domeſtic-Servants and Of- The Short Parliament diſſolved. 5 Maii.

1640. ficers making good addition thereto. The Earl of *Strafford* Lord Lieutenant of **Ireland**, ſpeedily haſting into that Kingdom; where he call'd a Parliament, raiſed an Army of eight thouſand men, with money to maintain them, and within the ſpace of ſix weeks return'd into **England**.

That the meeting of theſe Members of Parliament from all parts of the Realm (being many of them men of turbulent Spirits, and principles totally Antimonarchical) gave opportunity for thoſe contrivances which afterwards were put in Action, there is nothing more ſure. For in the firſt place, they took care to infuſe *Fears* and *Jealouſies* into the people every where, that the Government was then deſign'd to be *Arbitrary*, and Popery like to be introduced: to promote which Scandals many ſeditious Preachers took no ſmall pains in their Pulpits; eſpecially in and about **London**. Whereupon ſeveral tumultuous meetings were made in divers parts of the Suburbs; and a Paper ſet up in the night, at the old Exchange, animating the Apprentices to ſack **Lambeth** *Houſe*. Which took ſuch effect, that two nights following, it was beſet * with above five hundred of the raſcal multitude, and an attemt made thereon, though without ſucceſs; ſome of them being taken and impriſoned in **Southwark**.

9 Maii.

* 11 Maii.

But here they reſted not; for within a few nights after, they broke open the *White-Lion*, and *King's-bench* Priſons, and let out their fellows.

11 Julii. Ad. 38. The *Scots* alſo, having made ſuch preparations for a ſecond Rebellion, continued likewiſe their Parliament, according to the *Fundamental Laws* (as their phraſe was) having enacted a Band, to be ſubſcribed by all men before the firſt of *September*, to maintain it to be a free and lawful Parliament: whereupon they form'd another Army: and knowing certainly what ſtore of well-wiſhers they had in this Kingdom: as alſo how eaſy the work was like to be made, through the ſubtile contrivances of the factious party here, from whom they were ſufficiently inſtructed and animated by private Invitations and large promiſes; invaded this Realm, paſſing * the **Twede** at **Barwick**.

* 17. Aug. The firſt Invaſion of the Scots.

But the King being ſlow to believe what they deſigned, was

was not ſo forward as to encounter them upon the Borders; his Army (which he rais'd that Summer) lying, at that time about New-Caſtle, of which the Earl of Northumberland was made General; who (alledging himſelf to be then ill in health) ſtaid in London. His Majeſty therefore having certain advertiſement, that the *Scots* were ready to enter Northumberland, intended to have made the Earl of *Strafford* General; who declin'd it, out of an honoured reſpect to the Earl of Northumberland: but, being much preſſed, in regard of this preſent occaſion, deſired to ſerve, as Lieutenant general under him, and had his Commiſſion * accordingly. 1640.

* 18 Aug.

On Thurſday the twentieth of *Aug.* the King ſet forwards from London, towards the North, and on Munday following, the Earl of *Strafford* (having in that ſhort time fitted himſelf for his journey) poſted from London by Coaches; and arriving at York the Wedneſday after (though then much troubled with the Stone) rode to Topcliffe on Fryday *.

* 28 Aug.

At that time the Lord *Conway* was General of the Horſe, and at Newcaſtle, with the Army. Where, by reaſon of the General's and Lieutenant-General's abſence he had the cheif command thereof: but made ſuch ſlender reſiſtance, that the Scots forc'd their paſſage over the River of Tine at Newburne, that very Friday, and entred Newcaſtle without oppoſition; himſelf then retreating with the Army towards York, and in ſome confuſion.

And now that the Scots had thus poſſeſs'd themſelves of Newcaſtle, they began to ſtrengthen that place, and bring all thoſe Northern-parts under contribution. Which ſtrange paſſages made moſt men amazed; ſcarce any man knowing whom to truſt or ſpeak freely to. Much labour (indeed) there was, to make the people believe, that all this did work for their good, and that the *Scots* were their ſureſt friends; *this* being the certain way to have a Parliament, and *that* the undoubted cure of all things amiſs, both in Church and State. And (truly) ſuch a burthen was *Ship-money* then eſteem'd to be, and ſome few other extraordinary Impoſitions (ſo wanton were many grown, being ſurfeited with that plenty which long peace had produc'd) that the *Scots* then

1640.

had, not a few well-wiſhers in all parts of this Realm, their piety and goodneſs being ſo cried up by the whole *Puritan*-party.

A grand Council of the Peers at York. 24 Sept.

His Majeſty therefore in this difficult Labyrinth, took reſolution to ſummon a meeting of the Peers at York (a courſe which had anciently been uſed; eſpecially when exigencies were ſo great, that the Convention of a Parliament could not be ſtaid for); and at the meeting of this grand Council, repreſented to them the preſent danger of this Invaſion; with deſire of their advice, touching the maintenance of his Army, as not ſafe to be disbanded, whilſt the *Scotiſh*-Forces were on foot: as alſo what courſe was fitteſt to be taken to get them out. Whereupon, without long deliberating, a Treaty was determin'd on, and for that end ſixteen of the Lords then preſent, were aſſign'd on the King's part, to meet with Eleven of the *Scots*; with power to compoſe and conclude all differences.

Whereunto the *Scots* aſſented; upon condition, that the King ſhould firſt revoke his *Proclamation*, whereby he had declared them Traitors.

## COMMISSIONERS

| *Of the* Engliſh *theſe*, | *Of the* Scots *theſe*, |
|---|---|
| *Francis* Earl of *Bedford.* | *John* Earl of *Rotheſs.* |
| *William* Earl of *Hertford.* | *Ch.* Earl of *Dumfermeling.* |
| *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex.* | *John* Lord *Lowdon.* |
| *William* Earl of *Salisbury.* | Sir *Patrick Hepburne* of *Waughtone.* |
| *Robert* Earl of *Warwick.* | Sir *Will. Douglas* of *Cavers.* |
| *John* Earl of *Briſtol.* | *William Drummond* of *Riccarton.* |
| *Henry* Earl of *Holland.* | *John Smith* Bailiff of *Edenborough.* |
| *Thomas* Earl of *Berkſhire.* | *Alexand. Wedderburn*, Clerk of *Dundee.* |
| *Philip* Lord *Wharton.* | *Hugh Kennedy* Burgeſs of *Aire.* |
| *William* Lord *Paget.* | *Alexander Henderſon.* |
| *Edward* Lord *Kymbolton.* | *Archibald Johnſtone.* |
| *Robert* Lord *Brook.* | |
| *John* Lord *Paulet.* | |
| *Edw.* L. *Howard* of *Eſcrick.* | |
| *Thomas* Lord *Savile.* | |
| *Francis* Lord *Dunſmore.* | |

Which

Which Treaty began at **Rippon** upon the ninth of *October*; but what good effect it was like to produce, we now plainly ſee, Eleven of thoſe ſixteen *Engliſh* Lords, which were choſen on his Majeſties part, being afterwards Actors or Aſſiſters in the late war againſt him. 1640. 9. Oct. Treaty at Rippon.

The firſt demand there made by the *Scots* Commiſſioners, being no leſs then forty thouſand pounds a month, for maintenanne of their Army, during the Treaty. Which tho not directly granted, was ſo far yielded to; as that the Aſſeſsment impos'd by them, upon the Countie of **Northumberland**, Biſhopric of **Durham**, and Town of **Newcaſtle**, ſhould ſtand good, for the raiſing of Eight hundred and fifty pounds a day allowance, for the ſpace of two months, to begin upon the ſixteenth of that inſtant *October*. And that there ſhould be a ceſſation of Arms; the *Scots* Army to be confin'd on the North part the River **Teſe**, and the *Engliſh* to the South thereof.

## CHAP. VII.

WHich footing thus gotten by the *Scots* in the North, gave no ſmall encouragement to their well-wiſhers in the South; eſpecially in **London**; who, in contemplation alſo of the enſuing Parliament (which by his Majeſty was ſummon'd to meet upon the third of *November* following) were not a little animated in divers bold Enterprizes: for ſcandalous papers and Libels, were frequently thrown in the ſtreets, againſt the Biſhops. Yea ſo bold were the multitude grown (by the example of the *Scots* in *an.* 1637, and through the incitation of many Citizens and others of note, who would not then ſhew themſelves) that on the 22th of *October*, a rabble of no leſs than Two thouſand *Browniſts*, and the like Sectaries, entred St. *Paul's* Cathedral, where the high Commiſſion Court then ſat; tore down all the Benches, and cried out, *No Biſhop, No High Commiſſion.*

1640.

The long Parliament began. 3. No.

To the conſideration of which Parliament (begun on the third of *November* accordingly) did the King repreſent the ſafety and ſecurity of this Realm; earneſtly deſiring, that care might be ſpeedily taken for riddance of the *Scots*, which had thus invaded the North; and to ſatisfy their juſt Grievances, promiſed his hearty concurrence; deſiring that his Army might not be ſuffer'd to disband, for want of pay, before the Rebels (for ſo he then call'd the *Scots*) were put out: And that they would lay aſide all ſuſpicions, to the end it might become a happy Parliament; reſolving to caſt himſelf wholly upon the love and affection of his *Engliſh* Subjects.

Will. Lenthal of Lincolns Inn being Speaker.

But the houſe of Commons (conſiſting of the ſame, or perſons worſe affected then thoſe in *April* before (the prevalent party purging the Houſe of divers perſons, whom they concieved would not comply with their deſtructive enterpriſes: for ſuch, they either finding fault with their Elections, or making them criminals, as to ſome public Grievances, though others of a deeper guilt were not touch'd, whoſe offences might make them obnoxious to their power, or obſequious to their deſigns] went ſlowly on with what his Majeſty had propoſed to them: for the buſy-party (who were the great Actors in the enſuing Tragedy) then fell to contrivance about the accompliſhment of their long deſired work. To which purpoſe the *Treaty* at **Ripon** was ſoon after remov'd to **Weſtminſter**; to the end, that there they might have the Scots Commiſſioners at hand, and the power of the *Londoners* to aſſiſt them; for it had been impoſſible, without the conjunction and help of the Prevalent and factious party in that City ever to have accompliſh'd the ruine of the eſtabliſh'd Government, and deſtruction of the King, as they afterwards did. In order whereunto, the firſt ſtep they made, was the entertaining * *Petitions of Grievances* from all parts of the Realm; which made ſuch a noiſe, as if the Subjects of **England** had ſuffered under the greateſt ſlavery and oppreſſion, that had ever been heard of: and (being deviſed and framed by themſelves) were receiv'd with ſuch great acceptance, as that the People began to ſhew no ſmall expreſſions of Joy in their new Reformers. Who to win them the more, beſides

* 9 Nov.

the

1640.

the Impeachment * of the Earl of *Strafford* (which was within two days following) whom they had made ſufficiently odious, by repreſenting him to be one of the greateſt cauſes of their oppreſſions, and an eſpecial Enemy to Parliaments, expell'd * divers Projectors and Monopoliſts out of the Houſe of Commons; impeach'd * the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; the Biſhop * of *Ely*, and Lord Keeper * (*Finch*) for Treaſon againſt the State: having in order thereto, by libellous Pamphlets and Pictures rendred them hateful to the People; Damn'd that hideous Grievance of *Ship-money* by vote *; Paſs'd a Bill * for a Triennial Parliament; as alſo impeach'd * Juſtice *Berkley* of High Treaſon, for his activeneſs in the buſineſs of *Ship-money*. And to try how ſafely they might adventure to ſtrike at the eſtabliſh'd Government of the *Church*, which might make the eaſier way for ruine of the *State*, they brought * *Pryn*, *Burton*, and *Baſtwick* in triumph to London (who had been cenſured in the Star-Chamber, for Libels againſt the Hierarchy) countenancing a Petition, exhibited * to them by Alderman *Penington*, againſt *Epiſcopacy* and *Church-Diſcipline*. Yet, that there might be no doubt of their zeal, and dutiful affection to the King, they ſent * a Meſſage to his Majeſty to deſire leave that they might advance and ſettle his Revenue; offering * to make him the richeſt King in Chriſtendom.

11 Nov. The Earl of Strafford impeach'd of Treaſon.
* 13 Nov.
* 18 Dec.
* 19 Dec.
* 21 Dec.
* 14 Jan.
* 5 Febr.
* 11 Febr.
* 28 Nov.
* 11 Dec.
* 15 Dec.
* 16 Dec.

And having thus gain'd a ſtrong confidence with the people, what bleſſed Patriots they were like to be; that they might alſo ſeem as zealous for God's cauſe, they exhibited a Remonſtrance * (in the name of both Houſes) to his Majeſty, grounded upon divers Petitions (which they had ſubtilly procured from all parts of the Realm) of the increaſe of Popery. Alſo, that the danger thereof might the more amaze the world, they then began to open their Cabinet of *Plots* and *Conſpiracies*; four of the Houſe of Commons imparting to the Lords, a a diſcovery * of an horrid deſign by many thouſands of Papiſts, in England, Ireland, and Wales.

* 29 Jan.
* 10 Febr.

Moreover, becauſe of the great complaint of Innovation in Religion, increaſe of Popery, and growth of Superſtition, they appointed * Commiſſioners for removing Rails from about all *Communion-Tables* throughout the Realm. Likewiſe,

* 11 Febr.

1641.

Likewiſe, to the end that the Biſhops might the better attend their Spiritual functions, they voted *, that none of them ſhould have voice in Parliament, nor meddle in temporal affairs. And to aſſure the *Scots*, whoſe Army they, as yet, thought not fit to part with, till their work was brought to more maturity, they gave * them three hundred thouſand pounds, towards a ſupply of their loſſes and Neceſſities. Which ſignal favour got them the ſtile of *Brethren*, and thanks from the *Scotiſh*-Commiſſioners; who ſeem'd ſo tender of our good, that they deſired * the Treaty might be accelerated, and the Kingdom eaſed of the burthen of the two Armies, by their returning home.

* 10. Martii.

* 2. Febr.

* 16. Martii.

Tryal of the E. of Strafford.

The next thing wherewith they went in hand, was the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford* (for 'twas reſolv'd he muſt be cut off, being a perſon of ſuch integrity to the King, and known abilities.) To which purpoſe, having prepared **Weſtminſter** Hall with Scaffolds, they began * his trial upon the two and twentieth of *March*, where they charg'd * him with ſubverting the Fundamental Laws of **England** and **Ireland**; with threatning * to root the *Scotch* Nation out of **Ireland**; with procuring * his Majeſty to diſſolve the laſt Parliament: as alſo with betraying * **Newcaſtle**, and the King's Army to the *Scots*.

* 22. Martii.

* 23. Martii. An. 1641.

* 3. Apr.

* 5. Apr.

* 7. Apr.

And, after many days labour to prove him guilty of Treaſon, by the Law; and failing thereof, they brought * in a ſpecial Bill, to attaint him; wherein they took care to inſert a ſpecial Clauſe, *that it ſhould not be drawn into Preſident*; thereby to ſecure themſelves from a return of that Injuſtice upon any of them, which they acted on him. Which Bill was twice read and voted in one day. What courſe they took with thoſe that concur'd not with them in paſſing thereof, and other their practiſes, I ſhall briefly mention when I come to their apparent violation of the *Privileges of Parliament*. How multitudes, out of the City, were brought down to the Parliament-Houſe, to cry for Juſtice: Alſo with what difficulty his Majeſty paſſed that Bill (though importun'd by the Earl's own Letter, out of hope his death might have ſatisfied thoſe blood-thirſty men) I ſpare to mention; but on the twelfth of *May*, they cut * off his Head on Tower Hill.

* 19. Apr.

* 12. Maii.

Which

Which ſtrange and unjuſt way of proceeding, driven on by thoſe who ſtood leaſt affected to the *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of our Church, cauſed many to fear that which afterwards came to paſs. Leſt therefore the People (whom under the moſt ſpecious pretences they were to captivate) ſhould have the leaſt ſuſpicion of hazard to the Service of God, as it ſtood here eſtabliſh'd; they cunningly inſinuated to the world, that by means of a Jeſuitical Party the *Proteſtant Religion* was in no ſmall danger; and therefore as zealous Champions for the ſame, framed a formal *Proteſtation* for its ſure defence, as it then ſtood eſtabliſh'd in the Church of England, both in *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*; which for farther ſatisfaction they cauſed to be ſolemnly taken * by every Member of Parliament; and not only ſo, but by a ſpecial Order made it public by the Preſs, and ſent it to ſeveral Counties of this Realm. 1641. * 3 Maii.

But their grand work being to get the *Militia* into their power, by which means whatever elſe they had a mind to, might be accompliſh'd; as an Introduction thereunto, divers ſtrange *Plots* and *Conſpiracies* were talk'd of. Which Plots, not only ſtood them in ſtead, to amuſe and put fears into the people, (who by a moſt implicit faith, did then believe that all they acted was for their good) but to countenance thoſe many unreaſonable demands they made from his Majeſty; ſo that under the ſhadow of them, they might go through with any thing. And therefore it will not be amiſs to view by what degrees they themſelves, with theſe devices, proceeded towards the obtaining thoſe their deſired ends. Pretended Plots and Conſpiracies.

The firſt of theſe that they broach'd, was a conſpiracy * by divers in the Houſe of Commons, to bring in a *French* Army; unto which the *Iriſh* and *Engliſh* ſhould be joyned. Whereupon a vote was paſſed, * that new Fortifications ſhould be rais'd at *Portſmouth*, and the *Cinqueports*; and order taken, that one Lord, and two of the Commons (*viz.* the Lord *Kymbolton*, Sir *Walter Earle*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*) ſhould be forthwith diſpatch'd thither. * 5 Maii. * 7 Maii.

About the ſame time alſo they ſent * ſome of their Members to *Lambeth-Houſe*, to ſearch for Amunition and * 10 Maii.

1641. Arms; as alſo about the Parliament-Houſe, for fear of any Plot. Which pretended fear was much countenanced by a Letter directed to the Lady *Shelley* (and
* 12 Maii. produced * by Mr. *Pym*) diſcovering a deſign to deſtroy—

* 13 Maii. Then was there a Report * in the Houſe of what a Jeſuit ſhould ſay of ſome great deſign againſt this Kingdom. As alſo of a Letter from **Calais** of many French-
* 14 Maii. men coming for **England**: and of another * Jeſuits ſpeech of firing the Parliament-Houſe. Again of *French* intended
* 17 Maii. * to land here. And, within a ſhort ſpace after, Mr.
* 17 Junii. *Nathaniel Fienes* made report * to the Houſes; that a Plot to ſeize the Tower was newly diſcovered; as alſo to ſend over the Iriſh Army; and for delivery of **Portſmouth** to the French and Papiſts; for aſſiſtance wherein the Biſhops were to raiſe a thouſand Horſe. And ſhortly after Mr. *Henry Percie*, Mr. *Jermyn*, Sir *John Sucklyn*, and Mr.
* 24 Julii. *Davenant* were voted * guilty of another Plot, *to bring up the Army, and force the Parliament*: which wrought to purpoſe, by putting terrible *Fears* and *Jealouſies* into the People.

* 16 Aug. And to make up all, a Letter * from the Earl of *Holland* was read, of new practiſes againſt the State. Whereupon, at a conference of both Houſes, a ſelect Committee was appointed to adviſe of putting the Kingdom into a
Poſture of Defence. *Poſture of Defence*. Which being done, the next artifice they uſed was to perpetuate the Parliament; to the end that the name of that might the more plauſibly carry them through in this grand work. To effect this therefore, they pretended that the great Sums of Money, which the Scots were to have, could not ſuddenly be rais'd; and that being to be borrow'd for their preſent riddance, Lenders would hardly be found, unleſs they ſaw a certain way to ſecure their moneys, which the danger of diſſolving this Parliament would hazard.
Bill for perpetuating the Parliament. Whereupon they brought * in a Bill to prevent the adjourning or diſſolving thereof without the conſent of
* 7 Maii. both Houſes. And to carry on the people with all aſſurance of their future happineſs, and freedom from oppreſſion, by Courts of Arbitrary Juriſdiction, they
* 9 Junii. voted * and ſent up certain Bills, for ſuppreſſing the Courts of *High Commiſſion*, and *Star-Chamber*, and regulating

lating the *Council Table*: as alſo for bounding the Foreſts; preventing vexatious proceedings concerning Knighthood, and regulating the Clerk of the Market; beſides that of Tonnage and Poundage. 1641.

All which his Majeſty out of his abundant goodneſs; expecting that theſe unparallel'd Acts of grace, would have oblig'd them in a ſtronger bond of dutiful Allegiance, was pleaſed to paſs, before his going into Scotland. And, as a witneſs to the candor of his intentions, admitted * divers Lords, then moſt popular; but ſince great Actors in this woful Tragedy, to be of his Privy-Council, conferring on three of them great Offices of Honour, Truſt, and Benefit.

* Lord Say ſworn Maſter of the Wards 17 Maii. Earl of Leiceſter made Deputy of Ireland 19 Maii. Earl of Eſſex made Lord Chamberlain 29 Julii. Oliver St. John made Sollicitor General. The King went into Scotland.

And now, ſuppoſing that he had given them as great a meaſure of content, as their hearts could deſire; he took his journey into Scotland on the tenth of *Auguſt*, there to eſtabliſh the peace of that Realm, in ſetling whatſoever ſhould be thought meet for the happineſs thereof. About which time the Armies were disbanded, * that had been ſo long delay'd, though the continuance of them was no leſs charge than 80000 *l.* a month; their work before being not brought forward enough: Some of the leading-members *, in plain terms declaring; that *yet they could not ſpare them, the ſons of* Zerviah *being too ſtrong.*

* 2 Aug. *Will. Strode.

But no ſooner was the King gone, than that the turbulent Spirits in the Houſe of Commons ſet to work, in framing a bitter *Remonſtrance* of the general Grievances of the Kingdom, to make his Majeſties Government ſeem odious to his Subjects; which was ordered * to be brought into the Houſe. Whereupon grew great debates and diſputes, which laſted from three of the clock afternoon, the whole night following, and till ten of the Clock on the morrow. But, at length, many, who diſliked and oppoſed it; partly by reaſon of their age, or infirmity of Body, being wearied out, and departing; others through ſloth or timorouſneſs leaving the Houſe, it was voted by ſome few voices; divers of the factious party being fetcht out of their Beds to aſſiſt.

* 12 Aug.

This *Remonſtrance* being a compendium of all the miſtakes and misfortunes, that had hapned ſince the

The grand Remonſtrance.

1641. beginning of his Majeſties reign to that hour; objected to him the Actions of ſome, and the Thoughts of others; reproacht him with ſuch things of which he never knew, and reviled him to his people; complained alſo of the Houſe of Peers, and aſcribed all the Acts of Grace already paſſed in that Parliament, to their own wiſdom in procuring; with intimation of their deſpair in ſetling the diſtractions of the Kingdom, by reaſon of the power of a *malignant-party*, and want of concurrence by the Houſe of Peers, wherein ſo many Biſhops and malignant Lords then ſat.

This being done, their next work was to get the whole command of the *Militia*; which being had, nothing afterwards could be difficult to them. For the better effecting thereof, they therefore had again recourſe to thoſe ſhadows of Conſpiracies and Plots, which had ſtood them in good ſtead before. The firſt * of them being a new pretended Treaſon by the Earl of *Craford* and others, againſt the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, then in **Scotland**, and other Peers of that Realm; this being ſignified by Letters from their Committee in **Scotland**, dated 14 *Oct.* Whereupon, that the like here might be prevented, orders were directed to the Sheriffs of **London**, **Middleſex** and **Surrey**, for ſetling ſtrong Guards of armed-men in places of moment.

* 19 Oct.

Likewiſe the whole Trayned-Band of **Weſtminſter** was brought into the Palace-Yard, on the morrow; and there attended all that day; giving this reaſon for that order; *viz. Becauſe the miſchievous deſigns and conſpiracies lately diſcovered in* **Scotland**, *againſt ſome principal and great men there, by ſome of the Popiſh-faction, gives juſt occaſion to ſuſpect, that they may maintain correſpondency here, and practiſe the like in this Realm.*

In like manner the ſame Trayn-Band of **Weſtminſter** was brought * into the Palace-Yard on the morrow, and attended all that day until the Houſes roſe. And the next day following Mr. *Pym* made a large Speech, * at a conference, to lay open the Conſpiracy.

* 20 Oct.

* 31 Oct. Alderman Penington and others, made a Committee for ſetting up Preaching Miniſters. 19 Dec. A. 1640.

Neither wanted they the Pulpits to advance their deſigns; their *Lecturers* in ſeveral parts (being men neither of learning nor conſcience) inſinuating to the People all thoſe falſhoods and ſcandals, which might work in them

them a diſlike towards his Majeſty; depraving the conformable-Clergy; charging them with Revolt from the Proteſtant Religion, with purpoſe to introduce Popery: * one of them preaching to the Brotherhood in the Artillery-Garden, expreſſing; that *for the defence of Religion and Reformation of the Church, it was lawful to take up Arms againſt the King.* As a preparative whereunto, a Bill * was brought into the Houſe, for putting all the Forts and Caſtles, and the whole *Militia* of the Kingdom into ſuch hands as they might confide in. 1641.

* Dr. Downing.

* Exact Col. p. 543.

## CHAP. VIII.

IN this time the Rebellion in **Ireland** breaking forth, it will not be improper to ſay ſomewhat thereof: wherein, though I ſhall not charge our grand Conſpirators here with having any hand, as to matter of council or contrivance with the Ring-leaders of that barbarous Inſurrection: yet can I not at all excuſe them from giving great occaſion for it, and not without ſuſpicion of Deſign, if all be true that I have ſeen in a brief diſcourſe thereof publiſh'd in print in *an.* 1644. Which I ſhall leave to the better judgment of ſuch as then lived, and well obſerved the Actions of thoſe times.

* 23 Oct. The Rebellion in Ireland.

The ſubſtance of which Narrative is this; *viz.* That the Iriſh being a people born and bred in the Romiſh Religion, which they did glory to have derived from their Anceſtors for no leſs than Thirteen hundred years, and wherein they had connivence ever ſince the Reformation, it could not be imagined, when they ſaw ſuch a Storm approach them, by the harſh proceedings of the Parliament, then ſitting at **Weſtminſter** againſt thoſe of their profeſſion in **England**, who were daily cavill'd withall; charg'd with ſundry forged Conſpiracies and Plots, to render them odious and diſtaſtful to the

1641. world; the wardſhip and education of their children voted * to the diſpoſal of others, their votes * as Peers in Parliament endangered, and the large Progreſs made in **England** and **Scotland** towards the extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion, as it then ſtood eſtabliſh'd by Law in both Realms, under which they had enjoyed their eſtates, though upon certain penalties, with the charge whereof they were well acquainted; but they had cauſe enough to fear, that their own miſery was not far off; eſpecially diſcerning, that the Inſolency of the *Scots* did daily increaſe toward them, whoſe large footing in their Kingdom, having an inveterate hatred towards the Natives, might endanger their ſhouldring them out.

* 22 Junii.
* 3 Julii.

Conſidering likewiſe the frequent Reports * given out in that Kingdom to extirpate their Religion and Nation: as alſo, that Orders were made by the Houſes of Parliament in **England**, incroaching upon their priviledges of Parliament in **Ireland**; and that their Committee, after nine months attendance on his Majeſty (who was graciouſly pleaſed to hear their grievances) being referr'd to the Houſes of Parliament here (upon his departure from **London** towards **Scotland** 10 *Aug.* 1641) was conſtrain'd to return without any redreſs, through the prevalency of ſome leading Members; who before had (all they could) miſinterpreted to his Majeſty the proceedings and Actions of the Parliament in **Ireland**.

* Sir William Parſons, one of the Lords Juſtices in that Kingdom, and Sir Adam Loftus Vice-Treaſurer there (perſons experimentally known to have much adhered to, and furthered the deſigns of theſe Rebellious contrivers in **England**) that an Army of a thouſand Scots was to arrive in **Ireland**, to force the Catholicks to change their Religion; and that **Ireland** could never do well without a Rebellion, to the end the remnant of the Natives might be extirpated: wagers being laid at the general Aſſizes, by divers of them, that within one year no Catholick ſhould be left in **Ireland**.

It was therefore not a little fear'd by ſome, that thoſe provocations were purpoſely exerciſed to exaſperate the *Iriſh* to take up Arms; that ſo, under colour of ſuppreſſing them as Rebels, they might be utterly deſtroyed and eradicated. Nor was it without ſuſpicion by others, conſidering how eagerly that Act for confiſcation of their Lands was proſecuted by thoſe Members at **Weſtminſter** at the very beginning of that Inſurrection: Alſo how his Majeſties going over in perſon, after the ſame brake out, was hinder'd (which in probability might have quencht that flame,) Moreover,

over, how they ingroſſed that war into their own hands, thereby to have the power to employ any forces raiſed or levied for it, to aſſiſt in purſuance of their deſign upon this Kingdom, as they ſhould ſee cauſe, as was evident * by thoſe under the command of the Lord *Wharton* and others, which were in the Battel of *Kineton* againſt the King. And laſtly, how averſe they were to any peace or ceſſation with them, though never ſo neceſſary, as appears by thoſe earneſt and bitter incitements * uſed by their Commiſſioners in the Treaty at **Uxbridge**, for the proſecution of that war. 1641.

* See his Majeſties Anſwer to the two Papers concerning Ireland, printed with the full and perfect Narrative of the Treaty at Uxbridge. p. 212.

It is likewiſe farther to be noted, that theſe high provocations, met with a concurrent opportunity of thoſe eight thouſand disbanded *Iriſh*, not permitted to be tranſported into **Spain**, and other parts, though deſired by that King's Ambaſſador, and aſſented to by his Majeſty;) who, being out of employment, were ready for any deſperate enterprize: As alſo with the want of a Lieutenant in that Kingdom, by reaſon that the Earl of *Straſſord* was ſo cut off, who had kept them in ſuch exact obedience.

* See the full Relation of the Treaty at Uxbridge. p. 133. & 136.

And laſtly, what an Example they had from their Neighbours the Scots, who ſped ſo well by their own Inſurrection; that they, not only obtained their full demands, even to the introducing a new Religion, and new moulding the whole form of their Government, both in Church and State: but when they rebelliouſly invaded **England** with an Army, were treated as good Subjects, had three hundred thouſand Pounds given them, with an Act of Pacification and Oblivion to boot.

Whereunto I ſhall add what a late Writer, in his *Short view* * *of the life and reign of King* **Charles** *the Firſt*, hath expreſſed.

* Impr. Lond. an. 1658. p. 86.

"Of this *Rebellion* ſaith he; for it muſt be call'd a "*Rebellion* in the *Iriſh*, though not in the *Scots*; the King "gives preſent notice to the Houſes of Parliament, re- "quiring their Counſail and aſſiſtance for the extinguiſh- "ing of that flame, before it had conſumed and waſted "that Kingdom. But neither the Neceſſity of the Prote- "ſtants there, nor the King's importunity here could per- "ſwade them to levy one man towards the ſuppreſſion of "thoſe Rebels, till the King had diſclaimed his power of

preſſing

1641. "preſſing Souldiers by an Act of Parliament, and thereby "laid himſelf open to ſuch acts of violence as were then "hammering againſt him. Which having done, they "put an Army of *Scots* (their moſt aſſured friends) in- "to the Northern parts of **Ireland**, delivering up into "their hands the ſtrong Town and Port of **Carick-fergus**, "one of the chief Keys of that Kingdom; and afterwards "ſent a ſmall Body of Engliſh to preſerve the South. "Which Engliſh Forces, having done notable ſervice "there againſt the Rebels, were kept ſo ſhort, both in "reſpect of pay and other neceſſaries, by the Houſes of "Parliament (who had made uſe of the money rais'd for "the relief of **Ireland** to maintain a war againſt their "King) that they were forced to come to a *Ceſſation*, and "chearfully returned home again to aſſiſt the King in "that juſt war, which he had undertaken for his own de- "fence.

## CHAP. IX.

BUT notwithſtanding all theſe inſtances, forbearing to give any cenſure therein, I ſhall now proceed, and trace them in farther practiſes for accompliſhing their deſigned ends; and give inſtance in the *Militia*; for obtaining whereof I find my ſelf beſt guided by their feigned *Plots* and *Conſpiracies*; the firſt of which was Mr. *Pym*'s Letter, delive-
* 25 Oct. red * to him at the Parliament Houſe, by a Porter (from a pretended Gentleman on Horſeback, in a gray Coat) which having in it a contagious Plaiſter, taken from a Plague-ſore; the Letter it ſelf alſo, being full of invectives againſt Mr. *Pym*, gave occaſion for publiſhing of a Pamphlet, intituled, *The diſcovery of a damnable Treaſon, by a contagious Plaiſter, &c.* and afterwards of a
* 30 Oct. Report * to the Houſe, made by Mr. *Pym*; that there were divers Poſts, come ſeveral by-ways from *Scotland*; and that the Papiſts had many meetings in *Hantſhire*.

More-

1641.

Moreover, within few days following, one *John Davis* diſcovered * to the Houſe, that the Earl of *Worceſter* had large Stables under ground, at *Ragland*-Caſtle, and a number of Light-Horſe in them; likewiſe Arms for an hundred and forty Horſe and two thouſand men, whereof ſeven hundred were then in pay; and Ammunition proportionable. And one *Thomas Beale*, of *White-Croſs-Street*, declaring *, that he heard ſome, who were walking late in *Moor-fields*, diſcourſe of their intentions to murther certain Members of the Parliament, and amongſt others Mr. *Pym*; order was preſently given, that the Lords, and ſome other Members, ſhould have part of the Trained-Band of *Middleſex*, to conduct them to their Lodgings that night.

* 12 Nov.

* 14 Nov.

Alſo the next day, upon the diſcovery of another Plot to kill ſome Noblemen (of which, one who lay in a ditch pretended to hear two Gentlemen ſpeak) it was order'd *, that the Earl of *Worceſter's* Houſe and Sir *Baſil Brookes* Houſe ſhould be guarded; all Papiſts diſarmed; Soldiers raiſed with ſpeed, to ſecure the Iſle of Wight; and two Lords appointed to raiſe Forces; one beyond Trent, and the other on this ſide Trent. And within five days after this, there was a diſcovery of * another conſpiracy by the Papiſts in *Cheſhire*; *viz.* that certain of them were in Arms, at the Lord *Chomley's* Houſe, and had attempted the ſurprizal of *Cheſter*. But advertiſement being given, that the King was upon his journey from *Scotland*, and would be at *London* within three days, the hunting after any farther diſcovery of Plots was for awhile laid aſide; and that ſcandalous *Remonſtrance* * beforementioned (which was brought in the twelfth of *Auguſt*) was read * again in the Houſe. Againſt the paſſing and publiſhing whereof, many worthy Gentlemen freely expreſs'd their minds: Nevertheleſs, after long diſpute and much ado, the factious party prevailed; partly by tyring out ſome (for they ſate up all night) and partly by promiſes or threats to others; inſomuch as it was carried by Eleven voices. So that, though there was the greateſt ſhew of gladneſs by the Citizens of this his Majeſties arrival; as that ſolemn reception * of him by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on Horſback, did import, who feaſted him with the Queen

* 15 Nov.

* 20 Nov.

* Exact Coll. p. 1.

* 22 Nov.

* 25 Nov. The King returned from Scotland.

1641. and Prince at *Guild-Hall*, the Companies all ſtanding in their Liveries, to congratulate his ſafe coming home, as he rode through the ſtreets; yet had he little joy thereof: for inſtead of that happy progreſs which he expected that the Parliament had made in the great affairs of the Kingdom, during his abſence; he found the people not a little diſturb'd with ſtrange apprehenſions; and Guards ſet upon the Houſes of Parliament. Which ſo aſtoniſh'd him, that he forthwith ſent
* 26 Nov. * to the Lords, deſiring, that for the prevention of farther jealouſies and fears, the Train'd-Bands might be diſcharged.

But no ſooner did thoſe Citizens take notice of that Meſſage, then that great numbers of them, in perſon,
* 27 Nov. offer'd * to attend the Houſe of Parliament in their Arms. Nay ſo forward thenceforth were they upon all occaſions to act their parts, for haſt'ning that gene-
* 29 Nov. ral confuſion, which ſoon after enſued; that on * Munday following, a multitude of them made a hubbub in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, crying, *Down with Antichriſt and the Biſhops*; adding, that *if they could not then be heard, they would have a greater number next day to back them.* And
30 Nov. 1 Dec. ſo they had; many of them coming tumultuouſly to the doors of the Parliament-Houſe, crying *No Biſhops*, and calling them *the limbs of Antichriſt.*

And, on the ſame day, to accompany ſo good a work, they preſented to the King by the hands of the
* Exact. Coll. p. 22. Earl of *Holland*, their *grand Remonſtrance* * of the Grievances of the Kingdom (which had been ordered to be brought into the Houſe the twelfth of *Auguſt* paſt) thereby to blaſt all thoſe gracious condeſcentions which they had obtained from him before. Whereunto his Majeſty ſoon after made a full and clear Anſwer; and publiſh'd his Royal *Declaration* thereupon, for the ſatisfaction of all his good Subjects, to the end they might not be deluded by thoſe undutiful, falſe, and ſcandalous aſperſions caſt upon his Government by that malicious Libel.

And ſoon after, for the better prevention of any more ſuch dangerous tumults and uproars, at or near the Houſes of Parliament, he directed his ſpecial Writ, according to the Statute, unto the Sheriffs of *London*,

to

to place a Guard at **Weſtminſter**. But the Houſe of Commons deeming this Guard, thus legally placed by the King, no way conducing to their Deſign, preſently voted it to be a breach of their priviledges, and an offence of an high nature; and thereupon, not only order'd, that the ſaid Watch ſhould be diſcharg'd; but that the Juſtices of *Middleſex*, for their obedience to his Majeſties commands herein, ſhould be queſtion'd; whereupon Juſtice *Long* was committed * to the Tower. 1641. * 11 Dec.

That there was a moſt factious party in the City of **London**, which were great Inſtruments in raiſing the enſuing Rebellion, is plain enough. Nor is it leſs obſervable, that they acted their parts therein, by colour of Authority; *viz.* by outing all the *Common-Council*, which were men of worth, and bringing men of deſperate fortunes in their rooms. Wherein they had ſuch furtherance, by the help of the multitude (who aim'd at their own advantage by any change of Government) that they then introduced *Fowkes*--------, *Ryley* the Boddies-maker, *Perkins* the Lord *Say*'s Taylor, *Normington* the Cutler, *Mills* the Brick-layer, and divers other ſuch mean fellows; inſtead of Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Roger Clarke*, Sir *George Bynion*, Mr. *Roger Gardner*, and ſeveral other worthy Citizens, whoſe loyalty, they well knew, could not be corrupted. Theſe being the principal agents in all the Tumults; which ſtood them in much ſtead for accompliſhing of their chiefeſt aims. And therefore plain it was to be ſeen what deſign they had, when they urged the paſſing of the Bill for not *Adjourning* or *Diſſolving* of that Parliament without their own conſents, having ſuch a party in the City to back them upon all occaſions.

Having thus diſſolv'd the Guard, ſo appointed by his Majeſty, there came * another Tumult of the Citizens to *Weſtminſter*. Whereupon ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, making complaint of the danger, whereunto they were ſubject by thoſe riotous people; and how that already they had been aſſaulted, and evil intreated by them, at the very door of the Houſe; deſired, that ſome courſe might be taken, for reſtraining and puniſhing them for the ſame. But * 15 Dec.

1641. inſtead thereof, divers ſpoke in juſtification of them, and commended their affections; ſaying, *they muſt not diſcourage their friends, this being a time to make uſe of them all.* And Mr. *Pym* added *, *God forbid, that the Houſe of Commons ſhould proceed in any ſort to diſhearten the people, for obtaining their juſt deſires in ſuch a way.* And accordingly, there was a paper delivered by ſome or other, to the Miniſter that preach'd at *Chriſt-Church*, the Sunday following; deſiring, that Prayer might be made to God to aſſiſt the Apprentices with ſtrength to root out Superſtition, and to extirpate the Innovations of the Biſhops and Clergy.

* Exact. Coll. p. 532.

* 19 Dec.

After which matters were every day carried with a more high hand than before; the Tumultuous people having as apparent countenance from the Houſe, as before they had private encouragement. Inſomuch as the Lord Mayor of London came * to *Whitehall*, and acquainted the King, that he diſcerned, if Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, whom he had newly made Lieutenant of the Tower, were not removed, the Apprentices would riſe and pull him out. So that his Majeſty to prevent ſuch an inſurrection, took the Keys from Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, and conſtituted Sir *Thomas Byron* in his room; with whom the factious Spirits were as ill ſatisfied, tho they knew not well what to object againſt him; till at laſt Lieutenant *Hooker*, the *Aquavitæ-man*, and *Nicholſon* the Chandler, complained in the Common-Council; that ſince Sir *John Byron* came to be Lieutenant of the Tower, the Mint (to the great prejudice and diſhonour of the Kingdom) ſtood ſtill.

* 26 Dec.

Yea, ſo inſolent were theſe tumultuous people grown; that upon the Kings *Proclamation* *, grounded upon a Penal Law, to diſſipate them; in contempt thereof they came * early the next morning in greater numbers than ever, divers of them being arm'd with Swords and Halberts; and towards the evening aſſaulted the great Church at *Weſtminſter*, threatning to pull it down: So that the Biſhops thenceforth thought it not ſafe for themſelves to come any more to the Houſe. The News whereof ſo pleaſed thoſe unruly people; that on the morrow they came again *, crying *No Biſhops*, notwithſtanding another *Proclamation* iſſued out by the King

* 27 Dec.

* 28 Dec.

* 29 Dec.

to

to reſtrain them. And in their return making a ſtand before *Whitehall*, ſaid *, that *they would have no more Porter's Lodge there, but would ſpeak with the King when they pleaſed.* 1641. * Exact. Coll. p. 533.

Which rebellious uproar cauſed his Majeſty forthwith to place a Guard, for his own ſafety, at the Court-gates. But the main cry of danger was by the Houſe of Commons, as if they themſelves had been the only men in peril of their lives; and therefore to make the greater ſhew of their own fears, they order'd*, that Halberts ſhould be brought into their Houſe, for defence of the Members; and then they made a noiſe of new diſcoveries of farther dangerous conſpiracies; one by a Letter * from *France*, intimating great intelligence held betwixt **England** and **Rome**, and no ſmall likelihood of dreadful plots in agitation againſt this Kingdom. Alſo of another Letter, at the ſame time, found in a Jeſuit's Study, of great troubles which ſhould befall this Realm. And, the more to amuſe the people, they adjourn'd to ſit in a Committee at *Guild-Hall*, to draw up a *Remonſtrance* of the many dangers this Kingdom had undergone, within the ſpace of three years. Where being met, another Letter (pretended to be brought from **Italy**) was read, diſcovering divers Plots by the Papiſts here. Whereupon they conſider'd about drawing up of another *Remonſtrance**, laying open the peril of the *Spaniſh* Fleet; the coming over of the *Queen-Mother*; the *Pope's Nuncio*; as alſo ſeveral other Plots in agitation by the Jeſuits and a Romiſh-party. 31 Dec. 31 Dec. 1 Jan.

Which ſubtil practices being ſet on foot by ſome particular perſons of both Houſes, through whoſe influence, chiefly, others were guided; cauſed his Majeſty out of a deſire to prevent the enſuing calamities, which he clearly foreſaw, muſt by theſe means inevitably follow, to demand * the perſons of the Lord *Kymbolton*, and five of the Houſe of Commons, *viz. Denzill Hollies* Eſq. Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* Baronet, *John Pym*, *John Hampden*, and *William Strode* Eſquiers, and to charge them with High Treaſon; who having private notice thereof, kept out of the way. 4 Jan. See the Articles againſt them. Exact. Coll. p. 34.

But of this action they made ſuch an advantage (tho no perſon then came within the doors of the Houſe,

1641. except the King himſelf, and the Count Palatine, his Nephew) having ſo ſure a party in the City to aſſiſt them; that ſome of the Houſe of Commons took the boldneſs, the ſame day to come and diſcharge his Majeſties Guards at *White-Hall*; and the Houſes to * adjourn themſelves, and to ſit in a grand Committee at *Guild-Hall* in **London**. Where infuſing fears into the people, that the King had a deſign of actual violence upon the City, the Sheriffs of **London** refuſed to publiſh his Majeſties Proclamation for apprehending thoſe perſons.

* 7 Jan.

* 8 Jan. And to make farther experiment of the City's readineſs to afford them their beſt aſſiſtance, upon occaſion; they cauſed a falſe Alarm *, that the King, with fifteen hundred Horſe, was coming in the night to ſurprize *London*. Which report wrought ſo effectually, that no leſs than forty thouſand of the inhabitants put themſelves in Arms, at an inſtant; the women alſo providing ſcalding water to throw upon the Cavaliers, bringing out Forms, Stools, and empty Tubs into the Streets, to hinder the Horſe.

## CHAP. X.

HAving thus craftily repreſented this juſt endeavour of his Majeſty for bringing theſe Members to a legal trial (who had private ſhelter at that time in the City of *London*) to be ſo hideous, as if it had been for a general maſſacre; they ſpeedily raiſed an inſurrection of many thouſand of the Citizens; whom (together with a numerous rabble of Mariners and other deſperate people) they brought * armed to *Weſtminſter* on the Tueſday next following, both by land and water, with divers Sakers, and murthering Guns, in long Boats: and in that ſort, with Proteſtations in their Hats, and on their Pikes, conducted the Lord *Kymbolton*, and the reſt of thoſe Members, to the Parliament-Houſe. And

The King, with the Queen, Prince and D. of York left White Hall and went to Hampton-Court. 10 Jan.

* 11 Jan.

12 Jan. The King went to Windſor Caſtle.

And what intention ſome of them had to the perſon of the King, had he then been at **White-Hall**, may eaſily be gueſſed, by their rude and deſperate entrance thereinto then made; had not he (upon private adver-vertiſement of their purpoſe) removed to **Hampton-Court**, the precedent Evening. 1641.

Unto which Inſurrection, to give the fairer countenance, they had by their Emiſſaries ſent into the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Hartford*, and *Kent*; whence they procured no ſmall numbers; which came the ſame day to the Houſes of Parliament with petitions ready framed, on the behalf of the Lord *Kymbolton*, and the five Members. At which time they produced two Letters, pretended to come from a *Romiſh* hand, intimating much miſchief deſign'd againſt the Houſes and City.

And that theſe Countrymen might upon their return home, put their neighbours into ſtrange apprehenſions of danger; there was at that time * a report made in the Houſe, that the Lord *Digby* and Colonel *Lunsford*, were about **Kingſton** upon **Thames**, with three or four hnndred Horſe. Whereupon order was given, that the Sheriffs of *Surrey*, *Berkshire*, and *Hantſhire* ſhould raiſe the *Poſſe Comitatus* of thoſe Counties, to ſtand upon their Guard, and apprehend them; as alſo, that *Skippon*, Serjeant-Major of the City Trained-Bands, ſhould forthwith have the command of certain Guards for to be ſet upon the Tower of **London**. * 12 Jan.

There is nothing more certain, then that this buſineſs concerning the Lord *Kymbolton* and the five Members (as 'twas managed) much promoted their grand deſign. For having by their many pretended plots, and other devices, prepared the people with ſtrange apprehenſions of fears; and finding that they had won the Country, as well as the City, to an implicite belief of their being ſuch bleſſed Patriots as never had been before; they then brought forth a moſt infamous *Declaration* *, hatcht at their former meetings in the City; wherein they did imply, that his Majeſty (when he came to the Houſes, to demand the five Members) had a purpoſe to have cut all their throats; and therefore they * *declared his coming thither, to be a traiterous deſign* * 17 Jan.

* Exact. Coll. p. 40.

1641. *deſign againſt the King and Parliament; and that his Proclamation iſſued out for their apprehenſion, was falſe, ſcandalous, and illegal; as alſo, that it was lawful for all men to harbour them; and that whoſoever did ſo, ſhould be under the protection and priviledge of Parliament.*

The King therefore, ſtanding not a little amazed at theſe many and great diſtractions, which threatned inevitable miſchief to the whole Realm; tho he had, by a Meſſage * to both Houſes, of the twelfth of *January*, for full ſatisfaction to all that might doubt, that his accuſation of thoſe Members was not agreeable to the priviledges of Parliament; nevertheleſs intimated, that *he would for the preſent wave his proceedings againſt them; and that when the minds of men were more compoſed, he would go on in an unqueſtionable way: aſſuring his Parliament, that upon all occaſions he would be as careful of their Priviledges, as of his Life and Crown.* And by another Meſſage * two days after, farther aſſur'd them, that *in caſe any doubt of his breach of their Priviledges did remain; he would be willing to clear it, and aſſure thoſe, by any reaſonable way, that his Parliament ſhould adviſe him to do.* Likewiſe, in farther manifeſtation of his earneſt and inceſſant deſires, for preventing thoſe calamities which he then ſaw approaching, by reaſon of theſe diſtractions, he did by a gracious Meſſage *, of the twentieth of the ſame month, propoſe to both Houſes, that *they would with all ſpeed, fall into a ſerious conſideration of thoſe particulars which they themſelves ſhould hold neceſſary, as well for the upholding, and maintaining his juſt Regal Authority, and ſetling his Revenue; as for the preſent and future eſtabliſhment of their priviledges, the free and quiet enjoying of their eſtates and fortunes, the liberties of their perſons; the ſecurity of the true Religion then profeſſed in the Church of* **England**; *and the ſetling of Ceremonies, in ſuch a manner as might take away all juſt offences. Which when they ſhould have diſgeſted, and compoſed into one intire Body; that ſo himſelf and they might be able to make the more clear judgment of them; it ſhould then appear, by what he would do, how far he had been from intending, or deſigning any of thoſe things, which the too great fears and jealouſies of ſome perſons did ſeem to apprehend; and how ready he would be to equal and exceed the greateſt Examples of the moſt indulgent*

* Ib. p. 49.

* Ib. p. 51.

* Ib. p. 54.

*Princes*

*Princes in their acts of Grace, and favour to their People.* 1641.

Notwithſtanding all which, upon that very twentieth of *January*, having received Letters from Sir *John Hotham*; ſignifying *, that he had raiſed Soldiers by their Order, for the keeping of **Hull**, but was refuſed entrance thereinto by the Mayor; they forthwith ſent another Order to command his reception, though the Earl of *Newcaſtle* had required admittance thither, to take charge of that place, and the Magazine there, by his Majeſties authority. Nay, ſo diligent were they now to loſe no time; that they procured the *Eſſex*-men to deliver a Petition to them; ſetting forth their *fears* and *jealouſies*; with deſire, that *the Tower of* **London** *might be committed to ſafe hands*; the Arms of the Trained Bands truſted with approved perſons; and the Priviledge of Parliament aſſerted. * 20 Jan.

Likewiſe another from **Colcheſter** *againſt Biſhops*, and *for liberty of Conſcience*; *deſiring that Church-diſcipline might be eſtabliſhed according to the word of God, and their Town better fortified.*

And well knowing how fair a countenance theſe Petitions (thus framed by themſelves) carried, to further their deſigns; they cauſed more, from * *Devon. Somerſetſhire, Middleſex*, and *Hartfordſhire*, for putting the Kingdom into a *poſture of Defence*, and the Forts into ſafe hands; excluding Biſhops, Popiſh Lords, *&c.* As alſo another from * the City of **London**; ſignifying *their inability to lend an hundred thouſand pounds* (deſired by the Houſes) *for the ſervice of* **Ireland**; *by reaſon that the* **Cinque-Ports** *were not put into ſafe hands*; *the Kingdom not put into* a poſture of Defence; *the Lieutenant of the Tower not removed*; *Priviledges of Parliament not vindicated*; *Delinquents not puniſhed*; *and the Biſhops and Popiſh Lords not put out of the Houſe of Peers.* Whereupon, it being the ſame day voted, that the **Cinque-Ports** ſhould be ſecured; and the Tower of **London** put into ſuch hands as the Parliament might confide in; the very next day *, they brought down the *Apprentices* and *Seamen* with the like Petition *for putting the whole Kingdom into a Poſture.* * 24 Jan. Poſture of Defence. * 25 Jan. * 26 Jan.

And being now reſolv'd (as by their votes, and the drift of theſe Petitions is manifeſt) to haſten the *Militia*

1641. totally into their own power; to the end they might the more plauſibly effect their deſign therein; they

* 26 Jan. exhibited to his Majeſty a Petition *; deſiring, *that the Tower of* London, *with the other principal Forts, and whole* Militia *of the Kingdom, might be put into the hands of ſuch perſons, as ſhould be by them recommended*; ſuggeſt-

Exact Coll. p. 59. ing withall; *that* * *without this ſure ground of ſafety and confidence, which he ſhould hereby raiſe unto them, they could not be enabled to diſcharge their duties, in the conſidering of thoſe important things, propoſed to them by him in his Meſſage of the 20th of January: Nor be ſo freed from fears and jealouſies, as with chearfulneſs to proceed, laying a ſure foundation of Honour, Greatneſs, and Glory to him and his Royal Poſterity; and of Happineſs and proſperity to his Subjects, throughout all his Dominions.*

The chief colour and pretence, given out to the people, for this *Poſture of Defence*, being this, "that with-"out the power thereof, in their own hands, to main-"tain the good Laws enacted; there was no expecta-"tion, but that they would be made fruitleſs to them, "by the prevalency of evil Counſellors, and a malignant "Party.

28 Jan. Exact Coll. p. 60. Whereunto his Majeſty anſwered *; that, "though "the nomination of thoſe, to whom the cuſtody of the "Forts, and Caſtles were to be committed, was an inſe-"parable flower of his Crown: yet, that he would leave "them to the Juſtice of his Parliament, if through miſ-"information, he had conferr'd ſuch truſt upon any un-"deſerving perſon. And that when any particular courſe, "for ordering the *Militia* ſhould be digeſted by his Par-"liament, and propoſed to him; he would return ſuch "an anſwer as ſhould be agreeable to his honour, and "the ſafety of his people: conjuring them not to be tranſ-"ported with Jealouſies.

* 29 Jan. To this indeed they replyed *, that "they acknowledged "it as a principal and inſeparable flower of his Crown, "to diſpoſe the command of the Forts and Caſtles of the "Kingdom: and that, by Law, the *Militia* was ſubject "to no command but his authority, and what is lawfully "derived from him.

But, within two days following, a Petition being

* 31 Jan. brought * into the Houſe from *Suffolk*, calling upon

them

them *to put the Kingdom into a* Poſture: and another from many thouſands of poor Tradeſmen in London (as they ſtiled it) urging the like; alledging *a great decay of Trade, whereby they wanted Bread; and that they believed not any cauſe thereof to be in the Houſe of Commons, but by reaſon of the Biſhops and Popiſh-Lords, voting in the Houſe of Peers*: it was earneſtly moved at a Conference (by Mr. *Hollies*) *that the Lords would no longer delay, but now joyn with them, to petition his Majeſty that the Kingdom might be put into a Poſture.* By which device, the Lords, who refuſed to joyn with them in their Petition of the ſix and twentieth of *January*, were now ſo brought about that they did * it. 1641. 2 Febr.

And to the end they might not want more popular countenance for their grand work, which was now in ſuch forwardneſs; they got more Petitions from ſeveral parts, *for putting the Kingdom into a Poſture.* One from * the women about London; another from * *Northamptonſhire*; a third from * *Kent*, which was brought by five or ſix thouſand, that rode through the City in ranks to the Parliament-Houſe. Whereby they gave the Lords thanks for concurring with the Commons in the Bill againſt the Biſhop's votes, and putting the Kingdom into *a Poſture of Defence*; deſiring them to go on with the Commons in a thorough Reformation in Religion; and to remove evil Councellors. The like had they from the Counties * of *York*, *Oxford*, and *Lincoln*. * 4 Febr. * 5 Febr. * 7 Febr. * 9 & 10 Febr.

So that, having laid ſuch a foundation, by enſnaring the people with their own Petitions; they made an order to enable ſome of the Aldermen and Common-Council of London, with Serjeant Major *Skippon*, to regulate the Militia of the City; voting new Lords-Lieutenants throughout the ſeveral Counties of England and Wales. And to blow up the people into a perfect Rebellion, they appointed * weekly Lectures to be generally ſet up; which was accordingly perform'd by the moſt ſeditious and turbulent Spirits, that could be found: procuring more Petitions, by multitudes of people from ſundry parts; ſetting forth great grievances: and deſiring that the factious party (for ſo they call'd the moſt loyal of the Nobility) might be expell'd the Houſe of Peers. Alſo, that the Divine Wor- The King went from Windſor to Hampton-Court. 9. Feb. 10 Febr. Thence to Grenewich. 11 Febr. from Grenewich to Rocheſter. * 12 Febr. 12 Febr. The King went from Rocheſter to Canterbury.

1641. ſhip of God might be no longer prophaned; and that they might be better furniſhed with Arms to oppoſe forreign power. Such alſo came from * *Wales*, *Ipſwich*, *Warwickſhire*, and *Suſſex**; the Sheriff of that County, and at leaſt fifteen hundred on Horſeback, accompanying him therewith.

* 12 Febr.
* 16 Febr.

And leaſt the pretended great dangers (for prevention whereof all this ſtir was made) ſhould be forgot, a Letter from * *Lancaſhire* was produced; diſcovering dangerous Plots by the Papiſts in that County; *viz.* the finding of ten Barrels of powder, to make Balls of Wild-fire, wherewith to burn divers chief Towns in this Realm. Whereupon another Petition was diſpatcht * to his Majeſty (then at *Dover*) for ordering the *Militia*. Whereby "they deſired * ſuch a ſpeedy Anſwer, "as might raiſe in them a confidence (to uſe their own "words) that they ſhould not be expoſed to the practiſes "of thoſe, whoſe endeavours were to kindle that com-"buſtion in England, which they had in ſo great a mea-"ſure effected in Ireland: and which nothing could do "(as they ſaid) but the granting that Petition. Which Petition, together with an Ordinance * of both Houſes, ſetting forth, "a moſt dangerous and deſperate deſign "upon the Houſe of Commons; and many diſcoveries, "importing fears of rebellious Inſurrections by Papiſts, "and other ill affected perſons in this Kingdom, they then exhibited.

* 21 Febr.
* 22 Febr.
* Exact Coll. p. 81.
23 Febr. The Queen with the Princeſs Mary, her daughter, imbarked for Holland at Dover.
25 Febr. the King return'd to Canterbury.
* Exact Coll. p. 88.
26 Febr. From Canterbury the King came to Greenwich.
28 Febr. Thence to Theobalds.

Whoſe anſwer * thereunto being; that, "for the City "of London, and other Corporations, which by any "antient Charters, had power of ordering the Militia, he "conceiv'd it unfit to alter their government: but, that "he could not conſent to the indefinite time, propounded "for this Poſture.

* Exact Coll. p. 90.

Whereupon they forthwith voted * this Anſwer "to "be a flat denial; and that his Majeſties adviſers thereto "were Enemies to the State, and miſchevous Projectors "againſt the defence of the Kingdom. Alſo, that "this "denial was of ſuch dangerous conſequence, that it would "hazard the peace and ſafety of all his Kingdoms, unleſs "ſome ſpeedy remedy were applyed by the Parliament. And immediately diſpatch'd another Petition * to his Majeſty (then at *Theobalds*) wherein "they proteſted, that

* 28 Febr. Exact Coll. p. 95.
* 1 Martii. Exact Coll. p. 92.

"if

1641.

"if he did not ſpeedily paſs his aſſent to the ſatisfaction "of their deſires, they ſhould be inforced, by authority "of both Houſes, to diſpoſe thereof; and that they did "accordingly ſo reſolve to do.

Farther voting *, "that the Kingdom ſhould be forth- "with put into a **Poſture of defence**, by Authority of both "Houſes; that the Navy ſhould be ſpeedily rigg'd: and "a Declaration * of their juſt Fears and Jealouſies ſpeedily "drawn up, with the grounds of their former votes, for "putting the Kingdom into a **Poſture**, by authority of "both Houſes, to clear the Parliament of all miſtruſts.

* 2 Martii. Exact Coll. p. 96.

* Exact Coll. p. 97.

And to carry out all this, under colour of the Peoples deſires, New Petitions were brought from ſeveral Counties; *viz.* one from * *Staffordſh.* pretending ſuch dread of the Papiſts riſing there, that every man was conſtrain'd to ſtand upon his Guard, not daring to go to Church unarm'd. Others from * *Worceſterſh. Berkſh. Norfolk, Norwich, Lynne, Royſton, Salop* *: all of them earneſtly *deſiring this* **Poſture of Defence**.

* 2 Martii. 3 Martii the King went from Theobalds to Royſton.
* 3 Martii.
* 4 Martii.
* 7 Martii.

And the very next day *, the Ordinance for ordering the *Militia* of the Kingdom, by authority of both Houſes (ſent to his Majeſty 22 *Febr.*) was aſſented to by the Lords; and thereupon new Lieutenants were aſſign'd throughout all **England** and **Wales**.

* 5 Martii. Ordinance for the Militia.

And, having in a grand Committee at Merchant-Taylers Hall, contrived the *Declaration* (mention'd in their Votes of *March* the ſecond) wherein they made a very great noiſe of a deſign to alter Religion in this Kingdom, and that the wars with **Scotland** and **Ireland** were framed to that end; they preſented the ſame to his Majeſty at * **Newmarket** within few days after; voting * "the "King's Commiſſions of Lieutenancies in the ſeveral "Counties illegal: as alſo, that * "there was an urgent and "inevitable Neceſſity, for putting his Majeſties Subjects "into a **Poſture of Defence**: and, that the Ordinances of "both Houſes for the Militia, being obliging to the Peo- "ple, ought to be obeyed by the Fundamental Laws of "this Kingdom. And laſtly, that the Earl of **Warwick**, "ſhould be appointed Vice-Admiral of his Majeſties "Ships.

7 Martii. The King went from Royſton to Newmarket.
14 Martii. Thence to Huntendon.
* 9 Martii. Exact Coll. p. 97.
* 15 Martii. The K. went to Stanford.
15 Martii.
* Exact Coll. p. 112.

And having now, by theſe their exorbitant courſes, together with the Tumults, ſo much endangered his

16 Martii. the K. went from Stanford to Grantham.

1641. Majeſties Royal perſon, that he was forced for ſafety of himſelf, and the Prince, to retire into the North; they voted *, "that they would go on with their former Votes concerning the *Militia*. Alſo, "that when "the Lords and Commons in Parliament ſhould declare "what the Laws of the Land be; to Queſtion it, was a "high breach of the Privilege of Parliament.

* 16 Martii. Exact. Coll. p. 114.

17 Martii the K. went from Grantham to Newark.

18 Martii thence to Doncaſter.

After this, within few days, they ſent a Petition * to York (which was there preſented to his Majeſty by the Lord *Willoughby* of Parham, and others) wherein they alledged, "that his Majeſties denial to their petition for "diſpoſing the *Militia*, was a great hinderance to their "other proceedings; and juſtified the Tumults at "Weſtminſter by taxing his Majeſty with denial of ſuch "a Guard to them, as they might confide in; aſper-"ſing his Government, for many continued Acts of "violation of Laws, *&c.*

* 23 Martii. Exact Coll. p. 123.

And to keep the people ſtill awake, by allarming them with new dangers, they cauſed Letters to be read * in the Houſe (which were ſaid to come from Amſterdam;) intimating intelligence from Denmark, of a great Army, ready prepared there, to be tranſported for England, and to land at Hull upon ſome dangerous enterprize.

* 18 Martii. 19 Martii. The King went from Doncaſter to York.

The like Letter pretended to come from Newmarket, then produced; and another from France. Whereupon, having receiv'd a Petition from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London, in which great Thanks was given to the Houſe, for ordering the *Militia* of the City, as they had done; with their reſolutions therein ſignified to obey the ſame: As alſo * another from the *Cinque-Ports*, deſiring that thoſe places might be ſtrongly guarded and fortified, and the Kingdom put into a *Poſture*; they ordered, that every of his Majeſties Forts, and Caſtles, ſhould be preſently fortified with an Hundred men of the Trained Bands, next adjoining to them; and ten pieces of Ordinance to each place. Alſo, that no Forces ſhould be admitted into Hull, without the conſent of the Lords and Commons; and that * Inſtructions ſhould be ſent thither for the farther fortifying of that place.

* 21 Martii.

* 22 Martii.

Likewiſe, upon another pretended diſcovery, made

by

by one Mr. *Cartwright* and the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; that they were advertiſed by Letters from **France**, of an Army preparing there, to come for **England** or **Ireland**; the Lords ſent a meſſage * to the Commons, to let them know, that they had deſigned the Earl of *Warwick* Vice-Admiral of the Fleet. Whereupon both Houſes joyn'd in a Meſſage * to the King, to inform him of the grounds and reaſons of their ſending out that Earl as Vice-Admiral, without his Majeſties conſent. 1641.

* 25 Martii.

* Exact Coll. p. 129.

The King therefore diſcerning, that they had got the Royal Navy into their hands, thought it high time to make ſure of his Magazine, which had been laid up at **Hull**, about two years before (part for the ſervice of **Ireland**, and the reſt for the ſecurity of the North) and accordingly rode from **York** thither, for the diſpoſal thereof: But, when he came to the Gates of that Town, Sir *John Hotham* (a member of the Houſe of Commons, being a confiding man, with the factious party there; and by their contrivance, got privately thither with Souldiers) refuſed * him entrance; affirming, that in ſo doing, he had the authority of Parliament to bear him out. For which inſolent act he was declared traiterous by his Majeſty, and by a ſpecial Meſſage *, ſo ſignifyed to both Houſes; with demand of Juſtice againſt him, according to the Laws. But, inſtead thereof, they forthwith not only publiſh'd a bold *Declaration* *, with Votes and order of aſſiſtance, in the name of both Houſes of Parliament, juſtifying *Hotham* therein: but ſent down the Earl of *Stanford*, and Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, with four of the Houſe of Commons, as a Committee to aſſiſt Sir. *John Hotham* there; voting, that his Majeſties declaring Sir *John Hotham* Traitor, was an high breach of the Privilege of Parliament, againſt the Liberty of the Subject, and Laws of the Land.

* The King denied entrance into Hull. 23 Apr.

* 24 Apr. Exact Coll. p. 152.

* 28 Apr. Exact Coll. p. 160. & 162.

And now, that by their feigned Fears and Jealouſies, with other ſubtile devices, they had ſufficiently amuſed the people, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Royal Navy, Forts, Ports, and Magazine; and, within a few days following ſet forth a Declaration *, ſignifying their purpoſe to put in execution their Ordinance for the *Militia*; they anſwered * that Meſſage from his Majeſty (of the 24*th* of

* 5. Maii. Exact Coll. p. 171.

* 9 Maii. Exact Coli. p. 179.

1642. of *April*) touching *Hotham*, with ſundry foul aſperſions; taxing him with hearkning to wicked Counſels, which had practiſed to put the Kingdom into a combuſtion: and again, juſtifying Sir *John Hotham*; expreſſed their intentions to ſettle the *Militia* according to their Ordinance, for ſuppreſſing the wicked and malignant Party; deſiring his Majeſties return to be near his Parliament.

And, as the Citizens of London (out of their ambition to be a free State) were the firſt and cheif Inſtruments to ſet forward this grand work: ſo, in this of the *Militia*, they gave example to all other parts of the Kingdom, executing * the ſame in Finſbury-fields with twelve thouſand men in Arms, ordered by Serjeant Major General *Skyppon*, the members of both Houſes being preſent, to give countenance thereto; who thereupon voted *, that "having ſhew'd ſo much obedience to the Ordinance of Parliament concerning the *Militia*, they had "done it according to the Laws of the land; and that "they ſhould have the aſſiſtance of both Houſes of Parliament againſt any, that might oppoſe or moleſt them "therein.

* 10 Maii.

* 12 Maii. Exact Coll. p. 190. 191.

## CHAP. XI.

ABout this time therefore, the King diſcerning no ſmall danger to his perſon, by reaſon of theſe hoſtile preparations and Actions (having not any Guard, but with a thin retinue reſiding at York) and withall obſerving, that in moſt parts of the Kingdom, the ſchiſmatical Party, under colour of putting themſelves into a *Poſture of Defence*, had provided Arms; as alſo trained and exerciſed themſelves, contrary to the Laws of the land, ſent * his Summons to the Gentry of *Yorkſhire*, to attend him at York. Where being met *, he ſhew'd them divers reaſons, why he conceiv'd it fit to have a Guard for his own Perſon, deſiring their aſſiſtance therein. Whereupon moſt of them yeilding cheerful

* Exact Coll. p. 191.

* 12 Maii.

cheerful obedience; he ſignified to them by his Letters *; that he ſhould take it well, if they would perſonally attend him, in ſuch ſort followed and provided, as they ſhould think fit, for his better ſafety. 1642.

* 16 Maii. Exact Coll. p. 132.

But before the knowledg thereof could poſſibly come to them at **Weſtminſter**; having ſome private advertiſement of what was intended; they publiſh'd a *Declaration* *, in the name of both Houſes of Parliament, ſetting forth; *That it was againſt the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom; that any of the Subjects thereof ſhould be commanded to attend his Majeſty at his pleaſure, excepting ſuch as were bound thereto by ſpecial ſervice. And, that, if the Trained Bands, or any other his Majeſties Subjects, ſhould upon any pretence be drawn together, in a poſture of war; the Sheriffs of ſuch a County ought to raiſe the power thereof to ſuppreſs them.* And, having forthwith voted *, *that the Magazine of each reſpective Shire in the Realm of* **England**, *and dominion of* **Wales**, *ſhould be preſently put into the power of ſuch Lord-Lieutenants of thoſe Counties as the Parliament did confide in*; they publiſh'd * a *Declaration*, ſcandalizing his Majeſties gracious Meſſages, Anſwers and Declarations; taxing him with breach of his word and promiſes: as alſo with continued oppreſſions and violation of the Laws; countenancing the Rebellion in **Ireland**; and with intent to bring up his Northern-Army to awe the Parliament.

* 17 Maii. Exact Coll. p. 193.

* 19 Maii. Exact Coll. p. 194.

* Ib. p. 195.

And having ſo done, voted *, "that the King (ſe- "duced by wicked Counſel) intended to make war "againſt his Parliament; who, in all their Conſultati- "ons and Actions, had propoſed no other end unto "themſelves, but the care of his Kingdom; and the "performance of all duty and loyalty to his perſon. Next, "that whenſoever the King maketh war upon "the Parliament, it is a breach of the Truſt repoſed in "him by his people, contrary to his Oath, and tend- "ing to the diſſolution of this Government; and that "whoſoever ſhould ſerve, or aſſiſt him in ſuch wars, "were Traitors, by the Fundamental Laws of this Realm; the very ſame day ſending down the Knights and Burgeſſes of *Buckinghamſhire*, by ſpecial Order, to ſee their Ordinance for the *Militia* put in execution in that County.

* 20 Maii. Exact Coll. p. 259.

1642.

And having proceeded thus far; ſetting * alſo forth another large *Remonſtrance*, in juſtification of all their practiſes; in which they had this bold expreſſion, *that now they had brought their work to ſuch an height, and degree of ſucceſs, that nothing ſeem'd to be left in their way, able to hinder the full accompliſhment of their deſires; unleſs God in his juſtice ſhould ſend a grievous curſe upon them*; within three days following, they ſent a Petition to the King, in the name of both Houſes, which was delivered * to him at York. Wherein they boldly reproacht him, *with his many fair promiſes, and pretences*; and *deſired him to disband his Guard, it being a cauſe of great jealouſie and danger to the whole Kingdom*: Otherwiſe they told him, *that they ſhould employ their care and utmoſt power to ſecure the Parliament, and to preſerve the peace and quiet of the Realm.* And ſhortly after, publiſh'd * a third *Remonſtrance*, juſtifying their former Actions; farther reproaching him in every thing; and challenging the Obligations of his Oath (upon that ungrammatical conſtruction of *quas vulgus digerit*) to paſs all Bills which they ſhould tender unto him: About this time alſo removing * the Magazine from Hull to the Tower of London.

* 19 Maii. Exact Coll. p. 213.

* 23 Maii.

* 26 Maii. Exact Coll. p. 263.

* 30 Maii.

The King therefore, diſcerning what preparations they had made, in every reſpect, in order to the forming of a rebellious Army; did, by his Royal *Proclamation* *, bearing date the xxvijth of *May*, expreſly *forbid all and every of his Subjects belonging to the Trained-Bands, or Militia of this Kingdom, to riſe, march, muſter, or exerciſe, by vertue of any Order or Ordinance of one or both Houſes of Parliament, without conſent or warrant from himſelf, upon pain of puniſhment according to the Laws.* And plainly diſcerning, through theſe their ſubtile practices, what advantages they made to themſelves, upon the ſmalleſt pretences; as alſo by caſting Scandals upon all his Actions; he ſummon'd the Gentlemen and Free-holders of *Yorkshire*, to come to Heyworth-Moore, upon the third of *June*. Where he declared unto * them, *the reaſon of his reſiding, at that time amongſt them; being driven away from* White-Hall *by Tumults; with his purpoſe to maintain the true Proteſtant Religion, and Laws, and that the Guard, he there had, for the ſafety of his Royal perſon, conſiſting*

* Exact Coll. p. 391.

* 3 Junii. Exact Coll. p. 302.

of

*of the chief Gentry of that County, and one Regiment of the Trained Bands, could give no juſt cauſe of fears to the people.* 1642.

But, whilſt he was thus zealous to ſatisfy his good Subjects, of his real Intentions; the Members at **Weſtminſter**, (now confident of their own power) ſent * down a Petition, with *Nineteen Propoſitions*, to his Majeſty. By which they demanded no leſs in effect, than to yield up all his Regal power into their Hands. Unto which he ſoon after returned a full and clear Anſwer *, by the Marqueſs of *Hertford* and Earl of *Southampton*.

* Nineteen Propoſitions ſent to the King. 2 Junii. Exact Coll. p. 307.
* Exact Coll. p. 311.

To ſecond which *Propoſitions*, within four days enſuing, they ſet forth a bold *Declaration* *, againſt his *Proclamation* of the xxvijth of *May*, *affirming it to be void in Law*; *and* (in oppoſition thereto,) *requiring all Officers to muſter, levy, riſe, march and exerciſe, according to their Ordinance*; *aſſuring them, for ſo doing, of protection by both Houſes of Parliament*. And within few days after, ſent out an Order *, in the name likewiſe of both Houſes, with Propoſals, "for the bringing in of Money and Plate; as alſo for "providing Horſe, Horſe-men, and Arms, in purſuance "of their ſolemn vow and Proteſtation, for ſuppreſſing "the Traiterous attempts (as they call'd them) of "thoſe wicked and malignant Counſellers, who ſought "to engage the King in a war againſt his Parliament: and "likewiſe with Inſtructions for the Deputy-Lieutenants "to proceed therein, themſelves making Subſcriptions accordingly, the very ſame day.

* 6 Junii.

* 10 Junii. Exact Coll. p. 339. Propoſals for bringing in Money and Plate.

Nor were the *Lecturing-Preachers*, and others of that ſtrain, leſs active every where in this deſperate (and afterwards bloudy) Scene; the cheif of which, throughout all **England**, were then got into **London**, **Weſtminſter**, and the Suburbs of both: it being very well known, both by their public Sermons, and ſeditious Pamphlets, what endeavours they ſedulouſly uſed, to ſtir up all perſons able of Body, to take up Arms; and others to give aid with their Purſes, towards the advancing *that Glorious work* (as they call'd it.) And for the better quickning the Members of Parliament therein, they forthwith repaired to each man's particular Houſe, or Lodgings, in and about thoſe Cities, to excite and animate them thereto, (as ſome of thoſe Members have ſince acknowledged;)

1642. the drift and deſign of thoſe Pulpiteers, therein, being the alteration of Church-government, and inriching themſelves with the lands and poſſeſſions of the Biſhops and their Cathedrals, as is very well known. Whoſe Rebellious documents had ſuch ſucceſs; that the Houſes of Parliament, ſent down divers of their moſt active Members, to execute their Ordinance for the *Militia*, in the Counties of *Leiceſter* *, *Lincolne* *, *Eſſex* *, *Kent* * &c. Who infuſed into the people ſtrange fears and apprehenſions of very great dangers, to the end that they might be the better prepared to riſe in the enſuing Rebellion.

* 4 Junii.
* 6 Junii.
* 7 Junii.
* 14 Junii.

But to return to the *Propoſitions*, for bringing in of Horſe, Money, and Plate. Of this, ſo ſoon as the King had notice, he diſpatch'd a Letter * to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of London: intimating to them; "that, if they ſhould give, or lend any money; or pro- "vide or raiſe any Horſe or Arms, under pretence of "a Guard for both Houſes, grounded upon thoſe ſcan- "dalous votes; by which they had preſumed to declare "his intention to levy war againſt his Parliament; he "ſhould look upon it, as the raiſing of force againſt him- "ſelf, and to be done in malice, and contempt of his "authority.

* 14 Junii. Exact Coll. p. 350.

But this came too late: for the *Londoners* were ſo forward in their compliance with theſe *Propoſitions*; that the very ſame day they brought in great ſums of Money; for which, by a ſpecial Order *, they had public Thanks returned. Which ſums, if we may credit one * of their own Party, did (with their Plate, Rings &c.) in London, Middleſex, and Eſſex, amount to above Eleven millions of pounds; beſides vaſt ſums from the reſt of the Counties, and otherwiſe. So that all the effect his Majeſties Letter produced, was only an Order, * in the name of both Houſes, that the Deputy-Lieutenants, throughout the Kingdom, ſhould tender Propoſitions to the ſeveral Counties, for raiſing of Horſe, for the ſervice of the King and Parliament: and ſoon after that, a *Declaration* * of both Houſes was iſſued out, whereby they juſtifyed their raiſing of Forces; alleadging the ſame "to be for main- "tenance of the Proteſtant Religion; the King's Autho- "rity and Perſon, in his Royal dignity; the free courſe "of

* 11 Junii.
* Martin's Eccho. p. 17.
* 15 Junii.
* 21 Junii. Exact Coll. p. 375.

1642.

"of Juſtice; the Laws of the Land, priviledge of Par-
"liament &c. forbidding any Officers whatſoever, to
ſpread that Paper (for ſo they ſtiled his Majeſties Letter)
juſtifying their Votes, "that the King intended to levy
"war againſt his Parliament: intimating; that, "neither
"his Majeſties commands nor threats could withdraw
"or deter ſuch as were well affected to the public, from
"contributing Money, Horſe and Plate.

And ſo indeed it proved; for (as they had deluded the people) large proportions were daily brought in; the County of *Eſſex* contributing twenty ſeven thouſand pounds, and upwards, and eight hundred Horſe; *Hertfordſhire* eight thouſand pounds, and three hundred Horſe, &c. as appears by the calculation thereof, made upon the twentieth of *Auguſt* enſuing.

The King therefore, taking into conſideration theſe their violent practiſes; and that they had ſet up Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants in all Counties, declaring his Commiſſions of Lieutenancy illegal; upon mature deliberation and advice (about this time) iſſued out *Commiſſions of Array*, into all parts of the Realm (which courſe had been anciently uſed by his Royal Progenitors, for prevention of Invaſions, or ſuppreſſing of any Inſurrections; and approved by divers Statutes:) and thereupon ſet forth a *Proclamation* *, informing all his loving Subjects, of the lawfulneſs and uſe of them; commanding their obedience thereunto. Which Commiſſions the Earl of *Derby*, in * *Lancaſhire*; the Earl of *Huntingdon* and Mr. *Henry Haſtings* his Son (afterwards Lord *Loughborough*) in * *Leiceſterſhire*, with others in thoſe Counties, to whom they were directed, did firſt put in execution.

Commiſſions of Array by the King.

* 20 Junii. Exact Coll. p. 372.

* 20 Junii.

* 22 Junii.

But hereupon the Members at Weſtminſter publiſhed * a large *Declaration*, in the name of both Houſes, repreſenting thoſe *Commiſſions of Array, to be contrary to the Laws of the Land, deſtructive to the Liberty and Property of the Subject; yea ſo full of danger and inconvenience, that it would bring an heavier yoke of bondage upon them, than any that had been taken away that Parliament.* Their factious Emiſſaries, employ'd in ſundry parts of the Realm, perſwading the people, that thoſe Commiſſions were to reduce the Eſtates of all the Yeomanry of England,

* 1 Julii. Exact Coll. p. 386.

1642. to ten pounds a year; and to enſlave them beyond expreſſion. And leſt thoſe, who were thus ſeduced by theſe their ſubtil illuſions, ſhould receive any ſatisfaction from his Majeſties gracious *Declarations*, whereby the uprightneſs of his Actions, and candor of his Intentions might appear; they ſent out Orders*, ſtrictly to prohibit the publiſhing of them; promiſing Protection from the Parliament, to thoſe who ſhould refuſe ſo to do.

* 4 Julii. Exact Coll. p. 449.

Moreover, becauſe the King, out of his great ſenſe of thoſe imminent dangers, which daily more and more threatned his ſafety, deſired a Subſcription * of thoſe Lords, and other loyal perſons, then attending him at York, for levying Horſe in his own defence; as alſo for ſafeguard of the two Houſes of Parliament, and the Proteſtant Religion; they order'd *, "that ten thou-"ſand pounds of the money which had been brought "in upon the Propoſitions, unto Guild-Hall, ſhould be "forthwith laid out to buy Horſes; and that ten thou-"ſand Foot ſhould be ſpeedily raiſed in London, and "the parts adjacent, to be employ'd according to the "direction of the Parliament. As alſo *, that Arms "ſhould be taken out of the Tower, for their preſent "occaſions, to be diſpoſed of, by authority of Parlia-"ment. Likewiſe, that the ten thouſand men, ſo raiſed, "ſhould be forthwith liſted under Officers, trained, en-"tred into pay, and march into any part of the King-"dom, by direction and authority of Parliament. And "of this Army, thus ſpeedily to be raiſed, they appoint-"ed *, that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould be General, with "whom they voted, *that they would live and dye.*

* 22 Junii.

* 5 Julii.

Order for the raiſing of an Army by the Parliament.

* 7 Julii.

* 12 Julii. Exact Coll. p. 457.

Likewiſe, to the end that this great affair might yet carry a ſpecious ſhew to the world, they ſet forth two more *Declarations**, in the name of both Houſes. Whereby they pretended "their whole endeavour to be for "his Majeſties Honour and Safety, the regaining the "ancient Laws, Rights, and Liberties of the Kingdom, "ſo much invaded; ſetling the Proteſtant Religion in "peace and purity, *&c.* Taxing * the King with en-"deavour of a change in Religion and Government; "as alſo with breach of his ſolemn Proteſtations and "Imprecations; and that he had already begun a war "againſt

Ib. p. 458.

Ib. p. 461.

"againſt them, being ſeduced by Jeſuitical Counſel, 1642.
"and Cavaliers, who had deſigned all to ſlavery and
"confuſion; which gave them occaſion thus to raiſe
"Forces, for defence of *Religion* and *Laws*.

And having given authority to the Earl of *Warwick*, to command his Majeſties Navy at Sea; they made an Order * for him, to take proviſions for the ſame out of the Kings ſtores at Chatham, notwithſtanding his Majeſties command to the contrary. Likewiſe for the better increaſe of their Army, they made Orders * "for "encouragement of Voluntiers, within this Kingdom "and dominion of Wales, to exerciſe and diſcipline themſelves, in a military manner; which promiſes of the "Authority of both Houſes, for their indemnity: As "alſo, that *"the Earl of Eſſex, ſhould go on, to make "all ſpeedy preparation, for the raiſing of Forces, according to his Commiſſion; appointing * Commiſſioners out of the Common-Council of London, to aſſiſt "him in raiſing Voluntiers, within that City and the "Liberties thereof. And laſtly, that a *Declaration** ſhould be publiſhed, "to ſatisfy the people, concerning their "proceedings herein: as alſo to ſtir them up, to afford "all ſpeedy aid towards the raiſing of Forces, upon the Propoſitions, for the intent aforeſaid, and for removing the evil Counſellers from his Majeſty.

* 15 Julii.

* 19 Julii. Exact Coll. p. 476.

* 23 Julii.

* 25 Julii.

* 25 Julii.

How forward and active the *Londoners* were to promote this Rebellion, can hardly be imagined; people of all ſorts pouring out their Treaſure, as if it had been for the moſt advantageous purchaſe in the world; thronging in with their Plate and Rings; and not ſparing their very Thimbles and Bodkins. Neither were they backward in the adventure of their lives; five thouſand of them liſting themſelves under the Earl of *Eſſex*, the next day * in Moor-fields. Which, with the other Voluntiers, then in readineſs, amounted to near ten thouſand men, being forthwith committed * to Officers, and diſtributed into Regiments, were ordered to be daily exerciſed, and to have conſtant pay.

* 26 Julii.

* 1 Aug.

But all theſe Forces and preparations, were raiſed and made for the King's ſafety, and preſervation, as 'twas pretended: though at the ſame time, certain Proviſions of Wheat and Wine, for his Majeſties own Table, paſſing by

1642. by water towards York, were ſeized by Sir *John Hotham*; and that ſeizure approved of by the Houſes at Weſtminſter, with encouragement * to do the like, upon occaſion.

* 29 Julii.

And, as they took all care to hinder the King's good Subjects, from the ſight of his *Declarations*, and *Proclamations*, leſt they ſhould continue ſtedfaſt in their old obedience to his Majeſty and the Laws (as is evident from their impriſoning the Lord Mayor of London, as alſo of the Mayors of Saliſbury, and St. Albans, for the publiſhing of them, according to their duties) ſo were they not ſlack in ſpreading and divulging their own; as is apparent from their frequent diſperſing them. And therefore, though they had often vented the like before: yet now again to remind the people of what was in hand, they ſet forth another bitter Declaration *; whereby they taxed the King with a deſign to alter the Government, both in Church and State; and that the time for effecting thereof was then come to ripeneſs, as did appear by the preparation of Arms, made by his Majeſty (as they alleadged) Scandalizing him, with giving countenance to the Rebellion in Ireland: and therefore declared, *that they were neceſſitated to take up Arms, for the defence of all theſe, which muſt otherwiſe periſh.*

* 3 Aug. Exact Coll. p. 491.

The King therefore obſerving; that in purſuance of their *Votes* and *Declarations*, they had thus form'd a powerful Army; and that they had already beſeig'd the Town of Portſmouth, did ſet forth a *Proclamation* *, declaring the Earl of *Eſſex*, and all his adherents, Traitors; with pardon to ſuch as ſhould return to their obedience within ſix days. But this gracious offer was ſo much contemn'd, that ſo ſoon as it came to their notice, they publiſh'd a *Declaration* *, in the name of both Houſes of Parliament; containing many ſhameful invectives againſt his Majeſty, declaring all ſuch to be Traitors, that were Contrivers or Countenancers of this laſt *Proclamation* of *Auguſt* the ninth. And, that if his Majeſty would disband his Forces, abandon thoſe wicked Counſellers, and hearken to the wholſome advice of his great Council, they would endeavour to make him and his poſterity, as great and rich as any Prince, that ever ſway'd the Scepter.

* 9 Aug. Exact Coll. p. 503.

* 13 Aug. Exact Coll. p. 508.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XII.

BUt what this ſpecious offer meant, the King (by woful experience) being ſufficiently ſenſible; and of all other helps, in ſmall hope; publiſh'd another *Proclamation* *, declaring his purpoſe, to erect his Standard-royal at **Nottingham**, upon the twentieth of *Auguſt*; requiring the aid and aſſiſtance of all his Subjects, on the North of **Trent**, and twenty miles Southwards, for ſuppreſſing the power of thoſe *Rebels*, which were then on their march againſt him. And therewithall a *Declaration* *, ſetting forth their evil practiſes, and proceedings from the beginning of that Parliament.

* 12 Aug. Exact Coll. p. 512.

* Ib. p. 514.

But the *Rebels* (for ſo I ſhall now call them) having brought their work to this height; and for their better ſupport therein, having ſeized on an hundred thouſand pounds, of the money rais'd by Act of Parliament, for the ſervice of **Ireland**: having alſo depoſed Sir *Richard Gurney*, Lord Mayor of **London**; as alſo committed * him to the Tower, and by their own authority ſet * up another; they ſent Forces into ſeveral parts of this Realm, *viz.* into * **Kent**, putting them into **Cotham**-Houſe; as alſo into the Block-houſe and Sconces at **Graves-end**, and **Chatham**, together with **Dover**-Caſtle.

* 12 Aug.
* 15 Aug.
* 19 Aug.

Into * *Leiceſterſhire* they ſent the Earl of *Stanford*, with Horſe, Foot, and Canon. Into *Warwickſhire* the Lord *Brooke*, and others, with ſix thouſand Horſe and Foot; and into * *Dorſetſhire* the Earl of *Bedford*, with ſeven thouſand Foot, ſix hundred Horſe, and fourteen pieces of Canon: and ſpecial direction * into other parts; that their Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants, ſhould ſpeedily execute their Ordinance for the *Militia*, and *declare to all men; that it had been and ſhould be the endeavour of both Houſes of Parliament, to provide for his Majeſties ſafety.* &c.

* 20 Aug.
* 2 Sept.
* 18 Aug.

But, the more to incenſe the people, they iſſued out other *Declarations* *, in the name of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; ſcandalizing * the King, "with laying the foundation of an arbitrary and tyrannical Government: and, that notwithſtanding all his Vows and

* 20 Aug.
* Exact Coll. p. 574-575.

1642. "Proteſtations, to govern by Law, which had been diſ-
"perſed throughout the Kingdom, to blind and deceive
"the people (as they alleaged) the moſt miſchievous
"principles of Tyranny, had been exerciſed, that ever
"were invented: with promiſe to all well affected per-
"ſons (as they term'd them) "that ſhould be prejudiced
"by the Cavaliers, that they ſhould have full reparation
"of their damages, out of the Eſtates of all ſuch per-
"ſons, as had withdrawn themſelves to York to ſerve
"his Majeſty.

The King therefore, ſeriouſly weighing the perillous condition, in which himſelf and the whole Realm were thus miſerably plunged, through the rage and malice of theſe deſperate men: that he might leave nothing unattemted, for preventing of thoſe great calamities, which he clearly ſaw approaching; after he had thus erected his royal Standard, ſent* a Meſſage from *Notingham*, to thoſe Houſes at Weſtminſter, by the Earls of *Southampton*, *Dorſet*, and others: whereby he propounded, "that
"for compoſure of thoſe unhappy differences, ſome fit
"perſons might be enabled, to treat on both ſides, in
"ſuch manner, and with ſuch freedome, as might beſt
"tend to an happy concluſion of them.

The King's Meſſage for Peace.

* 25 Aug. Exact Coll. p. 579.

But this gracious offer, was receiv'd by them, with ſo much ſcorn and inſolence (they then having a powerful Army on foot, with plenty of Money, and other accommodations; and his Majeſty deſtitute of all theſe) that the ſubſtance of their Anſwer was*, "that if his Majeſty
"would (forſake all his Loyal Subjects, then with him,
and) "return to his Parliament, he ſhould find ſuch ex-
"preſſions of their fidelities and duty; as might aſſure
"him, that his ſafety, Honour and Greatneſs, was only
"to be found in their affections. And immediately pub-
"liſh'd a *Declaration**, ſetting forth; "that the Arms, which
"they had taken up &c. ſhould not be laid down, until his
"Majeſty ſhould withdraw his protection from ſuch as
"had been voted, by both Houſes, to be Delinquents;
"or that ſhould be ſo voted; and ſhould leave them to
"the juſtice of the Parliament.

* Exact Coll. p. 584.

* Ib. p. 585.

Things being brought to this height, it will not be improper now to take notice how the *Scots* did behave themſelves towards the King in this unhappy Juncture,

whoſe

whoſe gracious condeſcenſions to them, had been ſuch as hardly any age can parallel. Wherein, it is to be conſidered, that they could not but diſcern what breaches had been made, upon his Majeſty, and his juſt Rights, by thoſe here, who ſat at **Weſtminſter**, and call'd themſelves the Parliament; as alſo to what degree of ſtrength and power they were grown, with the artifices whereby they attain'd thereto. Moreover, that though, by a Petition exhibited to the Lords of his Majeſties Privy-Council of that Realm, upon the laſt of *May an.* 1642, they had intimated *a deſire to ſhun any juſt occaſion, that might give offence to their gracious Soveraign* (as they then call'd him) *or of Jealouſy to their Brethren of* **England**; and ſo, ſeemed to ſtand only as Spectators: yet, when they heard, that their Friends in **England** had put themſelves in Arms, and were ſo powerful in ſtrength every way, and his Majeſty ſo weak; they then, not only ſhew'd themſelves more open; but ſent * a Form of their *Kirk-Government* to the Parliament at **Weſtminſter**, as a Pattern for Reformation; with deſire from the Aſſembly of that Kirk, that the ſame might be eſtabliſh'd here: and a *Declaration* * "of their "affections to the Reformation in Kirk and State. Wherein they ſignified "their expectation, that **England** would "now beſtir themſelves, and extirpate the Prelatical Hie-"rarchy, that the remainder of the work might be the "more eaſy; offering their aſſiſtance for furthering thereof. Of which more anon.

1642.

The Scots ſend a form of their Kirk-Government to the Parliament at Weſtminſter.

* 4 Aug.

* 26 Aug. Exact Coll. p. 598.

That there was nothing wanting in his Majeſty that could be expected from a moſt pious and gracious Prince, for prevention of thoſe miſeries, which this turbulent Generation afterwards brought upon theſe Realms, doth ſufficiently appear by his ſundry pathetick Meſſages to them, formerly ſent. Nevertheleſs to acquit himſelf farther to God and the world; by another Meſſage * of *Sept.* the eleventh he manifeſted to them "what endea-"vours he had uſed by his many offers, but could not "obtain any Treaty: And therefore now declared; that, "being thus left to his neceſſary defence; relying only on "the Providence of God, the juſtneſs of his Cauſe, and "the affections of his good people; he ſhould yet piouſly "remember the blood that was to be ſpilt in this Quarrel, "and chearfully embrace a Treaty, when ever they ſhould "deſire it.

Another Meſſage from the King.

* 11 Sept.

1642.

But to this was returned, a moſt ſcornful and ſcandalous Anſwer *; taxing him, *with committing* (by his Souldiers) *oppreſſions, rapines, and murthers upon his good Subjects*; ſaying, *that they had offered him all Security, Honour, Service, Obedience, Support* &c. *and ſought nothing, but that their* **Religion**, **Liberty**, *Peace of the Kingdom, and Safety of the Parliament might be ſecured from the open violence, and cunning practiſes of a wicked party, who had long plotted their deſtruction*: upbraiding him, *that Iriſh Traitors and Rebels were admitted to his preſence, grace, and favour*: and telling him, *that if he would return to his Parliament without his forces, they would ſecure his royal Perſon, Crown, and Dignity.*

* 16 Sept.

Being thus driven to theſe great Extremities (which was either to ſubmit to their mercy, and forſake all thoſe his loyal Subjects, who had faithfully adhered to him; or to expoſe his royal Perſon, with that ſmall part of an Army he then had, to the uncertain chance of war:) and hearing that the Earl of *Eſſex* (the Rebell's General) was gone out of **London**, in great State, upon the tenth of *September* (the cheif part of his Army being advanced to **Northampton**, before) he march'd from **Nottingham**, towards **Shrewſbury**, upon the thirteenth of that month, with what forces he then had; and at the Head of them, near **Wellington**, made a ſolemn *Proteſtation* * *to defend the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſh'd in the Church of* **England**; *to govern by the known Laws of the Land; that the Liberty and Property of the Subject might be by them preſerved with the ſame care as his own juſt rights; Alſo to maintain the juſt Priviledges of Parliament: And that he would expect no aid from any man, nor protection from Heaven, when he, willingly, ſhould fail in theſe particulars.* Which pious intentions of his, thus declared, were of no ſmall advantage to him at that time; his Army increaſing daily, beyond expectation.

King marched from Nottingham 13 Sept.

* 19 Sept. Exact Coll. p. 614. The King's Proteſtation at the head of his Army.

The Rebels therefore hearing which way the King moved, bent their courſe ſpeedily towards him, making their Head-quarter, in and about **Worceſter**, from the four and twentieth of *September*, till the nineteenth of *October* following. Near to which place (upon their approach) ſome few Troops of his Majeſties, under the command of Prince *Rupert*, moſt happily defeated * a far greater

* 23 Sept.

greater number of the Rebel's principal Cavalry; Colonel *Sandys*, Major *Douglas*, and other Commanders (with divers other) being there * ſlain, ſix Cornets of Horſe taken, and all this, with the loſs but of one man. Which being the firſt notable encounter, that his Majeſties forces had with them, and ſo ſucceſsful, did not a little amaze moſt of the Rebels party. Leſt therefore the truth thereof, being divulged, ſhould diſhearten their friends in **London**, and other remote parts; they, not only cauſed divers printed Papers to be ſpread about, bragging of it for a ſpecial victory: but, that it might gain the more credit, ordain'd a public Thankſgiving * in **London**, for the ſame. And to hinder his Majeſty from the aſſiſtance of his good Subjects, under one pretence or other (though they had cryed out againſt his raiſing an Army, by the help of *Papiſts* to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion) they were not aſhamed to make a public Order *, *that, if any Papiſt would bring in conſiderable ſums to them, upon the Propoſitions, it ſhould be accepted of.*

1642.

* At Powickfeild near Worceſter.

* 27 Sept.

* 6 Oct.

As, by theſe ſubtile devices, they had rais'd the flames of Rebellion to this height; and deprived the King of all viſible means here, for the quenching thereof: ſo did they uſe their utmoſt endeavours, to prevent any help, that might be obtained for him, from forreign parts; as appears by their negotiation with the States of the *United Provinces*; wherein they imploy'd one *Walter Strickland*, with a ſpecial *Declaration* * to them; "complaining of "the *Prince of Aurange*, for countenancing the *Lord* "*Digby*, in his making warlike Proviſions in thoſe parts, "for the King's uſe: and in favour of that Lord, and o-"ther wicked Counſellers, and Incendiaries; to have li-"cenſed experienced Officers and Souldiers, to reſort in-"to this Kingdom, in aid of his Majeſty againſt the Par-"liament. Scandalizing the King alſo, "that his Coun-"cils were corrupted by a Jeſuitical faction; and that he "had drawn his ſword for the deſtruction of his people: deſiring therefore, "that his Majeſty might have no man-"ner of Supplies from thence: and, withall, inſinuating, "how near a relation there was, betwixt that model, in-"to which they aimed to caſt this Government, and the "State of thoſe Provinces; and that therefore they ex-"pected aſſiſtance from them.

Exact Coll. p. 635.

1642. Nor did they reſt here, as is evident from thoſe *Inſtructions* which were brought up by a Committee, to be ſent into Holland, for this Mr. *Strickland*, upon the 29th of *February an.* 1643; by which he was to *repreſent to the States of thoſe Provinces, that the Parliament of* England *did only ſtrive for Reformation of that Religion and State they live in:* and therefore *deſired thoſe States, that They would now afford them their Brotherly aſſiſtance, as they had formerly aſſiſted Them. As alſo, that they would enlarge their union to other Princes, and lend them ſome money upon the* public faith *of both Kingdoms; and the rather becauſe they made* Reformed Churches, *the pattern of their endeavours.*

* 15 Oct. Exact Coll. p. 638. Neither could they be ſilent at home; but the more to ſtir up the people, inculcated * to them; "that the "King had raiſed an Army, by the help of Papiſts; the "corrupt part of the Clergy; the Delinquent Nobility "and Gentry, and ſome notable Traitors beyond-Sea: "that they had liberty to rob and ſpoil all ſorts of peo-"ple; as alſo to exact Money and Plate from Corpora-"tions, by threatning Fire and Sword to the refuſers: "that he had hired a Scotchman, to murther Sir *John* "*Hotham*: that, by violent oppreſſions he had exhauſted "the parts about Shrewſbury and that the Cavaliers "were hungry for the wealth of London, and the fruitful "Counties adjacent: that, if he ſhould prevail, there "was no expectation, but that all would be expoſed to "the malice and rapine of his ravenous Souldiers, and "all honeſt and religious mens throats cut. And there-"fore, that the means of curing and preventing theſe "dangers, muſt be by Loan, and contribution to the Earl of *Eſſex's* Army, "which was not inferior in num-"ber to the King's; beſides better armed, full pay'd *&c.* "but above all, well encouraged and inſtructed in the Cauſe, by the labour of many Godly, and painful Di-vines; "and therefore, that all Trained Bands, Voluntiers "*&c.* in all places, ſhould aſſiſt the Lord General, *&c.* Whereunto they added theſe enſuing Votes; *viz.*

1. That ſuch perſons, as ſhould not contribute to the charge of the Common-wealth, in this time of Neceſſity, ſhould be held fit to be ſecured and diſarmed.

2. That the Fines, Rents *&c.* of Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans *&c.* and of ſuch notorious Delinquents, who had taken

taken up Arms againſt the Parliament, or had been active in the Commiſſion of Array, ſhould be ſequeſtred for the uſe and ſervice of the Common-wealth. 1642.

3. That the King's revenues ſhould be brought into the ſeveral Courts, and other places, where they ought to be paid in; and not iſſued out until farther order was taken by both Houſes of Parliament.

And to ſum up all, they ſet forth another * *Declaration* and *Proteſtation*; wherein they did, "in the preſence "of Almighty God, proteſt and declare to this King- "dom, and the whole World; that no private paſſion, "or reſpect, nor evil intention to his Majeſties perſon; "no deſign to the prejudice of his juſt Honour, and Au- "thority had engaged them to raiſe Forces and take up "Arms *&c.* that they had profeſſed their Loyalty by ſe- "veral *Remonſtrances*; that they had paſſed by ignomi- "nious Slanders *&c.* that, for the avoiding of blood, "they had directed the Earl of *Eſſex*, "by himſelf or o- "thers, to cauſe an humble Petition, to be delivered to "his Majeſty to return in peace to his Parliament; that "his Majeſty had refuſed to yield ſafe conduct for the de- "livery thereof; that he was engaged to the Popiſh-par- "ty for ſuppreſſion and extirpation of the true Religion, "and expoſing the wealth of this Kingdom to be plun- "dered, and ſpoil'd by Cavaliers *&c.* contrary to his ſo- "lemn Oaths, Proteſtations, and Execrations; and there- "fore, that they reſolved to enter a ſolemn Oath and Covenant, to defend this Cauſe, "with the hazard of "their lives, againſt the King's Army. And that they "expected help from the Brethren of Scotland herein. His Majeſty therefore, having in a very ſhort time, and be- yond expectation, raiſed an indifferent Army (though his wants of many accomodations were very great) finding no means of Peace or Safety, but by the hazard of Battel, which the Rebels eagerly ſought; caſting him- ſelf wholly upon the Almighty's providence and protec- tion, began * his march from Shrewſbury, upon the xijth of *October*. Which was no ſooner known, but that they fiercely purſued him, having order *, for that pur- poſe, from the Houſes at Weſtminſter, *to march againſt his Majeſties Army, and fight with them; and to reſcue the per- ſons of the King, Prince, and Duke of* York.

* 22 Oct. Exact Coll. p. 663.

The firſt mention of the Covenant in England.

* 12 Oct. The King march'd from Shrewsbury. * Exact Coll. p. 632.

So

1642.

So that, on Sunday the xxiijth of *October*, being in view of the King's forces, they put their Army in order, near **Kineton**, in *Warwickſhire*; and bid his Majeſty Battel, by a ſignal thereof given with their great Ordinance, wherewith they made five ſhot at his Army, before any fire was given on the other part. But then began a ſharp encounter, which continued near three hours. Wherein God ſo preſerv'd his Majeſty; that, inſtead of being utterly deſtroy'd by theſe violent Rebels, who reckoned all their own; their invincible Army (as they eſteem'd it) was ſo bruis'd and ſhatter-ed; that inſtead of farther purſuing the King, it retreated eight miles backwards, where the Souldiers ſecur'd themſelves many days, by the advantage of the River **Avon**, under the protection of the Town and Caſtle of *Warwick*.

Battel of Kineton 23 Oct. Commonly called Edge-Hill Battel.

Of which Battel, I purpoſely omit the Deſcription. Nor ſhall I herein make any farther mention of the courſe of this war (it being a work fit to be handled by it ſelf, by ſome more able pen) than in a breif Chronologick way, to point at the times of the moſt memorable Battels and Seiges: as alſo to the Towns, Caſtles, and other fortified Places, firſt poſſeſs'd, or afterwards forcibly gained by either party. But inſtead thereof ſhall obſerve the wonderful providence of Almighty God: whereby, notwithſtanding theſe matchleſs Conſpirators, who had, by ſo many ſubtile artifices, arrived to that ſtrength and power; and made ſeizure of his Majeſties, Forts, Ports, Navy, Magazine, and Revenue: (inſomuch as the Lord *Say*, in a publick meeting at **Oxford**, of the Gentry and others, thither ſummon'd by him, in *September* preceding; told them, upon his Honour, *that the King had neither Money, Power, nor Credit*;) his Subjects every where, being alſo not a little tainted with the moſt Antimonarchical principles, that by their ſeditious Preachers, or otherwiſe, could poſſibly be infuſed into them. Yet, that in the ſpace of two months, he could be enabled to meet them in open Battel; having no Amunition, but what came to him from Forreign parts, through many perillous adventures; the Ports being block'd up by his own Royal Navy, then under their command: nor having Arms or Moneys, but what he obtained by extraordinary difficulties. From this

this day forward, purpoſing to make ſome brief Remarks upon the enſuing practiſes of theſe monſtrous men, in carrying on that barbarous war, to the great devaſtation and ſpoil of this late flouriſhing Kingdom: And to ſhew how oppoſite all their Actions were to thoſe plauſible pretences, whereby they did at firſt moſt ſubtilly delude and enſnare a multitude of well-meaning people; *viz. Religion, Laws, Liberty, and property of the Subject*; as alſo *Priviledge of Parliament.* 1642.

## CHAP. XIII.

TO the end therefore, that their party might not be diſheartened, they always took care; not only to ſuppreſs any bad tidings, but to puff up the people with ſtrange imaginations of Victories and Conqueſts, by producing of forged Letters, counterfeit Meſſengers, and the like; as was manifeſt by their commitment * of ſundry perſons to priſon, which came from *Kineton*-Battel, and reported the very truth of the King's ſucceſs there; *viz.* Captain *Wilſon*, Lieutenant *Witney*, and Mr. *Banks*; who were all ſent to the Gate-houſe, to receive puniſhment by Martial-Law. As alſo, * one Mr. *John Wentworth* of Lincolns-Inne, and * Sir *William Fielding* Knight; giving * twenty pounds to one man, by order of the Houſe, who came, and reported, that moſt that were kill'd in the Battel, were of the King's ſide: and that the Earl of *Eſſex* commanded him to tell his friends; that he, with his own hands, carried away the King's Standard.

* 25 Oct.
* 29 Oct.
* 1 Nov.
* 25 Oct.

But to undecieve the world, as to the number on both ſides ſlain, (which were then confidently given out to be five thouſand) moſt certain it is, that upon ſtrict enquiry from the adjacent Inhabitants, who buried the Bodies, and took particular notice of the diſtinct numbers put into each Grave, it appears that there were not one thouſand complete there interred.

1642. As the remaining part of the Parliament-Army, after this Battel, finding not themſelves in a condition to encounter the King again without new Recruits, and therefore made a fair retreat no leſs than eight miles backward, (as hath been obſerved:) ſo did ſome of them before the fight, ſtanding doubtful of the ſucceſs, forbear to adventure themſelves therein; amongſt which the after-famous *Oliver Cromwell* was one (if ſome of the moſt eminent perſons of his own party, who were in the fight, bely him not) who, being Captain of a Troop of Horſe in the General's Regiment, came not into the Field, but got up into a Steeple within view of the Battel; and there, diſcerning by a Proſpective-glaſs the two Wings of their Horſe to be utterly routed, made ſuch haſt to be gone, that inſtead of deſcending the Stairs by which he came up, he ſwing'd down by a Bell-rope, and ran away with his Troop.

The King, ſoon after, holding a ſoft march towards **Oxford**, **Banbury**-Caſtle then garriſoned by the late Earl of *Peterborough's* Regiment of Foot; and **Broughton**-houſe (the cheif Seat of that great Rebel the Lord *Say*) yielded
* 27 Oct. * upon Summons as he paſſed. But the Rebels, that they might not ſeem to receive a foil in this firſt great Action,
* 27 Oct. the Citizens of **London** were ſummon'd * to **Guild-Hall**; where the Earls of *Pembroke*, and *Holland*, the Lord *Say* and *Wharton*, with Mr. *Strode*, made large Speeches to hearten them; telling their great Victory at **Kineton**-Battel. But the concluſion was, to crown their work (as their phraſe was) by farther and ſpeedy Supplies of Men, Money, and all other aſſiſtance. To which ſhadow of their victory, to
* 3 Nov. give the better gloſs, a public Order * was made, that a gratulatory Preſent of five hundred pounds, ſhould be ſent from the Houſes, to the Earl of *Eſſex*, for his good ſervice already done in the war. And leſt any of the deluded people ſhould return to their obedience, upon his
* 24 Oct. Majeſties gracious *Proclamation* * of pardon; they or-
Exact Coll. p. 673. dered that * thoſe *Proclamations* ſhould not be publiſh-
* 1 Nov. ed.

But, though all theſe Rebellious forces were hitherto rais'd by voluntary contributions, and free offers of many to engage themſelves perſonally in this bleſſed *Cauſe*; moſt of the common ſort, being really ſatisfied, that they ſhould only

only go and fetch up the King to his Parliament, out of the hands of his Evil Counſellers, and a few inconſiderable Cavaliers (for by that name they call'd all the Royaliſts) and then return triumphantly, without fighting: this unexpected bruſh at Kineton-field, could not ſilence thoſe, who had loſt their Husbands, Children, and Friends: Seeing therefore their farther Voluntary aſſiſtances came in but ſlowly; the Houſes at Weſtminſter made an Order *, that all Horſes, within the City of London and the Suburbs, and five miles adjacent, ſhould be ſpeedily preſt for the ſervice of their Army: as alſo, that all Horſes in the Tower, ſhould be ſeized on; and no Coaches ſuffered to be kept there, except one for the Lieutenant. 1642.

* 10 Nov.

And, to puff up their General with ſuch vain apprehenſions, as might hearten him to perſiſt in that his high imployment (in regard he was then ſomewhat popular) they form'd a ſpecious *Declaration* *, which they ordered to remain upon Record, in the Books of both Houſes of Parliament, as a mark of Honour to the name and Family of the Earl of *Eſſex*, for the good ſervice he had done to the Common-wealth, in the office of General, by the hazard of his life in the battel of Kineton.

* 11 Nov. Exact Coll. p. 743.

Likewiſe, for a firmer union of their forces, they made an Order, in the name of both Houſes; that the Counties of *York*, *Lincoln*, *Notingham*, *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Cheſter*, *Lancaſter*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Dureſme*, with the Town and County of Newcaſtle, ſhould aſſociate themſelves, by raiſing Horſe and Foot, to ſuppreſs and ſubdue the Popiſh and malignant Party: and that the Lord *Fairfax* ſhould command in chief, throughout thoſe Counties.

But his Majeſty coming ſafe to Oxford, after a ſhort ſtay there, march'd towards London; the noiſe whereof cauſed the Members at Weſtminſter to beſtir themſelves for preventing his Majeſties coming thither: whereupon all the power they could raiſe was ſent out, to give him a ſtop; the Earl of *Eſſex*, with part of his Army to Kingſton upon Thames, and the Lord *Brooke's* and Mr. *Hamden's* Regiments to Brainford: where the Royaliſts fell ſo ſharply on them, that they took five hundred Priſoners, and ſunk

1642. 12 Nov. ſome of their Ordinance, intending to march forward on the next * day. But, having advertiſement that *Eſſex* had drawn his Forces from **Kingſton**, and joining with the **London**-Auxiliaries, lay in his way at **Turnham Greene**, he choſe rather to make a ſafe retreat, than hazard his Army by a ſecond Battel; and ſo by **Reading** came back to **Oxford**, where he took up his Winter-Quarters, making it his cheif Garriſon.

The flame of war beginning thus to ſpread, each part ſtrove to poſſeſs themſelves of what ſtrong Towns and Caſtles they could; as alſo to fortify ſuch other places as might enable them to have command over the parts adjacent: The gaining whereof, and other Acts of Hoſtility on each part in places remote, as alſo the moſt conſiderable tranſactions of the Members at **Weſtminſter** (who calling themſelves *the Parliament*, ſate there with ſtrong Guards, to carry on this Grand Rebellion) being not poſſibly capable of a perfect Narrative in punctual order of time: to avoid confuſion therefore, I have thought it moſt proper to place what is moſt remarkable, on the military part, at the end of each years; beginning with this of 1642: in which the war did commence.

To proceed therefore. The Rebels by this time diſcerning the King to get ground; partly by the increaſe of his Forces in ſundry Counties; and partly by undeceiving many well-meaning people, who had been ſeaſoned by divers Lecturing-Preachers and other corrupt Clergymen with diſloyal principles; and now doubting the iſſue without farther help; ſent * a *Declaration*, and Invitation to the *Scots*, for their aſſiſtance; granting Letters * of Mart to all Merchants; that would ſet forth Ships, to guard the Seas; and to take all Shipping bringing Arms, or other aid from forreign parts to aſſiſt the King; and to detain the ſame, as their lawful prize.

The Scots invited to their aſſiſtance.
* 18 Nov.
* 26 Nov.

Furthermore, as **London**, and the Counties adjacent, gave example to all other parts of the Realm, in the firſt raiſing of this grand Rebellion; ſo were they the firſt over whom their great Maſters exerciſed their power. Nor were the deluded people elſewhere, (who had likewiſe given the Reines into theſe men's hands for a few fair words) long ſpared: for upon the xxixth of *November* there iſſued out an Order * from both Houſes, that Committees

* 29 Nov. Exact Coll. p. 763.

Committees ſhould be named, throughout all Counties, to take care for proviſions of Victual, for the Army raiſed by the Parliament; as alſo for ſeizing on Dragoon-Horſes, and draught-Horſes; and for borrowing of Money or Plate, to ſupply the Army upon the *public Faith*. Which Committees had thereby power, to ſend for and take ſuch Proviſions, Money, Plate, and Horſe, as the owners did then neglect to bring in. 1642.

And having formerly order'd *, that the King's and Queen's Revenue, coming into the Exchequer ſhould be detained, and employ'd for the public ſervice; they ſeized * on thirteen hundred Quarters of Corn, which then were in the King's Stores. Alſo, for explanation of their former Ordinance, touching the contribution of Horſe, Money, and Plate, upon the Propoſitions, they order'd that the Refuſers ſhould be diſtrain'd; and in default of Diſtreſſes to be found, their perſons to be impriſon'd, and their Families no longer to remain in London, Weſtminſter, or the Counties adjacent. * 26 Nov. * 29 Nov.

Shortly after this, likewiſe they framed more Ordinances * of Aſſociation for divers other Counties; conſtituting * Commanders in chief of new forces to be levyed within thoſe Aſſociations, beginning with *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Rutland*, *Northampton*, *Leiceſter*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, and *Huntington*; appointing the Lord *Grey of Groby* (ſon to the Earl of *Stanford*) Serjeant Major General there; planting Garriſons in every Caſtle and great Town throughout all thoſe parts. * 3 Dec. * 14 Jan.

The like Aſſociation * for the Shires of *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Hartford*, *Eſſex*, part of the Iſle of *Ely* and City of *Norwich*; *William* Lord *Grey* of *Warke*, being made Commander in Chief, throughout all thoſe Counties. * 10 Dec. 22 Dec.

And to put the people in hope, that this charge and trouble ſhould not laſt long; they gave out, that his Majeſties Forces were utterly broken and ſhatter'd; and read Letters * in the Houſe, from their General, that *he would purſue the King with all vehemency*. * 7 Dec.

Soon after this alſo, they made an Ordinance *, for taxing all *Malignants*, and ſuch as had not contributed upon the *Propoſitions*, for Money, Horſe, and Plate, accor- * 15 Dec. Exact Coll. p. 674.

1642. ding to their abilities, that they ſhould pay the Twenty-fifth part of their Eſtates. Under which name of *Malignants*, they brought in all that were worth any thing, if within their reach. But, in this Ordinance, it is to be obſerved *, that the Aſſeſſors were not to tax any Member of either Houſe.

* They bind heavy burthens and grievous to be born, and lay them on mens ſhoulders; but they themſelves will not move them with one of their fingers. Matth. 23. v. 4.

Neither could their oppreſſions at home ſuffice; but they countenanc'd the ſeizing of a Ship, call'd *Santa Clara*, out of the Port of *Santo Domingo*, in the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, laden with Plate, Cochinele, and other Merchandiſe of great value; and by order * of the Houſe of Commons, ſet up Bills upon the Exchange for ſale thereof. And that no part of the Realm might be free from their oppreſſions, they conſtituted * Committees in the Counties of *Warwick*, *Stafford*, and City of *Coventry*, for aſſociating of thoſe Counties, and planting of Garriſons there: authorizing them to ſuppreſs and diſarm Enemies, and perſons ill affected: alſo for raiſing Horſe, Money, Plate, *&c.* And ſoon after that, ſet forth a new *Declaration* *, in the name of both Houſes of Parliament; ſhewing the neceſſity of a preſent Subſcription of Money, and Plate, for a farther ſupply of the Army. Suggeſting, that his Majeſties Popiſh-Army would proceed with Fire and Sword, to root out their true Religion, and all that profeſſed it; if there were not a good proviſion of Treaſure to maintain and ſupport the Army rais'd by the Parliament.

* 27 Dec.
* 4 Jan. Exact Coll. p. 816.

* 7 Jan. Exact Coll. p. 825.

To which new Contributions, (for the better drawing on of others) they themſelves alſo ſubſcrib'd. And after ordered *, that ſuch Citizens, as had refuſed to pay the twentieth part, ſhould be removed to ſeveral Priſons; *viz.* **Yarmouth, Colcheſter, Norwich** *&c.* giving authority *, that the Collectors, made by their Ordinance of the xxixth of *November*, for Aſſeſments, ſhould have power to break open Cheſts, Trunks *&c.* and to ſieze Money, Goods, *&c.* for ſatisfaction of their Taxes. And at the ſame time appointed a Committee, for ſequeſtring the lands and eſtates of all ſuch perſons as had aſſiſted the King, in his juſt defence and preſervation, according to their duty and allegiance; calling it a maintaining a war againſt the Parliament.

* 23 Jan.

* 3 Febr. 8 Febr.

But all this being as yet not enough, they paſſed an Ordinance

dinance * to incite the City of **London** to a free contribution towards the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds, for the ſervice of the Army; the Houſes declaring; *that they were in good hopes it would be the laſt money they ſhould have occaſion to deſire of the City in that kind.* And therefore, that they might be as good as their words, and not come often to them in a borrowing way, they paſſed another Ordinance * for impoſing a Tax for the maintenance of their Army throughout the whole Kingdom, of Thirty three thouſand, three hundred forty eight pounds a week, whereof ten thouſand pounds weekly was aſſeſſed upon the City of **London**, beſides **Weſtminſter** and the Suburbs.

1642.

* 20 Febr.

* 23 Febr.

And to the end that the well affected, who had gone forth in their Army rais'd for the defence of the Parliament, Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Subjects of **England** (for thoſe are the words of the Preamble) ſhould be the better encouraged to continue in their ſervice, they paſſed another Ordinance * for aſſeſſing of all the Pariſhes in **England** to the relief of their maimed Souldiers, with the Widows, and Fatherleſs children of ſuch as were or ſhould be ſlain on their part.

* 9 Martii.

## CHAP. XIV.

I Now come to the military Actings of this preſent year 1642. In which I find, that the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton* Knight of the Bath (afterwards *Lord Hopton*) had rais'd conſiderable forces on the King's behalf in the Weſt: and that the Earl of *Newcaſtle* (afterwards Marqueſs) in the North, Colonel *Charles Cavendiſh* (brother to the Earl of *Devonſhire*:) *Spenſer* Earl of *Northampton*, and ſome other perſons of quality had done the like in ſundry other parts; ſo that with what ſtrength his Majeſty himſelf then had, after the taking up of his Winter-Quarters at *Oxford*, the Royaliſts had poſſeſſed themſelves

1642. ſelves of *Banbury*-Caſtle in *Oxfordſhire*; of *Reading*, and *Farringdon*, with the Caſtles of *Wallingford* and *Denington* in *Berkſhire*: of *Chicheſter*, and *Arundel*-Caſtle in *Suſſex*; of *Wincheſter* and *Baſing*-houſe in *Hantſhire*; of the Caſtles of *Deviſes* and *Wardour* in *Wiltſhire*; of the Caſtle of *Sherbourne* in *Dorſetſhire*: of ſome Port-Towns in *Devonſhire*; of the Caſtle of *Pendennis* and other places in *Cornwall*; of *Taunton* and *Bridgwater* in *Somerſetſhire*; of *Sudley*-Caſtle in *Glouceſterſhire*; of the City of *Worceſter*; of the the Town of *Shrewsbury* in *Shropſhire*; of *Dudley*-Caſtle and Cloſe of *Lichfeild* in *Staffordſhire*; of *Aſhby de la Zouch* in *Leiceſterſhire*; of the City of *Cheſter*; of *Monmouth* in *Monmouthſhire*; of *Lincoln*, and *Gaynesborough* in *Lincolnſhire*; of *Lynne* in *Norfolk*; of the City of *York*, and Caſtle of *Pontfract* in *Yorkſhire*; of *Latham*-houſe in *Lancaſhire*; and of *Newcaſtle* in *Northumberland*.

As alſo, that by their activeneſs there were taken from the Rebels before the entrance of the enſuing year, theſe
* 5 Dec. following places; *viz.* *Marlborough* in **Wiltſhire* by the Lord *Wilmot* (Colonel *Ramſey* a Scot and five hundred of his men being there made priſoners) *Tadcaſter* in *Yorkſhire* about the ſame time;
* 19 Jan. *Liskard*, * and *Saltaſh* * in
* 22 Jan. *Cornwall*; *Belvior*-Caſtle * in *Lincolnſhire*; *Cirenceſter* * in
* 22 Jan. *Glouceſterſhire*; *Malmesbury* * in *Wiltſhire*, and *Grantham*
* 2 Febr. * in *Lincolnſhire*. Whereunto may be added the ſafe land-
* 21 Martii. ing of the Queen (12 *Febr.*) at *Burlington* in *Yorkſhire*, with
* 23 Martii. Arms and Amunition brought from *Holland* for his Majeſties ſervice.

On the Rebels part I am alſo to obſerve, that beſides the Earl of *Eſſex*, their *Generaliſſimo*, they had divers other Petty-Generals; *viz.* *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax* in the North; the Earl of *Stanford*, and Sir *William Waller* in the Weſt; *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter*, *Baſil* Lord *Feilding* (eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Denbigh*) Colonel *Brown* the Woodmonger; Sir *William Brereton* Baronet; Sir *John Gell* Knight; Colonel *Maſſey* &c. all active men in their reſpective ſtations.

As to the places of ſtrength, throughout *England* (beſides the Royal Navy, given up into their hands by *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, whom the King had made Admiral of his whole Fleet) they had the City and Tower of *London*; all the Eaſtern-Counties, with the Ports and

Caſtles

Caſtles thereto belonging; the ſtrong Town of *Hull* in *Yorkſhire*, and in it all his Majeſties Magazine of Arms, Artillery, and Amunition prepared for his Scottiſh Expedition; *Mancheſter* in *Lancaſhire* ------ in *Cheſhire*; *Ludlow*, *Bridg-North*, and *Wemme* in *Shropſhire*; *Stafford* in *Staffordſhire*; the Cities of *Briſtol*, and *Glouceſter*; the Towns of *Leiceſter* and *Northampton*; the City of *Coventry*, with the Caſtles of *Warwick* and *Kenilworth* all in *Warwickſhire*; the City of *Lincoln*; the Towns of *Nottingham* and *Derby*; and indeed what not, excepting thoſe places I have mention'd, wherein the Royaliſts had firſt ſet foot. Beſides which, they took by force the City of *Wincheſter* *; *Leedes* * in *Yorkſhire*; the City of *Chicheſter* in *Suſſex* about the ſame time; and *Sudeley*-Caſtle * in *Glouceſterſhire*. 1642.

* 13 Dec.
* 22 Jan.
* 13 Febr.

Not much of Action in the Field, or otherwiſe, can be expected until the enſuing Spring of the year; ſo that all I find of note, was only that at *Liskard* * near *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, where Sir *Ralph Hopton* routed a ſtrong Party of the Rebels in thoſe parts, and took above twelve hundred Priſoners.

* 19 Jan.

Likewiſe that attempt upon **Litchfield**-cloſe in **Staffordſhire**, made by *Robert* Lord *Brook*, wherein he loſt his life; the manner whereof is not a little remarkable, which (in ſhort) was thus. This Lord being ſtrangely tainted with fanatic Principles, by the influence of one of his near Relations and ſome Schiſmatical Preachers (though in his own nature a very civil and well humour'd man) became thereby ſo great a zealot againſt the eſtabliſh'd Diſcipline of the Church, that no leſs than the utter extirpation of Epiſcopacy, and aboliſhing all decent Order in the ſervice of God would ſatisfy him. To which end he became the leader of all the power he could raiſe for the deſtruction of the Cathedral of that Dioceſs of **Coventry** and **Litchfield**. In order whereunto, when he had march'd within half a mile of **Litchfield**, he drew up his Army; and there devoutly pray'd a bleſſing upon his intended work: withall, earneſtly deſiring, that God would by ſome ſpecial Token manifeſt unto them his approbation of that their deſign: which being done, he went on, and planted his great Guns againſt the South-Eaſt Gate of the Cloſe, himſelf ſtanding

1643. ing in a Window of a little Houſe near thereto, to direct the Gunners in their purpoſed Battery: but it ſo hapned, that there being two perſons placed in the Battlements of the chiefeſt Steeple, to make ſhot, with long fouling Guns at the Cannoniers: upon a ſudden accident which occaſioned the Souldiers to give a ſhout, this Lord, coming to the door (compleatly harneſſed with Plate-Armour cap a pe) was ſuddenly ſhot into one of his Eyes; but the ſtrength of the Bullet ſo much abated by the glance thereof on a piece of timber, which ſupported a Pentiſs over the Door, that it only lodg'd in his Brains, Whereupon he ſuddenly fell down dead. Nor is it leſs notable, that this accident fell out upon the ſecond day of *March*, which is the Feſtival * of that ſometime famous Biſhop St. *Chad*, to whoſe memory *Offa* King of the *Mercians* firſt erected this ſtately Church and devoutly dedicated it.

* 2 Martii.

The next thing whereof I ſhall take notice, is; that on the nineteenth day of the ſame month of *March*, was that feirce Skirmiſh * at Hopton-Heath, in the ſame County of Stafford, where the right loyal and valiant *Spenſer* Earl of Northampton encountring Sir *William Brereton* and Sir *John Gell*, though he had the better of the day (being unhappily fallen from his Horſe amongſt Coney-Burrows) was barbarouſly murthered.

* 19 Martii.

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## CHAP. XV.

AS to this year's Actions, conſidering that money is the Sinews of war, the firſt thing of note, in order to the gaining thereof, which the Members at Weſtminſter did, was the ſequeſtring * of *Delinquents* (i.e. the Royaliſts) eſtates. And finding the poor Country-people very weary of the war, and apt to run away; having alſo had ſo much experience of the Cities forwardneſs in all things tending to their ſervice: to the intent, that upon any ſudden occaſion they

* 31 Martii. Scobell's Coll. cap. 4. p. 37.

they might draw out conſiderable numbers thence, they paſſed * an Ordinance, that the Committee for the *Militia* of **London**, and the Suburbs, ſhould raiſe new Regiments of Voluntiers, for the better ſecurity thereof. So likewiſe for the better ſupport of two other of their Generals; *viz.* Sir *William Waller* and Sir *Arthur Haſelrig*, they paſſed an Ordinance * for engaging the *Public Faith* to ſuch as ſhould lend either Horſe, Men, or Money unto them in that ſervice. 1643.

* 12 Apr.

* 25 Apr. Scobell's Coll. p. 40.

But by this time the private Diſcontents and repinings, which theſe large Exactions cauſed, beginning to make the great Maſters in this Tragic Scene to doubt a revolt in the people (conſidering how frequently the King, by ſundry gracious *Proclamations* of pardon, and all other good means had woed them:) To carry on the work therefore the more ſmoothly, they were conſtrained, after the example of their Brethren the *Scots*, to make an *Engagement*, by a ſolemn Oath, for continuing their aſſiſtance therein. And in this, as the Citizens of **London** (who in all other occaſions had been their principal Inſtruments) did readily tender their ſervice by Sir *Henry Mildmay*; who reported to the Houſe, that they would lend the fourty thouſand pounds demanded (for now they were borrowing again) provided, that the *Holy League* and *Covenant* before ſpoken of, might be made and impoſed upon the whole Kingdom.

The Holy League and Covenant propoſed by the Londoners.

And rather than their *Bleſſed Cauſe* (as they call'd it) ſhould ſuffer, it was moved * by the Sub-Committee at **Sadler's Hall** in **Breadſtreet**; that all perſons, who were willing to promote their own Safety, ſhould *ſpare one meal weekly*, towards the proviſion of Horſe and Arms, for the new rais'd Auxiliaries about **London**. Alſo becauſe they found ſome ſlackneſs in the people, to bring in money upon the *Propoſitions*, they appointed * Committees in the ſeveral Counties to tax ſuch for their *fifth and twentieth part*, as had not contributed or lent accordingly: and paſſed another Ordinance * for taking Horſes for the ſervice of the Parliament.

* 4 Maii.

* 7 Maii. Scob. Coll. p. 41.

* 10 Maii. Scob. Coll. ut ſupra.

It is not unworthy of note, that this thrifty contrivance for *ſparing one meal a week*, was the uſher to that then formidable Impoſition, called *Exciſe*, never before heard of by many thouſands in this Kingdom: which the

1643. trivers at Weſtminſter durſt not ſhew the people, till they were ſufficiently tamed under the yoke of other Exactions; knowing full well how diſpleaſing it would be to them. Nay ſo fearful were they themſelves, after they had form'd their firſt Army, leſt the people ſhould apprehend any ſuſpicion thereof (which might then have endangered a Revolt) that, when it was but whiſpered by ſome, what they foreſaw would happen; they made an Order * in their Houſe of Commons, *for puniſhing ſuch Malignant perſons, as had caſt aſperſions upon that Houſe, that they intended to aſſeſs any man's Pewter, and lay* Exciſe *upon that and other Commodities.* But now, that they ſaw the people, by degrees, ſo patiently ſubmit to many other burdens; they began to debate *, in their Houſe of Commons, how fit and neceſſary it would be for them to impoſe Exciſe, upon Wine, Beer, Tobacco, and ſuch petty Commodities. Whereupon Mr. *Pym*, by his Letter to * Sir *John Hotham*, ſignifyed; that *they had proceeded in the Exciſe to many particulars, and intended to go on farther; but that it would be neceſſary to uſe the people to it, by little and little.* And becauſe this Ordinance, before-mention'd, for taking Horſes, for the ſervice of the Parliament, ſhould not pinch upon their friends; they paſſed another * by which they appointed certain perſons to levy ſuch Horſes, for the ſervice of the Parliament; but with ſpecial direction, that the Horſes taken from the well affected, ſhould be valued, and repaiment ſecured upon the *Public faith.*

* 8 Oct. an. 1642.

* 25 Maii.

* 30 Maii.

* 29 Maii. Scobell's Coll. p. 41.

Having thus laid ſuch a ſure foundation for the ſupport of more Forces, they then ſent out a *Declaration* * to their Lord Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants of Kent, Canterbury, and the Cinqueports; that they ſhould aſſociate and raiſe an Army of a thouſand Foot-Voluntiers, and one or more Troops of Horſe; and to appoint a Major General, and give Battel to any Forces, not raiſed by authority of both Houſes.

* 30 Maii.

But the Oath, formerly mentioned by Sir *Henry Mildmay*, being by this time framed, was now thought fit to be ſet on foot, as of high concernment to oblige all thoſe that were well affected, and for the better diſcovery of other well-wiſhers to the *Cauſe*: a work therefore of this high conſequence, being not fit to be brought into the world

world naked; they had a Committee, who made report * of a treacherous Conſpiracy, diſcovered upon the laſt day of *May* (being the Faſt-day) *viz.* of a pretended *deſign to deſtroy the Parliament, and well affected party of the Kingdom; to ſubject Religion, Laws, and Liberty of the Subject; to eſtabliſh Popery, and to ſet up an arbitrary Government*: for prevention whereof, both Houſes and the whole Realm ſhould enter into a *ſolemn Covenant*, never to lay down Arms, ſo long as the Popiſh-party (for ſo they called the King's forces) were on foot; and Papiſts and Delinquents protected from the Juſtice of the Parliament; but to aſſiſt the Forces, rais'd by authority of the two Houſes of Parliament, againſt the Forces rais'd by the King. 1643. * 6 Junii. The Holy League and Covenant framed.

Which ſolemn *Oath and Covenant*, thus drawn up, was then taken * by both Houſes; and within ten days following throughout all the Pariſhes of **London**. And becauſe the poor Country-people might, throughout **England**, be all caught upon one day; they paſſed an Order * of both Houſes, that a *Public Thanksgiving* ſhould be made throughout the whole Kingdom, on Thurſday the thirteenth of *July* following, for the diſcovery of the late *Plot*; at which time this *Oath* and *Covenant* ſhould be tendred to every man, in the ſeveral Pariſhes. * And taken by both Houſes 15 Junii. * 17 Junii.

Alſo to ſecure the Pulpit-men the more cordially to them, and to make them the more active, in ſtirring up the people, upon all occaſions; they made an Ordinance *, for calling an *Aſſembly of Divines*, in order to the ſetting up of the *Presbyterian Government*. Which *Aſſembly* was to conſiſt of ten of the Houſe of Lords, and twenty of the Houſe of Commons, whoſe names are therein expreſs'd; and the reſt Miniſters, all of the *Presbyterian gang*, excepting three or four (whom, though for the more credit of that Convention they nominated, there was little reaſon to expect any of their company.) The Preamble of which Ordinance runs thus---- *Whereas amongſt the infinite bleſſings of Almighty God upon this Nation, none is or can be more dear unto us, then the purity of our* **Religion**. *And for that, as yet, many things remain in the* **Liturgy**, **Diſcipline**, *and* **Government** *of the Church, which do neceſſarily require a farther and more perfect Reformation, than as yet hath been attained. And whereas it hath* * 12 Junii. Scob. Coll. p. 42. Ordinance for calling an Aſſembly of Divines.

1643. Epiſcopal Government aboliſhed.

*hath been* **declared** *and* **reſolved**, *by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, that the preſent Church-government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellours, Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and other Eccleaſtical Officers, depending upon the Hierarchy, is juſtly offenſive and burthenſome to the Kingdom; a great impediment to* **Reformation**, *and growth of* **Religion**, *and very prejudicial to the State and Government of this Kingdom; and that therefore they are reſolved, that the ſame ſhall be taken away; and that ſuch a Government ſhall be ſetled in the Church, as may be moſt agreeable to God's holy word, and moſt apt to procure and preſerve the peace of the Church at home, and neerer agreement with the Church of* **Scotland**, *and other reformed Churches abroad* &c. *be it ordained* &c.

'Twas no marvail indeed, that they at **Weſtminſter** beſtir'd themſelves ſo hard: for by this time the ſucceſs of his Majeſties Armies was ſuch; that he had (by God's bleſſing) regained the greateſt part of the North and Weſt parts of this Realm; and did daily ſo increaſe in ſtrength; that, to uphold their *Cauſe*, they bethought themſelves of calling in their *Brethren the Scots* for aid.

* 4 Julii. Wherefore, having prepared a *Declaration* *, to diſcover another *dangerous Plot*, to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion in **England**, **Ireland**, and **Scotland**; they agreed *, that ſome of their Members (*viz.* the Lork *Grey* of *Wark*, Sir *William Ayrmin*, and Mr. *Darley*) ſhould go into **Scotland**, to deſire help from thence; and prepare Inſtructions * for them, with Letters of Credence: with promiſe that they ſhould have allowance * for the charge of ſuch forces, as they ſhould ſend; and that the debts they already owed them ſhould be paid out of the lands of the Papiſts and Prelatical party, in *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and Biſhoprick of *Durham*. Which Commiſſioners did accordingly ſet forwards * upon the xxith of *July*.

* 6 Julii.
* 13 Julii.
* 15 Julii.
Commiſſioners ſent into Scotland, to invite the Brethren to their aid.
* 21 Julii.

But about this time, the Earl of *Eſſex* (their General) made complaint to them by Letters *, for want of Horſe, Arms &c. and propoſed to them a Treaty for peace. Whereunto anſwer was ſoon made, by the reſolution * of their Houſe of Commons (who debated the ſame) that, by their late *Vow* and *Covenant* they had bound themſelves never to lay down Arms, ſo long as the Papiſts (for

* 10 Julii.
* 11 Julii.

(for ſo they call'd the King's forces) which were then in Arms againſt them, ſhould have protection from the Juſtice of the Parliament; ſending him word, that they would recruit his Troops according to his deſire. And to complement their Weſtern General (Sir *William Waller*) whoſe heartineſs to the *Cauſe*, ſuted ſo well with theirs, they ordered * five thouſand pounds to be ſent down to him, and given as a Largeſs to his Souldiers, the more to encourage them in that ſervice. 1643. * 12 Julii.

But the certain charge of their Rebellious Armies did ſo vaſtly increaſe, as was truly foretold by Mr. *Green* (Chairman to their Committee for the Navy, upon the ſixth of *December* before) *viz.* that the maintenance of the Lord General's Army, would, for the enſuing year, amount to above a million of Money; that of the Navy having been two hundred and forty thouſand pounds for the year paſſed; and that without delay, they muſt of neceſſity, ſettle a round and conſtant Tax for maintenance thereof: they therefore paſſed an Ordinance for *Exciſe*, or new Impoſt; upon Wine, Beer, Ale, Cider, Perry, Raiſins, Figs, Currans, Sugar, Spices, wrought and raw Silks, Furrs, Hats, Laces, Lether, Linnen of all ſorts, Thread, Wier *&c.* and for ſweetning its reliſh with the people, gave it out, that part of its income ſhould pay Debts, for which the *Public faith* was engaged. Ordinance for Exciſe.

Moreover, to raiſe men as well as money (their Weſtern-Army, being then deſtroy'd * at **Round-way-down**) the Citizens had a meeting at **Grocer's Hall**, where they made new Subſcriptions *, to ſet up Sir *William Waller* again. For the better furthering whereof, there were new Petitions * framed, from **London**, **Weſtminſter** and **Southwark**, and preſented to the Houſe of Commons; *that all the Kingdom might riſe, as one man, againſt the Common Enemy: and that the Parliament would give power to a Committee, to liſt ſo many of the Petitioners, as were willing to go out in their own perſons: as alſo to take the Subſcriptions of others, for the raiſing a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Foot: and that the like courſe might be taken throughout the Kingdom by a conſiding Committee.* * 13 Julii. * 20 Julii. * 20 Julii.

In purſuance whereof, both Houſes made an Ordinance *, for raiſing ſeven thouſand Horſe in **London**, **Middleſex**, and the Counties adjacent, to be commanded * 24 Julii.

by

1643. by the Lord *Kymbolton* (afterwards Earl of *Manchester*) and of Eleven hundred Horſe, in the Counties of *Bedford*, *Buckingham*, *Northampton*, and *Hertford*; to be commanded by Sir *John Norwich*: In *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* Eleven hundred, by Sir *Miles Hobart*: In *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, *Southampton* and *Berkſhire* fourteen hundred, by Colonel *Richard Norton*. And all theſe, thus to be rais'd, to reſiſt the Inſolencies of the King's Army.

Certain it is, that though the Committee, which were ſent to bring in the *Scots*, went but lately thither; yet the Brethren there, having had former advertiſements, how great a neceſſity here was of them; to the end their Friends ſhould not faint, haſted over a *Declaration* * hither: whereby they ſignified; "that whereas "the Kingdom of **England** had a long time ſuffered by "the Popiſh, and malignant Counſels about his Majeſty; "and that the miſeries in **England**, were but preparations "to theirs; they therefore did reſolve to aſſiſt the Parlia-"ment of **England**. And high time it was: for their forces in moſt parts going by the worſt, it put them upon new contrivances every day. So that Sir *William Waller* was fain to come * again to the Houſe, and take the *Covenant*, a ſecond time, to encourage ſome, that had not taken it before.

* 27 Julii.

* 1 Aug.

And though the Committee, which met at Merchant-Taylor's-Hall, for raiſing the people of the land as one man, did give direction * to the Aldermen, and their Deputies in every Ward; with the Miniſters, Common-Council-men and others, to promote the work, *as being the laſt Refuge of the people* (for ſo they expreſs'd) *and no vain bait or allurement*: yet ſaw they ſo little fruit of this great endeavour, that they were conſtrain'd to effect that by their power, which they could not do by perſwaſion: and therefore ordered * the raiſing of two thouſand men in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Cambridgſhire*, every man to have a months pay in his pocket. And for a ſpeedy ſupply of more, they paſſed * two Ordinances; One, that the Committee for the *Militia* of **London**, with the Deputy-Lieutenant's and Committees of Parliament, in every County throughout the Kingdom, ſhould have power to raiſe, levy, and impreſs ſuch numbers of Souldiers, as ſhould be appointed by both Houſes of Parliament.

* 3 Aug.

* 4 Aug.

* 10 Aug.

The

1643.

The other * for preſſing no leſs than twenty thouſand men, with ſo many Gunners, Trumpets, and Chirurgeons, as ſhould be thought fit, for the ſix aſſociated Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, *Cambridg*, *Hertford*, and *Huntington*, with the City of Norwich and Iſle of Ely, to be rais'd within the ſaid Counties, for the ſervice of the Kingdom and Parliament. * 16 Aug.

And, notwithſtanding all this, being in a declining condition, by reaſon that their moneys were ſpent, their men wore out, and no ſmall diſcontents amongſt themſelves; in order to ſome recruit, they made an explanation * of their old *Ordinance*, *for Sequeſtration of Delinquents*, with certain enlargements; wherein is ſet forth who were to be reputed *Delinquents*, over and beſides ſuch as were deſcribed in the former Ordinance; with power to examine upon Oath, for diſcovery, as alſo Rewards to Diſcoverers. And likewiſe paſſed another * Ordinance (relating to a former) *for the ſpeedy raiſing of a body of Horſe*, for the Preſervation, Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom, to reſiſt the Inſolencies, and outrages, committed by the Souldiers of the King's Army (thoſe being the words thereof.) By which they farther ordained, that Tenants ſhould pay the Aſſeſments out of their Landlords eſtates, and defalk them out of their Rents. But that which they then chiefly look'd on, being the aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, whereon they principally depended, as their laſt refuge: to keep up the hearts of their then drooping party, they made it their buſineſs therefore to cry up loudly, the aid of theſe their *dear Brethren*. For which reſpect, it will not (I ſuppoſe) be impertinent, to make here a ſhort digreſſion in ſhewing by what means they were dealt with, in order to this their *ſecond Invaſion*.

Scob. Coll. p. 49. 19 Aug.

* Ib. p. 52. 25 Aug.

1643.

## CHAP. XVI.

Particulars &c. delivered to the Convention of Eſtates in Scotland by the Engliſh Commiſſioners 19 Aug.

AFter the Engliſh Committee was arriv'd in **Scotland**, and had made large promiſes to the *Brethren* of an advantagious journey (*viz. the lands of the Church by the extirpation of Epiſcopacy*) the *Scots* well reſenting ſo beneficial an offer, did ſet forth a *Proclamation* *, whereby, pretending the *King's Perſon*, their *Religion*, and *Priviledges of Parliament* to be in no ſmall danger; for preſervation of theſe, they required, that all perſons, in that Realm, of what ſort, quality or degree ſoever, between ſixteen and ſixty years of age, ſhould forthwith fit themſelves with fourty days Victual, Amunition, Arms, and all other warlike Proviſion, under penalty of confiſcation of their whole Eſtates, and to be puniſhed as Enemies to *Religion*, *King*, and *Kingdoms*. And, having ſet forth a plauſible *Declaration* *, ſhewing the reaſons of ſuch their intended aſſiſtance to the Parliament of **England**, againſt the Papiſts and Prelatical party (as they therein expreſs'd) they paſſed an Act * in their convention of Eſtates, for putting that Kingdom into a *Poſture of Defence*; naming therein the principal Colonels and Officers, for that purpoſe. To accompliſh likewiſe their cheif deſign of enjoying the Church-Lands, they fram'd a new Oath, called *the ſolemn League and Covenant*. Which was forthwith ſent over into **England**, and read * in the Houſe of Commons at **Weſtminſter**; thence to be tranſmitted to the *Aſſembly of Divines*, for their approbation; and being by them approved, was remitted * to the Houſe of Commons.

* 24 Aug.

* 24 Aug.

* 26 Aug.

A new Covenant framed in Scotland.

* 26 Aug.

* 31 Aug.

And, that the grand Contrivers at **Weſtminſter** might the more ingratiate themſelves with thoſe their Brethren of **Scotland**, they paſſed an *Ordinance, for demoliſhing all Monuments of Superſtition and Idolatry* (as they intituled it.) In which was particularized the removal of all Communion-Tables, from the Eaſt end of the Chancels in every Church; as alſo for taking away the Rails which defended them; levying the Chancels, where the Eaſt

part

part was higher, with removing of Tapers, Candleſticks and Baſins. 1642.

For the ſpeedy raiſing of more Moneys, they likewiſe paſſed another Ordinance *, for fourteen thouſand pounds, to furniſh one or more Magazines of Arms and Amunition; and for raiſing of Horſe &c. Which ſum was to be levied within the Hamlets of the Tower, City of Weſtminſter, Burrough of Southwark, and other places of *Middleſex* and *Surrey*, within the lines of Communication. * 4 Sept.

Hitherto, it was only pretended, that thoſe new Regiments of Voluntiers, rais'd by the Ordinance of *April* the xiith, for the better ſecurity of the City of London, ſhould not go out of the Lines of Communication. But, as Mr. *Pym* in his Epiſtle to Sir *John Hotham*, concerning *Exciſe*, wrote; *that they muſt be uſed to it by little and little*: ſo now, they began to ſhew them what they muſt truſt to; and paſſed another Ordinance *, to enable the Committee, for the *Militia* of London, to command forth, one or more Regiments, of the Trained-Bands, or Auxiliaries, within the Liberties of London and Weſtminſter, to go forth under the command of Sir *William Waller*; and upon occaſion to be aſſiſtant to the Lord General. * 6 Sept.

And herein I cannot but obſerve an excellent expreſſion made to the Houſe of Commons by Mr. *Oliver St. John* (ſometime his Majeſties Sollicitor General, but then a dear Member and ſpecial Contriver in this great work) in anſwer to Mr. *John Pym*: (who ſeemed to ſtand ſtrict, for obſerving the Ordinance of *April* the xiith) alleaged, that though thoſe men, by that Ordinance raiſed only for the defence of the City, were not to go out of the line of Communication: yet now that they were rais'd, they (meaning the Parliament) might diſpoſe of them whether they pleaſed, without asking their conſents.

And, whereas the firſt Ordinance for *Exciſe*, was but only for maintenance of the Army, and paiment of Debts due by the Common-wealth; they paſſed another *; wherein was a conſideration added, *for ſecuring of Trade*, which occaſioned the enlargement thereof, upon ſuch Commodities, as had not been formerly tax'd; beſides an alteration of the rates. Which Commodities were *Strong-waters, Medicinal-Drugs, Haberdaſhers-ware, Upholſters ware, Salt, Sallets*, * 11 Sept. Scob. Coll. p. 54.

1643. *lets, Sope*; all ſorts of *Woollen-cloth, Paper, Skins*, and *Glaſſes*.

Having alſo thus taught the new Auxiliaries the force of an Ordinance of Parliament, they paſſed another *, for the preſſing of five thouſand men, in the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the Counties adjacent, to go under the command of Sir *William Waller*.

* 13 Sept.

And to haſten on the march of their Brethren the *Scots*, to their aid and aſſiſtance; the Members of the Houſe of Commons, with great formality, and no leſs ſeeming devotion, entred * into that unhappy Combination, called the *ſolemn League and Covenant* (ſo fram'd in Scotland) in St. *Margarets*-Church at Weſtminſter. Which, under the ſpecious veil of Reformation, was that fatal Engine, whereby not only the Hierarchy in the Church, was by them ſoon after deſtroyed; and the patrimony thereof, with the Lands and Revenues of the Crown, ſwallow'd up by thoſe pretenders to Godlineſs; but the ſacred Perſon of the King, moſt inhumanly murthered *; and this ancient and long flouriſhing Monarchy, ſo far as 'twas in their power, wholly ſubverted and deſtroy'd, as to the whole world, is moſt notorious.

* 25 Sept. The ſolemn League and Covenant (fram'd in Scotland) taken by the Members at Weſtminſter. Archbiſhop Laud's life. p. 510.

* See the Remonſtrance of the Army in order to the King's Trial, dated at St. Albans 16 Nov. 1648.

In the Preamble whereunto, they had the confidence to ſay, that this their *League and Covenant, was according to the commendable practiſe of theſe Kingdoms, and the Example of God's people in other Nations:* Whereas, there is not only no mention of any ſuch things by our Hiſtoriographers; nor in the Hiſtory of any other Realm, that I have ever ſeen, excepting that of the *Holy League* in France (whereof I ſhall take farther notice, ere I finiſh this work:) but Mr. *Philip Nye* (one of their mighty Champions for the *Cauſe*, and an eſpecial aſſertor of this *Covenant*) hath expreſly affirmed * in print: that *it is ſuch an Oath, as for matter, perſons, and other circumſtances, the like hath not been in any age, or Oath we read of in ſacred or humane ſtories.*

* Covenant with Narrative. p. 12.

And it is alſo obſervable; that whereas in the Preamble, they farther affirm; that *they did it to preſerve themſelves and their Religion* (which muſt needs be intended, the known Religion, publickly profeſs'd, and by Law eſtabliſh'd in the Church of England) *from ruine and deſtruction:* they immediatly "vow to reform Religion, here in Eng-"land, according to the pattern of the Kirk of Scotland, "and to extirpate Epiſcopacy, and all Eccleſiaſtical Offices depending

"depending thereon: Notwithſtanding they knew full well; First, that the King was by his Coronation Oath, ſworn to maintain and defend the Biſhops and the Churches under their charge: Secondly, that all the Clergy of England, had teſtified their approbation of Epiſcopal Government, by perſonal Subſcriptions thereto: and thirdly, that, by a *ſolemn Proteſtation*, made and framed by themſelves, in that very Parliament; and recommended by them, to be taken by all the people of England, they had oblig'd themſelves; "neither for hope nor fear, or other "reſpect, to relinquiſh the true Proteſtant Religion, ex-"preſs'd in the Doctrine of the Church of England. 1643.

But all this Pageantry, in their thus taking of that *ſolemn League and Covenant*, could not allay the loud clamours of the people, occaſion'd by the great preſſures, and daily exactions, under which they miſerably groaned: the Members therefore were conſtrain'd to betake themſelves to another way, for the eaſing them; at leaſt in ſhew: and this was by an Ordinance * for ſelling the King's, Queen's, and Princes revenues, and the arrearages thereof: as alſo to another *, for ſelling and cutting down Woods within ſixty miles of London, in all Foreſts, Chaſes, and Parks, belonging to the King or Queen; or any Arch-biſhop, Biſhop, Dean, and Chapter &c. Papiſt, Delinquent, Malignant &c. to be diſpoſed of for ſupply of the City of London. * 21 Sept. Scob. Coll. p. 54. * 2 Oct.

Which ſeeming favour, was for no other purpoſe, than that they might afterwards, bring the greater load upon them, as they did ere long. For within few days, upon a jugling Report * made to the Houſe, of a Pope's Bull (tranſlated into Engliſh, with a Declaration upon) it which was pretended to be newly ſent into England, for the more effectual proſecuting of the Catholic war here; a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, and of the Aſſembly of Divines, came to a Common-Hall in London, to conſult with the Citizens, for the ſpeedy raiſing of an hundred thouſand pounds for the advance of the Scottiſh Army; to be lent for that ſervice, and repay'd when moneys were procured from forreign parts, upon the *public faith* of both Kingdoms. * 5 Oct. * 6 Oct.

And to obtain more men, as well as money, there iſſued out another Order *; that the Committee for the * 7 Oct.

1643. Militia of London, ſhould have power to appoint ſix Regiments of their Trained-Bands, and one of their Auxiliaries: as alſo one Regiment of Horſe and Dragoons, to march out with their Commanders, and joyn with the Earl of *Eſſex's* Forces. Likewiſe an Ordinance for the preſſing of five thouſand Souldiers more, to be ſent to the Iſlands of Jerſey, and Garnſey, under the command of the Earl of *Warwick*; thoſe Trained-Bands being appointed to meet * in St. *James* Fields; and from thence to march unto ſuch place, as the Earl of *Eſſex*, or his Officers ſhould appoint, and in default thereof, their Shops to be ſhut up; themſelves depriv'd of Trade, and liable to expulſion out of the lines of Communication. And about the ſame time, they paſſed another Ordinance *, for aſſeſſing the Twenty fifth part, upon all Members of Parliament, who then were, either in the King's Army, or otherwiſe abſent; their eſtates to be let, in caſe of not paiment.

* 1808.

* 908. Scob. Coll. P. 57.

And having lately ſped ſo well, upon credit of the *public faith*, they adventured again upon the ſame ſecurity; recommending * to the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, and *Lincoln*, with the City of Norwich, the aid of the Lord *Fairfax*, in Men, Money, Plate, Horſe, and Amunition; paſſing an *Ordinance* for repaiment of what ſhould be lent for the ſpeedy bringing in of the *Scots*, to their aſſiſtance; and ſecuring it in the mean time by the before-mention'd *public faith*.

* 1808.

But the reputation of the *public faith*, was now grown ſo low, that moneys came not in, either quick enough, or in ſuch large ſums as were expected (it being left arbitrary to the Creditors what they would lend:) another Ordinance therefore was paſſed, for raiſing the full ſum of ſixty ſix thouſand, ſix hundred, ſixty ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings, four pence, within the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the Counties of *Hertford*, *Bedford*, *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, *Cambridg*, Iſle of *Ely*, *Huntington*, *Northampton* and *Rutland*, and the Cities of Norwich and Canterbury, for the better enabling their Brethren of Scotland, to aſſiſt in the Common-cauſe of *Religion* and *Liberty*.

Which Ordinance had ſuch a ſucceſsful effect, that it accelerated the concluſion of the Treaty at Edenborough, then

on

1643.

on foot, betwixt the Commiſſioners, ſent into Scotland, from the Members ſitting at Weſtminſter, and the Commiſſioners of the Convention of the Eſtates of Scotland, for aid from their Brethren of that Kingdom; inſomuch, as upon the xxixth of *November*, the Articles were there ſigned *; whereby (*inter alia*) in the firſt place it was agreed, that the *Covenant* repreſented to the Convention of Eſtates, and general Aſſembly of Scotland; and formerly ſent to both Houſes of the Parliament of England (for by that name, thoſe members, then ſitting at Weſtminſter ſtiled themſelves) ſhould be ſworn and ſubſcribed by both Kingdoms, as a moſt near Tie and Conjunction between them, for their mutual defence againſt the Papiſts, and Prelatical faction, and their adherents in both Kingdoms; and for purſuance of the ends, expreſſed in that *Covenant*.

Articles of the Treaty at Edenborough for bringing in the Scots Army.

* 29 Nov.

And next, that an Army to that purpoſe ſhould be forthwith levyed, conſiſting of eighteen thouſand foot, two thouſand Horſe, and one thouſand Dragoons effective; with a ſutable Train of Artillery, to be ready at ſome general Rendezvouz, near the Borders of England, to march into England for the purpoſes aforeſaid, with all convenient ſpeed; the ſame Foot and Horſe to be well and compleatly armed and provided of Victuals, and pay for fourty days. In contemplation of which aid from Scotland; and that thoſe their Brethren might not want encouragement in that their neceſſary aſſiſtance, Mr. *William Strode* made a motion in the Houſe; that all thoſe who would neither contribute, nor take the *Covenant*, ſhould have a price put upon them, and be ſent to Sea; that ſomething might be given for them, who would give nothing of themſelves.

And ſhortly after, by other Ordinances *, the Cuſtoms upon all Merchandizes were advanc'd to a tenth part, under pretence of defending the Towns and Ports of *Plymouth*, *St. Nicolas Iſle*, with the Towns of *Pool* and *Lime*, and places adjacent. As alſo additional Articles * to the Ordinance for the *Exciſe*.

* 20 Nov.

* 28 Nov.

Beſides this, the ſum of three thouſand pounds a month was aſſeſſed * upon the aſſociated Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgſhire*, *&c.* towards the maintenance of the Lord General's Army. Likewiſe thirteen

Scob. Coll. p. 59.

* 13 Dec.

1643. teen hundred pounds, toward the ſupport of Sir *William Waller's* Forces, which were raiſing in *Kent*. And about the ſame time, they made void * the places and Offices of all Clerks, in any of the Courts at *Weſtminſter*, who had in any ſort adher'd to the King.

* 25 Dec. Scob. Coll. p. 60.

But amongſt all their Impoſitions and Taxes, there was none came in ſo amply and inſenſibly as the *Exciſe*; wherewith the vulgar were by that time in ſome ſort acquainted. And therefore (according to Mr. *Pym*'s principle) the Houſes paſs'd another Ordinance *, for a new Exciſe upon Fleſh, Victuals, and Salt; ever heartning on the people with hopes of eaſe; and now moſt eſpecially, becauſe the *Scots* Army was ready to march; which was repreſented to be ſo formidable, as that it would put a ſudden end to the work. Which Army (according to a Declaration they then ſet forth; wherein they did caſt divers ſcandals upon his Majeſty, and juſtified that moſt perfidious action) invaded this Realm upon the xvth of *January*, paſſing the Twede, at Barwick; notwithſtanding their frequent reiterated *Oaths* *, *Promiſes*, and *National Covenant*; viz. *that* * *whenſoever his Majeſties Honour and Intereſt ſhould be in danger, they would, as one man (obliged by the Laws of God and man) apply themſelves to his ſuccour and defence.*

* 9 Jan. Scob. Coll. p. 60.

* See the Letter to his Majeſty from the Lord Chancelour and divers Lords of that Realm, dated at Edenborough 1 Julii. 1643. wherein they promiſe not to raiſe any forces, without ſpecial warrant from the King.

* His Majeſties Declaration to all his Subjects of Scotland. 6 Jan. 1643.

## CHAP. XVII.

The Scots ſecond Invaſion

AND now, that I come to their ſecond Invaſion: foraſmuch as the main end of this Narrative is, hiſtorically to ſhew the growth and effects of *Presbytery* in England, which had its chief riſe and production from Scotland; it will not be improper to take notice; that, though by their they

See the Supplication of the Noblemen, Barrons, Burgeſſes, &c. exhibited to the Marqueſs of Hamilton (his Majeſties Commiſsioner an. 1638. Wherein, by way of Explication of their National Covenant, they acknowledge, that the quietneſs, and ſtability of their Religion and Kirk depends upon the ſafety of the King's Majeſty as God's vice-gerent.

See the Supplication of the general Aſſembly at Edenborough 12 Aug. 1639. Whereby it appeareth, that the whole Kingdom was ſworn with their means and lives, to ſtand to the defence of their dread Sovereign, his perſon and authority, in every cauſe which may concern his Majeſties Honour, with their friends and followers, in quiet manner, or in Arms, as they ſhall be required by his Majeſty.

See Act 5. of the ſecond Parliament of King Charles, concerning the ratification of the Covenant; by which, their univerſal Proteſtation, and promiſe, under a ſolemn Oath, and Hand-writing, upon fearful pains and execrations is ap-

firſt Invaſion in *an.* 1639, they had not only made way for the ſetting up that Diſcipline here: but before their departure laid a ſeeming ſure foundation, for the firm and perfect eſtabliſhment thereof: yet, ſuch was the ſucceſs that the King had againſt thoſe fiery ſpirited men, that he was then become totally maſter of the feild throughout the Weſt, and many other parts of this Kingdom; divers of their ſtrong-Holds being likewiſe gained; and conſequently in a very hopeful way, to have reduced that perverſe Generation to an abſolute obedience; with whom no fair invitation and condeſcenſion, on his part (though with all earneſtneſs frequently ſought) could prevail, to make them return to their due allegiance by kindneſs and love.

parent; viz. to defend the King's perſon and authority, with their goods, bodies and lives, againſt all Enemies within the Realm, or without; as they deſire God to be a merciful defender to them, in the day of their death, and coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

See the Petition preſented to his Majeſty Jan. 1642, manifeſting the promiſe of the whole Clergy, in their National Aſſembly, to keep the people under their charge, in obedience to his Majeſty and to his Laws; confeſsing it a duty well-beſeeming the Preachers of the Goſpel.

See the Petition of the Nobility, Gentry, Burroughs, Miniſters and Commons, to the Lords of his Majeſties Privy-Council of that Kingdom; wherein they acknowledged his Majeſties zeal for maintaining the true Religion: and that to call in queſtion the ſame, after ſo many reiterated profeſſions and aſſeverations, could not be but an unchriſtian diſtruſtfulneſs, and in them the height of diſloyalty and ingratitude; confeſsing themſelves bound in duty to God, by whoſe great name they had ſworn to defend and maintain the perſon, greatneſs and authority of their dread Soveraign, as God's Vicegerent, to the utmoſt of their power, with their means and lives in every cauſe, which might concern his Honour; profeſsing themſelves fully ſatisfied and perſwaded of his Majeſties royal zeal and reſolution; and that malice and detraction, could not prevail to make the leaſt impreſsion in their loyal hearts, of jealouſy and diſtruſt; or their intending any thing to the prejudice of that Brotherly and bleſſed conjunction of the two Nations: atteſting God (the ſearcher of all hearts) of their dutiful intentions towards his Majeſty their dread and native King, ſtrictly bound thereto, by all the ties of Nature, Chriſtianity, and Gratitude.

But it ſo fell out, that this their *ſecond Invaſion* (the firſt fruit of their *ſolemn League and Covenant*) with ſo numerous and powerful an Army, raiſed cheifly by the influence of their *Preachers* in that Realm; and brought in with the *Prayers* of the *Boutefeus* here; the Pulpits daily ringing with loud cryes and groans, *for haſtening the ſlow feet of their dear Brethren to their aid*, became fatal to his Majeſty. For the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* who lay then in **Sunderland** with his Army, conſiſting of about 7000 men, which he had raiſed in the North, being thereupon conſtrain'd to make his retreat towards **York**, left all thoſe parts to the rapine and ſpoil of the *Scots*.

The Scene being therefore, by this means thus unhappily chang'd; his Majeſty who foreſaw the Cloud approaching) having by *Proclamation* dated 22 *Dec.* called

1643. all the Peers of this Realm, which had any ſenſe of Honour, and likewiſe all thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, that upon the Principles of Loyalty and duty, had faithfully adhered to him in theſe his diſtreſſes,
22 Jan. to attend him at **Oxford**, upon the xxiith of *January*; did there repreſent unto them, this their *ſecond Invaſion*; deſiring their ſpeedy advice and aſſiſtance, both what was to be ſaid or done therein, as well in reference to *This*, as *That* Kingdom.

Whereupon, thoſe worthy perſons ſo aſſembled, notwithſtanding they ſaw, that many of his Majeſties gracious offers of Treaty for peace, to the Lords and Commons then ſitting at **Weſtminſter**, had been rejected: and taking into conſideration, that thoſe Lords and Commons, had upon pain of death prohibited the addreſs of any Letters or Meſſage to them, otherwiſe than by their General (the Earl of *Eſſex*) they did, by a ſpecial Let-
27 Jan. ter, bearing date the 27th of the ſame month of *January*, recommend unto him, their moſt earneſt deſire, that he would faithfully, and induſtriouſly cooperate with them, in a right ſenſe, of the then paſt, preſent, and more threatning future calamities of this Kingdom; by obtaining that ſome perſons might be appointed, on either part, and a place agreed on, to treat for ſuch a peace, as might redeem it from deſolation. Which Letter was ſigned by the Prince, the Duke of *York*; as alſo by fourty three Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Vicounts and Barons of the Houſe of Peers, and cxviii members of the Houſe of Commons there preſent; many others, by reaſon of diſtance of place, ſickneſs, and imployments elſewhere in his Majeſties ſervice, and for want of timely notice of that Proclamation of Summons, not being then come thither.

But the effect which this their Letter produced, was; in the firſt place, to be cryed throughout the Streets of **London** in ſcorn, as *the Petition of the Prince and Duke of* **York** *for peace*: and a meer frivolous anſwer, or Paper, in form of a Letter, directed to the Earl of *Forth* (then General of the King's forces) wherein was incloſed a printed paper, called a *National Covenant of the Kingdoms* of **England**, and **Scotland**; and two other Papers; the
Dated 30 Jan. one called a *Declaration* of both the Kingdoms*, and the other, *a Declaration* of the Kingdom of **Scotland**. In

In that their General's Letter, it was pretended; that 1643.
becauſe there was no addreſs to the two Houſes of Parliament, nor acknowledgment of them, it could not be communicated to them; whereas it was notoriouſly known, that he did ſo far impart it, as that a Committee of theirs adviſed and fram'd the anſwer: Beſides, it plainly appears, by the penning thereof, that they all concurr'd in the Reſolution therein mention'd; whereby 'tis clear enough, that this was but an excuſe, or ſhift, to avoid any Treaty. And what could that printed *Covenant*, and two *Declarations* incloſed, ſignifie; but to ſhew, that before they would admit of a Treaty, all the Lords and Commons, aſſembled at Oxford, muſt join in that *Covenant* with them, for the abſolute extirpation of Church-government here (without, nay tho againſt the King's conſent) ſubmit the Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates of themſelves, and all others, who, according to their allegiance, had aſſiſted his Majeſty, to the mercy of thoſe members, then ſitting at Weſtminſter; as alſo to admit of, and juſtifie that invaſion of the *Scots*, according to the plain ſenſe of their Declaration.

But, notwithſtanding all this, the Lords and Commons at Oxford, continuing ſtill ſollicitous for an happy peace; for avoiding delay or cavil about Names or Titles, or deſcants upon words, humbly beſought his Majeſty to ſend Meſſengers with Inſtructions to deſire a Treaty for peace. Whereunto he readily aſſenting, two perſons were by him nominated, and a Letter written to the Earl of *Eſſex*, for their ſafe conduct. Which Letter had in ſubſtance this Anſwer; *viz.* that if they would firſt agree, that thoſe Lords and Commons ſitting a Weſtminſter were *the Parliament, and the King's only Council*, that thoſe Gentlemen ſhould have a ſafe conduct.

This being therefore taken into conſideration, it was thought fit to deſire his Majeſty to write his royal Letters to the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf; and therein to incloſe a Letter, ſuperſcribed, *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at* Weſtminſter. Which his Majeſty accordingly did; 3 Martii.
and thereby deſired, *that a convenient number of fit perſons, might be appointed and authorized, to meet with all convenient ſpeed, at ſuch a place as they ſhould nominate, with an equal number of fit perſons, appointed and authorized by him, to treat*

1642. *of the ways and means for ſetling the preſent diſtractions of the Kingdom, and procuring a happy peace.*

9 Martii. In anſwer whereunto, they inſiſted, that themſelves (thus ſitting at **Weſtminſter**) were the Parliament, convened, according to the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; and that thoſe loyal perſons (members of the Parliament) who were come to his Majeſty at **Oxford**, according to his royal Proclamation, had deſerted their Truſt, and levyed war againſt the Parliament: and in ſum, did intimate, that what they ſhould do herein, muſt be with the concurrent advice of the Commiſſioners for the Kingdom of **Scotland**, according to their late ſolemn *League and Covenant*; calling his Majeſties earneſt endeavours for Peace, but *Profeſſions*; and their own feigned pretences, *moſt real intentions*; letting fall, by way of menace, *that his Majeſty could not be the leaſt and laſt ſufferer.*

Hitherto, as a conſequence of this *ſecond Invaſion by the Scots*, I have given a brief touch of his Majeſties farther inceſſant endeavours, for obtaining a happy peace, with theſe violent ſpirited men, by an amicable Treaty. Which taking no effect by reaſon they then ſaw ſuch a likelihood, through the aid and aſſiſtance of thoſe their *dear Brethren*, to carry all, powerfully before them; I ſhall look back a little, and take notice, not only, how their heavy oppreſſions upon the people, by many farther grievous Impoſitions, were carried on: but how they proceeded in their advancing the *Scepter of Jeſus Chriſt*, in this Realm (*for ſo they called their Presbyterian Diſcipline.*) Wherein I obſerve, that within ſix days, next after this their Invaſion, the Members at *Weſtminſter* paſſed an Ordinance * for regulating the *Univerſity of Cambridge*, by *Edward* Earl of *Manchester*, then their Chancellour (that is to ſay, for turning out all loyal perſons, from their Headſhips, and Fellowſhips, in any of the Colleges there:) and for removing ſcandalous Miniſters (*id eſt*, all orthodox men) throughout the ſeveral aſſociated Counties of *Eſſex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntington and Lincoln.*

* 22 Jan. Scob. Coll. p. 61.

That the Welch, alſo might be the ſooner brought under the yoke; they ſoon after made another Ordinance *; whereby they impower'd Sir *Thomas Middleton* Knight, to take Subſcriptions for raiſing of Forces in the ſix Counties of *North-wales*; and give the *public faith* for ſuch moneys as ſhould be raiſed to that purpoſe.

* 20 Febr. Scob. Coll. ut ſupra.

CHAP.

Anno 1643.

## CHAP. XVIII.

HAving thus taken notice of the Transactions in their Parliament at **Westminster**, I come now (according to my designed method) to the Militarie-business of this year 1643. In which I find, that the King, having gained ground in the North and West, his farther success in sundry parts was not unsutable thereto: for Sir *Hugh Cholmley* of **Whitby**, in *Yorkshire*, who at first had been a most confiding man, thought it now time to declare (*a*) for the King. So likewise did Captain *Brown-Bushell*, Governour of **Scarborough** Castle in that County, who then delivered it up for his Majestie. And, within few days after, their great Northern Champion *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax* was routed (*b*) by the Earls of **Newcastle** and **Cumberland** at **Bramham-moore** in that County, which great defeat so startled the Members at **Westminster**, that they forthwith solicited the ayd of their Brethren the Scots. In the neck of this also Prince *Rupert*, upon a sharp encounter near **Bermicham** (a seditious and populous Town in **Warwick-shire**) with a strong party of the Rebels, commanded by Colonel *Greaves*, worsted (*c*) them, with the loss of the Loyal *William* Earl of **Denbigh**, who there received his deaths wound. Soon after that also, another party of them, commanded by *John*, son and heir to the famous Sir *John Hotham* (their trusty Governour of **Hull**) was routed near **Ancaster** in **Lincolnshire**: And **Litchfield-close**, which they had got after the unsuccessfull attempt thereof by the Lord *Brooke*, was without much adoe rendred to Prince *Rupert* by Lieutenant Colonel *Russell*.

a 28. March.

b 29. March.

c 3. April.

Subsequent to these I shall onely enumerate the rest in order of time;

*James* Earl of **Northampton** routed (*d*) another stout party of them, at **Middleton-Cheney** in **Northampton-shire**. And, about ten days following, Sir *Ralph Hopton* obtain'd a clear victory (*) over the

d 6. May.

* 16. May.

Ann. 1643. the Devonſhire and Cornish Rebels at Stratton in Cornwall; the Earl of Stanford, and Major General *Chudleigh*, being Commanders in chief of them. In which Battle were taken ſeventeen hundred Priſoners, thirteen braſs piece of Ordnance, ſeventy Barrels of powder, and ſtore of other proviſions; by reaſon whereof the greateſt part of the Weſt, except Plymouth and ſome other Port-Towns, was reduced to obedience; and in conſideration of this ſignal ſervice the ſaid Sir *Ralph Hopton* ſoon after (*viz.* 4. *Sept.* 1643.) was advanced to the dignity of Lord *Hopton* of Stratton aforeſaid.

The next month alſo enſued Prince *Rupert*'s Victo-
[f] 18. June. ry (*f*) over the Rebels at Chalgrave-field in Oxfordſhire, Commanded by Colonell *John Hampden*, who there received his deaths wound; that being the very field wherein he firſt put in Execution the Parliaments Ordinance for the *Militia* of that County, as a preſident to the reſt of England, and the Earl of
[g] 22. June. Newcaſtle, taking (*g*) Howley-*houſe* in Yorkſhire
[h] 30. June. ſoon after, defeated (*h*) the Lord *Fairfax* at Adderton Heath in that County.

At the beginning of *July* likewiſe, a party of Horſe and Dragoons, Commanded by Colonel *Middleton*, coming to ſurprize Sir *Charles Lucas* in his Quarters, at
[i] 1. July. Padbury near Buckingham, were by him routed (*i*): And the Earl of Newcaſtle valiantly aſſaulting Brad-
[k] 2. July. ford in Yorkſhire, took (*k*) it by ſtorm, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* (who was Governour there) fleeing thence by night; whereupon Hallifax, and Denton-*houſe* (Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his ſeat) were quitted by the Rebels.

Burton upon Trent alſo in Staffordſhire, was taken by the Lord *Jermyn*, upon the Queens paſſage from Burlington in Yorkſhire towards Oxford.
[l] 5. July. Near which time was the great fight (*l*) at Landſ-down in Somerſet-*ſhire*, where the Lord *Hopton* had the better of the Rebels, though the Valiant Sir *Bevill Grenevill* was there ſlain. The Lord *Wilmot* and Earl of
[m] 13. July. Carnarvon, likewiſe, routed (*m*) Sir *William Waller* and Sr. *Arthur Haſelrigg* at Roundwaydown in Wiltſhire.

Prince

Anno 1643.

Prince *Rupert* alſo, having taken (*n*) **Burleigh**-*houſe* in **Rutland**, marcht to **Briſtol**, and after a ſhort Siege of that City, had a ſurrender (*o*) thereof from Colonel *Nathaniel Fiennes*, the then Governour: In the next month likewiſe was **Dorchester** in **Dorſet**-*ſhire* rendred (*p*) to the Earl of **Carnarvon**; and the Iſle of **Portland** reduced (*q*) to His Majeſties obedience.

[n] 24. July.
[o] 26. July.
[p] 2. Aug.
[q] 5. Aug.

Hereupon **Weymouth**, and **Melcombe** *in com. Dorſet* ſubmitted.

Theſe great ſucceſſes encouraged the King to come (*r*) before the City of **Gloucester** (the moſt conſiderable Garriſon in all that part of the Realm) which ſo ſtartled the Earls of **Bedford** and **Holand**, and the Lord *Paget*, that they came (†) in to the King; but not long after, being leſs apprehenſive of danger, fell off again to their own party. Soon after this, **Beverley** in **Yorkſhire** was taken (*t*) by the Earl of **Newcaſtle**; **Biddiford**, **Appleford**, and **Barnſtaple** *in com. Devon.* were alſo rendred (*u*). The City of **Exeter** was likewiſe taken (*x*) by Prince *Maurice*; and Sir *William Waller* (one of their active Generals) routed (*y*) at **Winchester**.

[r] 10. Aug.
† 20. Aug.
[t] 28. Aug.
[u] 1. & 3. Sept.
[x] 4. Sept.
[y] 6. Sept.

Near **Auburne** alſo in **Wiltſhire** a ſtrong party of them was worſted by (*z*) Prince *Rupert*: But ſoon after this, the Earl of **Eſſex**, with his whole Army (*a*) met his Majeſty near **Newbery** in **Berkſhire**; where, after much ſlaughter, neither could boaſt of the victory, though the Earls of **Carnarvon**, and **Sunderland**, with *Lucius* Viſcount **Falkland** (then one of the Kings principal Secretaries of State) there loſt their lives: the noiſe whereof did not a little avail the Rebels, it giving them much reputation with all their party.

[z] 17. Sept.
[a] 20. Sept.

In *October* (the next month) **Dertmouth** in *Devon-ſhire* was rendred (*b*) to Prince *Maurice*: and ſhortly after **Hawarden**-Caſtle in *Flint-ſhire* yielded (*c*) to the King's obedience. **Arundell**-Caſtle alſo in **Suſſex** was rendred (*d*) to the Lord *Hopton*; **Beeſton**-caſtle in *Cheſhire* taken (★). Likewiſe **Lapley**-*houſe* (*f*) in *Staffordſhire*; **Grafton**-*houſe* (*g*) in

[b] 6. Oct.
[c] 4. Decem.
[d] 9. Decem.
★ 12. Decem.
[f] 21. Decem.
[g] 25. Decem.

Anno 1643. in *Northampton-ſhire*: and **Crew**-*houſe* (*h*) in *Cheſhire*.

h 28. Decem.

Towards the end of *January* alſo, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and Colonel *Milton* were routed (*i*) by Prince *Rupert* at **Drayton** in *Shropſhire*: **Hopton** (*k*) Caſtle in *Shropſhire*, and **Wardour** (*l*) Caſtle in *Wiltſhire* were likewiſe taken. And upon the relief (*m*) of **Newark** in *Nottinghamſhire*, beſieg'd by Sir *John Meldrum* a Scot with ſeven thouſand men, **Gaynesborough**, **Lincolne**, and **Sleford** (all in *Lincolnſhire*) were quitted (*n*) by the Rebels: And (*o*) **Sturton**-caſtle in *Staffordſhire* about this time taken.

i 25. Jan.
k 13. Feb.
l 18. Feb.
m n 21. Mar.
o 23. March.

¶ Theſe being the moſt remarkable Actions on the King's part for this year 1643. I come now to obſerve what ſucceſs the Rebels, who were not idle, had the ſame year.

In *April* therefore, the Earl of *Eſſex* came (*p*) before **Reading** in *Berkſhire*, and ſoon obtain'd it by ſurrender (*q*), Colonel *Feilding* being then Governour thereof.

p 16. April.
q 26. April.

Siege being alſo laid to **Wardour**-caſtle in *Wiltſhire*, it was rendred (*r*). So likewiſe was **Monmouth** in **Monmouth**-*ſhire*: And at **Wakefield** in *Yorkſhire*, His Majeſties forces encountring the Rebels, were worſted (†). Soon after which **Taunton** and **Bridgwater** (both in *Somerſetſhire*) were alſo delivered (*t*) up to them.

r 8. May.
† 21. May.
t 5. June.

But, notwithſtanding all this, they were not without their fears; and therefore diſpatcht (*v*) the Lord *Grey* of **Warke**, together with Mr. *Henry Darley* and Sir *William Armine* (both truſty Members of their Houſe of Commons) by ſpecial order, into **Scotland**, earneſtly to ſollicite the dear Brethren of that Realm to their aſſiſtance.

v 6. July.

Shortly after this, they took (*x*) **Gaynesborough** in *Lincolnſhire*; and attempted (*y*) **Basing**-*houſe* in *Hantſhire* without effect. But in *September* the Earl of *Eſſex*, with more help from the zealous *Londoners*, approaching (*z*) **Glouceſter** with a great ſtrength, cauſed the King to raiſe the ſiege which he had laid to that rebellious place. In the ſame month alſo was

x 30. July.
y 2. Aug.
z 10. Septem.

**Lynne**

Lynne in *Norfolk* yielded (*a*) to the Earl of Manchester; and ſhortly after, the City of Lincoln taken (*b*) by him forcibly. Arundel-caſtle in *Suſſex* likewiſe, in *January* following yielded (*c*) to Sir *William Waller*. Whereupon, being recruited with more forces, he was conſtituted Major General of Kent, Surry, Suſſex, and Hantſhire: But that which proved to be *inſtar omnium* was that grand Invaſion of the Scots, which on the 22d. of *January* croſſed (*d*) the River Tine with their numerous Army, to the aſſiſtance of theſe Rebels: (as hath been already obſerved:) For at that time all the North of England, beyond Trent, excepting Hull in Yorkſhire, and ſome few inconſiderable places, being by the Marqueſs of Newcaſtle (for ſo he had been lately made) reduced to the King's obedience; as alſo the Weſt by Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice* (His Majeſties Nephews) excepting Poole and Lime in Dorſetſhire, and Plymouth in *Devonſhire*; the Members ſitting at Weſtminſter became ſo ſtartled, that ſome of the leading-men prepared for quitting the Realm.

*Anno* 1643.

a 16. Septem.

b 20. Octob.

c 3. Jan.

d 22. Jan. The Scots Invaſion.

But this great ayd from Scotland much revived their drooping Spirits: for winter being over, they fram'd an Ordinance (*), that Sir *William Brereton* in *Cheſhire* ſhould have authority to take Subſcriptions for raiſing more forces in that County: and ſoon after impoſed (*f*) a new *Exciſe* upon *Allom*, *Coperas*, *Monmouth-caps*, *Hats* of all ſorts; *Hops*, *Saffron*, *Starch*; all manner of *Silks* and *Stuffs*; and on ſeveral other commodities made or growing in England, not formerly charged.

*Anno* 1644.

* 26. March. *Scab. coll.* p. 65.

f 8. July. *Ibid.* p. 73.

And, having by their many and great grievous Taxes, thus largely provided for welcoming in the Scots; thoſe their dear Brethren advanced Southwards, and with the Earl of Manchester laid ſiege to the City of York. The loſs of all the North, being by this means thus in great peril; and Prince *Rupert* coming with the chief of all His Majeſties forces to the relief thereof; he was encountred (*g*) with the greateſt ſtrength that the Engliſh Rebels then had, the joynt forces under the command of *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax* and the

g 2. July. The Battle at *Marſton-moore*.

*Anno* 1644. Earl of **Manchester**, with the whole Scottish Army commanded by *Lesslley*, which drew off from their siege of **York**: whereupon, in a bloudy Battle, fought at **Marston-moore** (about four miles from that City) though at first he utterly routed the Scots and the Earl of **Manchester**, yet following the chase too far, presuming the day his own; through the onely conduct of *Cromwell* then Lieutenant General to **Manchester**, with a fresh body of Horse, the rest of the royal Army, after a valiant and sharp dispute, being much overpowered, was totally shattered and vanquisht: So that he was constrain'd to quit the field, and march Southwards with what Horse he had left; exposing **York**, hopeless of relief, to the power of the Enemy: which, [h] 13. July. by reason thereof was (*h*) delivered up to *Cromwell* within few days after.

But of this fatal Action the King (then far remote) knowing nothing at present, (His royal Heart incessantly minding the preservation of his people from [i] 4. July. The King's Message from *Evesham.* further spoil by the wars,) sent (*i*) to the Members at **Westminster**, desiring, as formerly, that they would appoint such and so many persons as they should think fit, sufficiently authorized by them, to attend him upon safe-conduct given; and there to conclude how all things in question might be fully setled.

Which gracious Message, though not then regarded (so much were they elated with that their success at **Marston-moore**:) yet, after that grand defeat of their old General (the Earl of *Essex*) in **Cornwal**, [k] 1. Septemb. which hapned (*k*) on the first of *September* next following; [l] 5. Septemb. from *Tavestoke.* His Majesty then reminding (*l*) them of that his Message from **Evesham**; they did vouchsafe, within two months following, to send (*m*) him certain [m] 23. Nov. *propositions*; but such as did still apparently manifest their confidence to carry on the work by power, through the ayd of the Scots, with whom they had entred into so firm a combination for assistance by their solemn *League and Covenant*: For, by these *propositions* (amongst others) they had the boldness to make these following Demands, *viz.* that the King should swear

to

to ſign that Inſtrument, called *the ſolemn League and Covenant*; adding, according to the example of His Royal Father of happy memory (for ſo they had the face to ſay; though Mr. *Nye* had expreſt, *that it was ſuch an Oath, as for matter, perſons, and other circumſtances, was never in any age before*) And, not onely ſo; but that an Act of Parliament might be paſſed, for to injoyne the taking of it, by all His Majeſties Subjects within His three Kingdomes. Next, that a Bill ſhould be paſſed, for the utter aboliſhing of *Epiſcopacy* (without which Goverment it is well known, that no National Church ever was, ſince the Apoſtles times:) And, that their Ordinance, for the calling and ſitting of their *Aſſembly of Divines*, ſhould be confirm'd by Act of Parliament. Alſo, that an Act ſhould be paſſed for confirming their Treaty, for bringing in the Scots-Army into **England**; and for eſtabliſhing that their diſloyal *Declaration*, made by themſelves and the Scots, bearing date 30. *Jan.* 1643. whereby Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* (His Majeſties Nephews) *James* Earl of *Derby*, *William* Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, *John* Earl of *Briſtol*, with divers other of his Nobility; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *Ely* (then their priſoners) with a multitude of other worthy perſons, both of this Kingdome, and of **Scotland**, were excepted as to life, and their eſtates doom'd to pay publick Debts. *Anno* 1644.

Likewiſe, that a great number more (whoſe names are there expreſt) together with all thoſe Loyal Members of Parliament, which attended his Majeſty at **Oxford**, ſhould be removed from His Majeſties Councils, and never to come within the Verge of the Court, but by their permiſſion.

Then, that all Judges, Serjeants, Councellors, Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates and Proctors, in the Law-common, or Civil, who had adhered to the King, ſhould be made uncapable of any practice, publick or private: and all Clergy-men whatſoever, who had alſo adhered to the King, to be incapable of any preferment or imployment in the Church or Commonwealth.

Moreover,

Anno 1644. Moreover, that the Forces by Sea and Land, for the Kingdomes of **England** and **Scotland** ſhould be ſetled by Act of Parliament in Commiſſioners nominated by both their Houſes of Parliament: and, that the education and marriage of the King's children; as alſo the making Peace or War with any forreign Princes, ſhould be with the advice and conſent of Parliament.

Furthermore; that, by Act of Parliament the Deputy or chief Governour of **Ireland**, be nominated by both Houſes of Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliament by Commiſſioners, to continue during the pleaſure of both Houſes. And that the Lord Chancellour, Lord Keeper, Lord Treaſurer, Commiſſioners of the great Seal or Treaſury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chancellour of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer, for the Kingdomes of **England** and **Ireland**, ſhould be nominated by both Houſes of Parliament, to continue *quamdiu ſe benè geſſerint*; and in the Intervals of Parliament by the before-mention'd Commiſſioners. The like for the Kingdome of **Scotland**; adding the Juſtice-general, and in ſuch manner, as the Eſtates in Parliament there, ſhould think fit.

Divers other *Propoſitions* alſo they then ſent, no leſs unreaſonable than theſe, which, for brevities ſake, I omit. So that (in ſhort) the ſumme of all was no leſs than that His Majeſty ſhould condeſcend to the utter deſtruction and overthrow of the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed in the Church of **England**, which he had ſworn to maintain; and whereunto all the reverend Clergy of the Realm had likewiſe ſubſcribed; ſacrifice the Lives and Eſtates of divers of his moſt faithful ſubjects to the avarice and ambition of theſe men; ſubject all thoſe loyal perſons learned in the Laws Common, and Civil to their malice; Give up the power of the Sword, totally, into the hands of his greateſt Enemies; therewith, not onely to oppreſs his good ſubjects at home; but (according to their own pleaſure) to moleſt and annoy his Friends and Allies abroad;

and

and proſtitute the Education of his dear Children with their diſpoſal in Marriage to the vile affections and humours of this hypocritical Generation. *Anno* 1644.

¶ That their confidence, likewiſe, in carrying all before them, with power and force, through the aid of the Scots, might the more appear; I ſhall now repreſent unto you *Presbytery Triumphant*, for a while. For within ſix days after they had ſent theſe inſolent propoſitions to the King, they voted (*f*) down the reverend *Liturgy* by Law eſtabliſh'd in the Church of **England**. And, for a farther encouragement to thoſe their dear brethren, on whoſe aſſiſtance they did ſo much relie, which emboldened them to make thoſe high demands, they paſſed an Ordinance (*g*) for raiſing the Sum of ſixty ſix thouſand ſix hundred ſixty ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings and four pence, for their ſupply by way of Loane, from ſuch perſons, as ſhould not voluntarily or proportionably lend, according to their eſtates. Which Loane was to be paid out of the Sequeſtrations of Delinquents.

[f] 26. Nov.

[g] 2. Decem. *Scob. coll.* p. 75.

But to make the more ſpecious oſtentation to the world, that all their Actions wholly tended to the Glory of God, the publick good and nothing to their own private intereſts; they farther voted, (*h*) that no member of either Houſe, ſhould during that war, enjoy or execute any office or command, military or civil, which had been granted or conferred on them by either Houſe; or by any Authority, derived from either Houſe; and that an Ordinance ſhould be drawn up accordingly.

[h] 9. Decem. The ſelf-denying Ordinance.

Next they paſſed an Ordinance for the utter aboliſhing the Pious *Liturgy* (commonly called *the Book of Common Prayer*) compiled by divers reverend Divines, (of which ſome died Martyrs;) and for the eſtabliſhing a *Directory* (as they call'd it) for the worſhip of God, in the room thereof: whereby every conceited perſon was left at liberty, unto his own frothy fancy, in framing certain Prayers whereunto the Congregation were to ſay Amen: a thing ſo abſurd and deſtructive to the true and real ſervice of God, as that there needs no obſervations upon it. And

The Book of Common Prayer Aboliſht.

The Directory Eſtabliſht.

Anno 1644. the day following, to glorify their doings the more, they adorn'd (*i*) their House of Commons, with that whole suit of Hangings, which were placed in the Quire of the Collegiate Church at **Westminster**, and some other taken out of the King's wardrobe.

i 4. Jan.

And, having proceeded against the Arch-Bishop of **Canterbury** (whose memory, as a stout Champion for the Church of **England**, against her fierce assaylants, the Romanists on the one side, and Schismaticks on the other; and for his many other great and pious works, much beseeming a person of that place, will be precious to succeeding ages) by arraigning him before themselves, upon articles of high Treason (as they call'd them) wherein they charg'd him with labouring to overthrow the Fundamental Laws and Government of this Kingdome; subverting the Religion establish'd, to set up Papistry and Superstition; they did, by an Ordinance (passed the very same day with that for abolishing the Book of *Common Prayer*) condemn him to suffer death as a Traytor; for the quicker dispatch whereof, they brought down the Lords to sit with the Commons; and afterwards beheaded (*k*) him on Tower-hill.

k 10. Jan. Arch-Bp. of *Canterb.* beheaded.

After which they admitted of a Treaty with certain Commissioners nominated by the King, upon those *Propositions*, so sent by them; as hath been observed. Which Treaty being by them limited to twenty days, began at **Uxbridge** on Thursday the 30th. of *January*.

Treaty at *Uxbridge*.

To take notice here, of the particular passages in this treaty, considering that they are so exactly set forth in print, (*l*) will not be needfull. The truth is; that though these Grandees at **Westminster**, did then make shew to incline unto a happy composure of all things, by that amicable expedient (to the end, that by this plausible pretence, they might the more captivate the people) they really intended nothing less; as may appear, not onely by those unjust and insolent demands, whereupon they did so stifly insist; which amounted to the uter subversion of the Religion by Law establisht; getting the power of the sword into their own hands; and carrying on the war in **Ire-**

l Impr. *Oxon.* 1645.

land,

land, according to their depraved wills and pleaſures: but by that ſeditious and impudent Sermon (*m*), preach'd in **Uxbridge** Church, upon the firſt day of that Treaty (it being the Market-day there) by Mr. *Chriſtopher Love* (after executed by themſelves on Tower-Hill) who, beſides many paſſages therein, ſcandalous to the King's perſon, and derogatory to his Honour, ſtirring up the People againſt the Treaty, and ſharply incenſing them againſt his Majeſties Commiſſioners, ſaid; that *they came with Hearts full of bloud, and that there was as great a diſtance betwixt that Treaty and peace, as betwixt Heaven and Hell.* For which malicious expreſſion, though complaint was made, and Juſtice demanded, no redreſs could be had. Beſides, when the King's Commiſſioners deſired (*n*) to treat with them concerning his Majeſties ſpeedy return to **Weſtminſter**, they utterly refuſed ſo to do, though they had ever given it out to the world, that the ſole reaſon for raiſing their Armies was to bring the King to his Parliament.

*Anno* 1644.

[m] *Ibid.* p. 31.

[n] *Ibid.* p. 144. & 145.

## CHAP. XIX.

AS to the military paſſages of this year, the chief on the Kings part were theſe. **Longford**-*houſe in Com. Salop.* was rendred (*o*) by the Rebels to Prince *Rupert.* As alſo **Longe**-caſtle (*p*) in the ſame County. Likewiſe **Stoppord** (*q*) in *Cheſhire.*

[o] 3. Apr.

[p] 6. Apr.

[q] 25. May

**Lathom**-*houſe* in *Lancaſhire*, being beſieged by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, was relieved (*r*) by Prince *Rupert*: whereupon **Leverpoole** and **Bolton** (both in that County) were ſoon taken (†) by him.

[r] 27. May

† 28. May

**Boſtall**-houſe in *Oxfordſhire* taken (*t*) by Colonell *Gage.*

[t] 12 June.

Colonell *Shuttleworth* defeated (*u*) at *Blackburn* in *Lancaſhire* by Prince *Rupert.*

[u] 20. June

Anno 1644. Sir *William Waller* with his forces routed (x) at **Cropredy**-bridge in *Oxfordſhire*, the Earls of **Northampton**, and **Cleveland** being both in that action: And *York*, after nine weeks ſiege by the Scots, the Lord *Fairfax* and Earl of **Manchester** aſſiſting them, relievd (y) by Prince *Rupert*.

In the next month **Leſtithiel** in **Cornwall** being then taken (z) by the King, the Earl of *Eſſex* forſook his Foot, and (*) fled in a Cock-boat from **Foy** to **Plymouth** with the Lord *Roberts*; the foot, then under the command of Major general *Skippon*, delivering up their Arms, Ammunition and Artillery, and engaging themſelves thenceforth never to bear Arms againſt the King. **Basing**-*houſe* alſo, being again beſieged by the Rebells, was relievd (a) by Colonel *Gage*.

The Earl of *Northampton* likewiſe raiſ'd (b) the ſiege of **Banbury**-Caſtle, which had continued from the 19th. of *July*. And the next month following, the King raiſed (c) the ſiege of **Donington**-Caſtle in *Berkſhire*: as alſo that (d) of **Basing**.

But as to further ſucceſs on the King's part, within the compaſs of this year 1644. I do not find any thing of note, ſaving the defeat (*) given to Colonel *Roſſeter* near **Melton**-*Moubray* in *Leiceſterſhire*, by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, in his paſſage from **Oxford** towards **Pontfract**: And his relief (f) of **Pontfract**-Caſtle, then beſieged by the Lord *Fairfax*.

¶ I now come to the Actions on the Rebels part in this year 1644. wherein they had the better of the day: *viz.* in the Fight (g) at **Cramden**-*Heath*, near **Ailesford** in *Hantſhire*, where Sir *William Waller* worſted the Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *John Stuart* being there mortally wounded.

In the Battle (h) at **Marſton**-**moore**, in *Yorkſhire*, the victory was chiefly gain'd by the valour and skilfull conduct of *Cromwel* Lieutenant general to the Earl of *Manchester* (as hath been already obſerved) with the Earl of **Manchester**'s Horſe, in the left Wing, drawn out of the Eaſtern aſſociation: ſhortly after which the City of *York* was delivered (i) up to him on honorable

x 30. June.
y 3. July.
z 15. Auguſt.
* 1. Septem.
a 14. Sept.
b 25. Octob.
c 7. Novem.
d 17. Nov.
* 23 Febr.
f 1. March.
g 29. March.
h 2. July.
i 23. July.

rable terms by Sir *Thomas Glemham* then Governour there: And in *October* **Newcaſtle**, after a long ſiege of many months, given (*k*) up to the Scots. *Anno* 1644.

[k] 19. Octob.

In which month happened alſo the ſecond Battel (*l*) at **Newbery** in *Berkſhire*; where great ſlaughter was on both ſides. In which it was obſerved, that none of the Rebels fought more fiercely, than thoſe, who at the delivering up their **Arms** in **Cornwal** (as hath heen already mentioned) did then engage never more to fight againſt the King.

[l] 27. Octob. The ſecond Battel of Newbery.

Upon the ill ſucceſs of this Battel (for ſo the members at **Weſtminſter** eſteem'd it) the Parliament party having double in number to the King) it was that the Earl of *Eſſex*, their General became ſuſpected of careleſneſs or diſcontent: ſo that much debate happened amongſt them concerning that point: The *Independent* party therefore, having a deſign to be rid of him, to make the more ſpecious oſtentation, that all their Actions wholly tended to the Glory of God, and the publick good, and nothing to their private Intereſt (being then more predominant than the *Preſbyterian*) prevailed in making a Vote; * *that no Member of either Houſe, ſhould during that war, enjoy or execute any office, or command, Military, or Civil, which had been granted or conferred on them by either Houſe, or by any authority derived from either Houſe, and that an Ordinance ſhould be drawn up accordingly.*

* 9. Decemb. The ſelf-denying Ordinance.

By which device that party did not only lay aſide this their great General, but outed many eminent Preſbyterians from divers beneficiall offices, both in the Treaſury, Gariſons, and other conſiderable imployments placing in their ſtead thoſe of their own party. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was conſtituted (*m*) General of all their forces, and a new modelling of the Army voted, (*n*) but with no ſmall difficulty, the *Presbyterians* much oppoſing it; ſo that the *Independents* were neceſſitated to make uſe of their old trick in getting petitions out of ſeveral Counties, ere their Ordinance to that purpoſe could paſs.

[m] [n] 31. Dec.

In purſuance of which vote, his Commiſſion (but the clauſe in the ſolemn League and Covenant *for*

Anno 1644. *preſervation of his Majeſties perſon* omitted therein) Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with great formality received, Col. *Oliver Cromwell*, though a member of the Houſe of Commons, being then made his Lieutenant general, with whom they did ſpecially diſpenſe in that point of *Self-denial*. Which being accompliſh'd, and the whole party not a little elated by this ſecond Invaſion of the Scots to their aid, they began to cry (*o*) aloud for Juſtice upon delinquents: whereupon Sir *Alexander Carew*, one of the Knights of the Shire for **Cornwall**, taſted ſharply thereof. For this Sir *Alexander* having been a moſt confiding man, and in that reſpect conſtituted Governour of **Plymouth**-fort, at length diſcerning the greateſt part of the Weſt reduced to his Majeſties obedience, began rationally to conſult his own ſafety, and to make his peace with the King, by the delivering up of that ſtrong hold: but his intention therein being diſcovered before the buſineſs could be fully effected, he was condemn'd to death by a Council of War held at **Guild-hall** in **London**, and on the twenty third of *December* beheaded (*p*) on Tower Hill, with the very ſame Ax, by which the noble Earl of *Strafford* loſt his life. Which notable accident is not fit to paſs without a ſpecial remark: for moſt certain it is, that upon voting the Bill in the Houſe of Commons for putting that great man to death, the moſt Loyal Sir *Bevill Grenevile* (the other Knight for **Cornwall**) ſitting by Sir *Alexander*, and much abhorring that unjuſt procedure againſt a perſon, whoſe life the known Laws of the Land could not touch, expreſs'd himſelf thus to Sir *Alexander*; *Pray Sir let it never be ſaid, that any Member of our County ſhould have a hand in this fatal buſineſs; and therefore pray ye give your vote againſt the Bill.*

To whom Sir *Alexander* inſtantly replyed; *If I were ſure to be the next man that ſhould ſuffer upon the ſame Scaffold, with the ſame Ax, I would give my conſent to the paſſing of it.* How exactly this was verified is ſufficiently known.

Nor is it leſs worthy of note, that about this time alſo they reckoned with their truſty Governour of **Hull**,

(*o*) *Heath's Chron. p.68.*

(*p*) *Ibid. 23. Decemb.*

(*q*) *Ibid. p. 18.*

Hull, Sir *John Hotham*, and likewiſe with *John* his eldeſt ſon, who had been Priſoners in the Tower of London from the month of *July* 1643. (though formerly much magnified for refuſing to give the King entrance there, as hath been already obſerved *) whoſe great crimes were, that when they diſcern'd the Earl of Newcaſtle powerfull in the North; the Queen alſo ſafe landed at Burlinton, with Arms and Ammunition, and the ſtrength of the Rebels not a little declining in all parts; and therefore deeming it beſt to make their peace with the King in time, they privately treated with the Earl of Newcaſtle, or his Agents for the delivery up of that Gariſon, but ſo unwarily as that their deſign was diſcovered: whereupon they had ſentence of death paſſed upon them on the ſeventh of *December*, by the Earl of Manchester and others, then ſitting at Guild-Hall in London; which was accordingly executed (r) on his ſon, upon the firſt of *January* next enſuing, and on himſelf the morrow following: And, not many days after (being thus fleſht with bloud) they brought the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury to the ſame block †, as hath been already obſerved.

Soon after which (the Tide running ſwiftly on their ſide) Shrewsbury was ſurprized by their forces: nothing of moment thenceforth being acted by the Royaliſts other than a defeat (a) which Colonel *Maſſey* received by Prince *Rupert* near Ledbury in Herefordſhire, and the taking (b) of Leiceſter by the King, which proved fatal to him, as we ſhall ſee anon, all going thenceforth to wrack on his Majeſties part.

For, at the very entrance of this year Donington-caſtle was yielded (c) up to them. Soon after which *Cromwel* having defeated ſome of the King's forces near Islip-bridg in Oxford-*ſhire*, and upon ſummons got (d) Bletchington *houſe*; within few weeks after General *Fairfax* came (*) with his whole Army before Oxford, whereupon Godſtow-*houſe* was quitted (f) by the Royaliſts, Evesham in Worceſterſhire taken (g); and Gaunt-houſe (in Oxfordſhire) yielded (h) up. All

Anno 1644.

* cap. 8.

† 10. Jan.

See the King's obſervation thereon in his *Eikon Baſilike* cap.

Anno 1645.

a 22. April.

b 31. May.

r 1. Jan.

c 25. March.

d 24. April.

* 22. May.

f 23. May.

g 26. May.

h 1. June.

Anno 1645. All this while *Fairfax* continuing before **Oxford**: but hearing that the King was somewhat considerable after the taking of **Leicester**, he raised his siege and march'd towards him. Both Armies therefore meeting near **Naseby** in **Northampton-shire**, upon
[i] 14. June. their first encounter (*i*) the King had the better: but Prince *Rupert*, having routed the one Wing of the Rebells Troops, follow'd the Chase so far, that the Foot being left open to the other, were by the conduct of *Cromwell* put into a total confusion: by which means *Fairfax* became master of the Field, and
[k] 18. June. regained (*k*) **Leicester** within four days.

Whereupon he marched to the Relief of **Taunton** (in **Somersetshire**, then besieg'd by General *Goring*)
[l] 27. June. taking (*l*) **Highworth** in *Wiltshire* in his passage.

To accompany these sad misfortunes **Carlisle** in **Cumberland** (that great and strong Garison) was
[m] 28. June. delivered (*m*) up to the Scots, after two and forty weeks siege: And General *Goring* having Intelligence of *Fairfax* his advance towards **Taunton**, drew off, and was worsted by him near **Langport** in **Somersetshire.**

After which nothing but loss and ruin every day ensued, as will appear by these following instances, which I have thought fit here briefly to enumerate;
[n] 21. July. **Pontfract** castle delivered (*n*) to General *Poyntz*, after three months siege; that Garison thence marching to **Newark.**

[o] 23. July. **Bridgwater** taken (*o*) by General *Fairfax*, after his Victory at **Langport.**

**Scarborough** likewise, after a long siege by Sir
[p] 25. July. *Matthew Boynton*, delivered (*p*) up to him by Sr. *Hugh Cholmley*, upon honourable conditions.

The City of **Bath** also, within few days follow-
[q] 31. July. ing, was likewise rendred (*q*).

Soon after this, the Scotish Army marching Southwards (making miserable spoil in their passage) took *Canon*-**Frome** a Garison of the King's in **Herefordshire**) and then (*r*) sate down before **Hereford.** Where
[r] 15. August. having lost many of their men, they drew off, on the second of *September*, and returned Northwards.

**Sherborne-**

Sherborne-caſtle alſo (which had beed ſtoutly defended by Sir *Lewes Dive*) was taken (†) by ſtorm; Nunney-caſtle (in *Somerſetſhire*) thereupon yielding to Colonel *Rainsborough*. *Anno* 1644. † 17. Aug.

Whithin few days enſuing, General *Fairfax* therefore came before (*t*) **Briſtol**; and on the tenth of *September* had it delivered up to him. t 21. Aug.

In the next month the King's forces at **Rowton-heath** in *Cheſhire* received a great defeat (*u*), wherein the Lord *Bernard Stuart* loſt his life. Hereupon the Lord *Digby*, with the remainder of the Horſe was ſent towards **Scotland**, there to joyn with the Noble Marqueſs of **Montroſſe**. u 22. Sept.

The Caſtle of **Deviſes** was ſoon after taken (*x*) by *Cromwell*: The Caſtles likewiſe of **Raby** in the Biſhoprick; **Skipton** and **Sandall** in *Yorkſhire*, were then alſo delivered (*y*) up. x 26. Sept. y 1. Oct.

**Baſing**-*houſe* taken (*z*) by Sir *Hardres Waller*, and Colonel *Mountagu*, and in it the Marqueſs of **Winchester**, it being his chief ſeat. **Tiverton** in **Devonſhire** taken by *Fairfax*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* being then Governour there. z 14. Oct.

Hereupon, though it was winter time, the Rebels laid ſiege to the City of **Exeter** at a diſtance (that being the chiefeſt place of ſtrength in all the Weſt) About this time alſo **Fairley**-caſtle in **Wiltſhire**, and **Lacock**-*houſe* were given up. Likewiſe **Chepſtow** caſtle in **Monmouth**-*ſhire*; and **Berkley**-caſtle in **Glocester**-*ſhire*: The Lord *Digby* alſo marching toward **Scotland** (to joyn with *Montroſſe*) was defeated (*a*) at **Sherborne** in **Yorkſhire** by Colonel *Copley*, and Colonel *Lilburne*; whereupon he was conſtrain'd to flee into the Iſle of **Man**, and thence into **Ireland**. a 15. Octob.

Soon after this **Bolton** caſtle (in **Yorkſhire**) yielded (*b*). Likewiſe **Beeſton** (*c*) caſtle in **Cheſhire**. b 5. Nov. c 16. Nov

**Shelford**-houſe alſo in **Notingham**-*ſhire* was taken by ſtorm, Colonel *Stanhope* (ſon to the Earl of **Chesterfield**) being Governour of it, and there ſlain.

**Lathom**-*houſe* in *Lancaſhire*, which had ſtoutly held out two years ſiege by the magnanimous Counteſs of

Anno 1644. **Derby** was then likewiſe rendred (*d*). The City of
d 4. Decem. **Hereford** was alſo ſurprized (*) by Colonel *Birch*
* 17. Decem. and Colonel *Morgan*, by a Stratagem of a counterfeit Conſtable coming with Countrymen to break the Ice in the Trenches, having an Ambuſcado near at hand.

f 17. Jan. **Wormleighton**-*houſe* in **Warwickſhire** burnt (*f*).

g 19. Jan. **Dertmouth** ſtorm'd and taken (*g*) by General *Fairfax*, Sir *Hugh Pallord* being then Governour there.

h 2. Feb. **Belvoir** caſtle yielded (*h*) to Generall *Poyntz*, Sir *Gervaſe Lucas* the Governour and his Officers being conveigh'd to **Litchfield.**

The City of **Cheſter**, which had endured a long ſiege, and thrice attempted to be reliev'd, was by the
i 3. Feb. Lord *Byron* the then Governour yielded (*i*) upon Articles to Sir *William Brereton*, who commanded in chief, as Major general in thoſe parts.

Whence he went to **Litchfield**-*cloſe*, which alſo ſoon after rendred upon the like Articles.

In the ſame month of *February*, **Torrington** in
k 16. Feb. **Devonſhire** was taken (*k*) by ſtorm; **Lanceſton**
l 25. Feb. (*l*), **Saltaſh** (*m*), and **Liskard** (*n*) (all in **Cornwall**) quitted. Likewiſe (*o*) **Mount-Edgcombe**,
m 28. Feb.
n 29. Feb.
o 3. March. and **Foy.** Whereupon the Prince, with the Lord *Culpeper* and other perſons of quality ſet ſayle to the Iſles of **Scilley.**

The Lord *Hopton* therefore diſcerning no hope of
p 14. March. aid, accepted of fair conditions, and disbanded (*p*) his Army; St. **Mawes**-caſtle, being (as a concluſion) given up thereupon. Whence with the Lord *Wentworth* he haſted into **Scilley.**

Hereupon Sir *Jacob Aſtley* (created Lord *Aſtley* about two years before) with whom, being an old and expert ſouldier, the remaining part of the King's foot forces were left, marching to joyn with the Horſe
q 21. March. about **Farringdon** in **Berkſhire**; being ſet (*q*) upon near **Stow on the Woulds** in *Glouceſterſhire*, by *Raynsborough*, *Fleetwood*, and Sir *William Brereton* was ſo much overpowered by their conjunct ſtrength; that he with all his men, after a ſharp diſpute and ſome loſs were made Priſoners; this being the laſt encounter that the Royalliſts were able to make with thoſe inſolent

ſolent Rebels. Soon after which the Gariſon of **Aſh**-**by** *de la Zouch* in **Leiceſter**-*ſhire* was delivered up by the valiant Lord *Loughborough*; which cloſed up the military Actions for this preſent year. *Anno* 1644.

## CHAP. XX.

I Shall now return to the Grandees at **Weſtminſter**, and take notice of the effects, which theſe their great ſucceſſes in the Camp, did this year produce in their Counſels, and further practices: In the obſervation whereof, I find that the *Presbyterian* party thereupon grew ſo highly elated, that nothing leſs was by them Reſolved on, than *the ſetting Jeſus Chriſt on his Throne* (as their phraſe was) that is to ſay to make an abſolute eſtabliſhment of their *Church Diſcipline*. As a preparatory whereto, they paſſed another Ordinance (*p*) for the publick uſe of their *Directory*, with a Penalty upon ſuch as ſhould uſe the *Common Prayer*; and forty ſhillings forfeiture upon every one each time officiating, that did not uſe that *Directory*: as alſo that all the *Common-Prayer-Books* ſhould be carried in, to the Committees of each County, by them to be diſpoſed of as the Parliament ſhould direct. *Anno* 1645. (*p*) 23. Aug. *Scob. Col.* p. 97.

The King therefore diſcerning the increaſe of his peoples calamities, again endeavoured to remedy them by renewing his deſires of Peace: and to that end, under his own Royal Hand wrote a Letter (*q*) to the Speaker of their Houſe of Peers, deſiring a ſafe-conduct, for the Duke of *Richmond*, and ſome others, whom he purpoſed to ſend with *Propoſitions* to the Members at **Weſtminſter**, and to the Commiſſioners there, from the Parliament of **Scotland**, for the foundation of a happy and well grounded Peace. Meſſage from the King for peace. (*q*) 15. Decem.

Whereunto obtaining no Anſwer, he added a ſecond (*r*); Importuning them earneſtly to hearken to that his deſire. And having no Anſwer to that neither, he (*r*) 15. Decem.

Anno 1645. sent a *third* (†); whereby he offered, upon engage-
† 26. Decem. ment for his freedome and safety, in going and returning, to come himself to **London**, or **Westminster**, for the space of fourty days, and there to treat personally with them; offering to commit the *Militia* of this Realm, unto certain persons, to be nominated by himself and them, equally, for such a time, and with such powers and limitations, as were delivered in by a paper, upon the Treaty at **Uxbridg**.

After which *third Message*, he received their Answer to his second; which was the refusal of a safe-conduct to the Duke and those other, who were design'd to go; saying that they then had certain *Propositions* and *Bills* under consideration, which they purposed to tender unto his Majestie, for the setling of a safe and well grounded peace (as they call'd it) which after agreement upon them by the Scotch-Commissioners, they resolv'd to present unto him.

The King not satisfied with this, sent a *fourth Mes-*
t 29. Decem. *sage* (*t*); whereby he earnestly pressed their embracing his offer for *a personal Treaty* with them at **Westminster.** And after expectance of an Answer thereto, for the space of full twenty days; and hearing nothing
y 15. Jan. he sent them a *fifth Message* (*u*) to the same purpose enlarging his offers, for his People's quiet, in sundry particulars. But whilst this message was upon the way towards them, came an answer to his fourth, absolutely negative as to his admittance for coming to them; still telling him of the *Propositions* and *Bills*, which they were preparing to send.

Which Answer being wholly unsatisfactory, and apparently manifesting their averseness to peace; he sent
x 17. Jan. a *sixth* (*x*) *Message* to them, incessantly importuning their speedy Answer to his former; and within few
y 24. Jan. days after a *seventh* (*y*), wherein he expressed somewhat in confutation of those frivolous Arguments, which they had used against his *Personal Treaty* with them; continuing his desires thereof.

Certain it is, that as they grew in strength and power, so their Insolence, which thus prompted them to decline all good expedients for accommodation, increased

increaſed more and more. Nevertheleſs, his Majeſtie not totally deſpairing, but that by farther condeſcenſions, he might move this hard-hearted Generation, ſent unto them his *eighth Meſſage* (z) whereby acquitting himſelf from having any hand in ſome paſſages of the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland* (then called Earl of *Glamorgan*) in **Ireland**; which he well knew that they would be apt enough to ſcandalize him with; he offer'd; that, in caſe they would admit him to come to **London**, in order to a perſonal Treaty with them, he would leave the management of the War in **Ireland**, wholly to themſelves: as alſo the nomination of the Perſons to be entruſted with the *Militia*, with ſuch power and limitations, as were expreſs'd in the Paper delivered by his Commiſſioners in the Treaty at **Uxbridge**, for the Term of ſeven years, as had been by them deſired. Likewiſe the nomination of the Lord Admiral, Officers of State, and Judges. And, for Religion, to give liberty, that all thoſe, who were unwilling to communicate with the Church of **England** in the Service already eſtabliſht by Act of Parliament, ſhould not be urged thereto: provided, that all other Proteſtants, behaving themſelves peaceably and quietly, in and towards the Civil Government, ſhould have the free exerciſe of theirs: tendring alſo unto them a general Act of Pardon and oblivion. *Anno* 1645. * 29. Jan.

Which gracious Meſſage, ſo full of condeſcenſion, produced from them, nothing in effect, but Scorn and Contempt. For though the King cauſed the Lord *Herbert* for that his miſdemeanor in **Ireland**, to be arreſted upon ſuſpicion of Treaſon, and impriſoned; they traduced his Majeſtie with under-hand-compliance therein, affirming, that he had given that Lord a private Commiſſion, with command to manage it with all ſecrecie: and that it contain'd ſuch odious and ſhamefull things as himſelf bluſht publickly to own, or impart to the Marqueſs of *Ormond* his Lieutenant there. And, whereas he had in his ſaid Meſſage moſt graciouſly tendred them all that the moſt wicked and guilty perſons could deſire or wiſh,

Anno 1645. *viz.* Liberty for their Conſciences, ſafety for their Perſons, ſecurity for their Eſtates, greatneſs for their deſires, and peace to enjoy all, nothing would be accepted: inſomuch, as after a full months expectation of ſome return upon thoſe his offers; and hearing nothing; by His *ninth Meſſage* (*a*), he preſſed them for ſome Anſwer; but all to no purpoſe: For like as a Shadow purſued, they ſtill fled from him, whereupon, after the ſtay of one month more, he ſent them His *tenth Meſſage* (*b*): wherein, taking notice of the duty he owed to God, and ſenſe of his peoples miſeries (that no means might be left unattempted, which could conduce to a ſafe and well-grounded peace) he offer'd unto them, that in caſe he might have the Faith of both their Houſes of Parliament, for the preſervation of his Honour, Perſon, and Eſtate; and liberty given to all his faithfull Subjects, who had adhered to him, to go to their own Houſes, and there enjoy their eſtates peaceably, without compelling to take any Oath, that was not enjoyned by the undoubted Laws of the Kingdome, or other moleſtation; he would immediately disband all his Forces, diſmantle his Garriſons, return to his two Houſes of Parliament, paſs an Act of Oblivion, and free pardon there; and doe whatſoever elſe they ſhould adviſe him to, for the good and peace of the Kingdome.

[a] 26. Feb.

[b] 23. March.

But theſe great Maſters, who (to captivate the people, before they had got ſufficient power into their hands) had, by their moſt ſolemn (*c*) Proteſtations and Declarations, which are publiſht in Print to the world, profeſs'd in the preſence of Almighty God, and for the ſatisfaction of their conſciences, and diſcharge of that great Truſt which lay upon them (as they then expreſt) made their ſolemn *Proteſtation and Declaration, to this Kingdome and Nation, and to the whole World; that no private paſſion or reſpect; no evil intention to His Majeſties perſon; no deſign to the prejudice of His juſt Honour and Authority, engaged them to raiſe Forces and take up Arms*, &c. And again—*we profeſs from our very Hearts and Souls, our Loyalty and Obedience to his Crown; readineſs and reſolution to defend his Perſon, and*

[c] 22. Octob. Anno 1642.

*and ſupport his Eſtate with our Lives and Fortunes, to the utmoſt of our power*, &c. Moreover—*we profeſs we deſire nothing from his Majeſty but that he would return in peace to his Parliament*—And again, *We profeſs in the ſight of Almighty God, which is the ſtrongeſt obligation that a Chriſtian, and the moſt ſolemn publick Faith which any ſuch State, as a Parliament can give; that we would receive him with all Honour; yield him all true obedience and ſubjection, and faithfully endeavour to defend his perſon and eſtate from all danger; and to the utmoſt of our power to eſtabliſh to him and his people all the bleſſings of a moſt glorious and happy reign.* Anno 1645.

Nevertheleſs ſo obdurate were their Hearts, being then rais'd to an height of confidence, that they ſhould, by the power of Conqueſt, utterly deſtroy him, that they diſdained to vouchſafe him any anſwer at all thereto.

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## CHAP. XXI.

THE torrent of Rebellion thus violently bearing all down before it, what Garriſons remained were neceſſitated ſoon after alſo to ſubmit; *viz.* the port Town of **Barnſtaple** in **Devonſhire** upon (*d*) the ſeventh of *April*, and the Fort there ſome few days after. **Ruthin**-caſtle alſo (in **Flintſhire**) then yielded (*) to Colonel *Mitton*: **Corfe**-caſtle in **Dorſet**-*ſhire*, about the ſame time being given up. Anno 1646.

The City of **Exeter** likewiſe, Sir *John Berkley*, Knight, (afterwards Lord *Berkley* of **Stratton**) being at that time Governour thereof, who delivered it (*f*) upon honourable Articles, wherein amongſt others, the moſt loyal Sir *John Stowel* Knight of the Bath, was included, though afterwards diſhonourably and barbarouſly uſed. Soon after which Saint **Michael's-mount** in **Cornwall** was taken (*g*) by Colonel *Hamond*. **Dunſter** (*h*) caſtle alſo in **Somerſet**-*ſhire*, and

d 7. Apr.

* 8. Apr.

f 13. April.

g 15. April.

h 25. April.

Anno 1646. and **Woodſtock**-*houſe* (*i*) near **Oxford** then alſo ſubmitting.

i 26. April.

All the Weſt therefore being thus cleared, except **Pendennis**-*caſtle*, there could be no leſs expected than a ſiege of **Oxford**.

His Majeſty therefore conſidering, that having *uſed* (*d*) *all means poſſible, by his frequent gracious Meſſages, (wherein he had offered unto them all they had before deſired; and that he expected nothing, but what themſelves, ſince the beginning of thoſe unhappy wars, had offered, to procure a perſonal Treaty with them) for a ſafe and well grounded peace: And, having, inſtead of a dutiful and peaceable return to thoſe his Meſſages, received no Anſwer at all; or ſuch as argued nothing would ſatisfy them, but the ruine not onely of himſelf, his poſterity and friends, but even of Monarchy it ſelf.* Conſidering likewiſe, that his field-forces were ſhattered, and reduc'd to nothing; his Garriſons almoſt all loſt, or beſieged; and that a ſtrong Army, under the command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* (their then General) was advancing towards **Oxford**, there to beſiege him, together with the Duke of *York*, all the great Officers of State, and many other of his moſt eminent and faithfull Subjects. In this his moſt ſad, and unhappy condition, revolving, whether he had better caſt himſelf upon the *Engliſh-Army*, or the City of **London**, or rather his native Subjects the *Scots*, who had at that time beſieg'd **Newarke** upon **Trent**, with a great and numerous Army: *Having* (*) *received very good aſſurance* (*as he then believ'd*) *that himſelf and all that did adhere to him, ſhould be ſafe in their Perſons, Honour and Conſciences in the Scotch Army. And that they* (the Scots) *would really and effectually joyn with him, and ſuch other as would come in unto him, and joyn with them for his preſervation; and would imploy their Armies and Forces to aſſiſt him to the procuring of an happy and well-grounded peace, for the good of his ſaid Majeſty and his Kingdomes, in the recovery of his juſt rights (Neceſſity being then his Councellour) he adventured* (*f*) *upon their fidelity, who firſt began his troubles, truſting that God might make them a means honourably to compoſe them*: and there-

d The King's Letter to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, dated at *Oxford* 13. Apr. 1646.

* *Ibid.*

f Eiken baſlike.

thereupon went (*g*) out of **Oxford** diſguiſed, in the night time, with two perſons onely accompanying him; *viz.* Mr. *John Aſhburnham* (one of the Grooms of his royal Bedchamber) and one Mr *Hudſon* a Divine, his Guide. From **Oxford** they firſt rode to **Henley** upon **Thames**; Thence to **Brainford**: Thence near to **London**, and ſo to **Harrow** on the Hill, there being then a general muſter of the City forces in **Hide Park**, where he was expected, the Earl of **Eſſex** being at that time in the Field, and his Majeſtie almoſt perſwaded to adventure himſelf into their hands. But relying wholly on the Scots, who had promiſed ſo fair (as before is obſerved) he waved thoſe thoughts, and rode to **St. Albans**; ſo to **Harborough** in **Leiceſterſhire**, where he expected the French * Agent (who had ſo treated with the Scots on his behalf as I have already obſerved) with ſome Horſe to meet him, and conduct him to **Southwell**, the then Head quarters of the Scottiſh-Army. But miſſing him there, he thence paſſed to **Stanford** (on the edge of **Lincolnſhire**) and ſo to **Downham** in **Norfolk**: whence Mr. *Hudſon* was ſent to the Agent; and upon his return went directly to **Southwel**, where he arrived (*a*) the 5th. of *May*; and put himſelf into the hands of *Alexander Leſley* their General; reſolving (*i*) to uſe his beſt endeavours, by their aſſiſtance, and with the cojunction of thoſe forces in **Scotland**, under the Marqueſs of *Montroſe*, and ſuch of his well affected Subjects of **England**, as would riſe for him, to procure, if it might be, an honourable and ſpeedy peace, with thoſe who had hitherto refuſed to give ear to any good means tending thereto.

*Anno* 1646.

[g] 27. April.

* Monſieur de *Monterual.*

[a] 5. May.

[i] K. Letter to the M. of *Ormund* ut ſupra.

Being thus gone, ſiege (*b*) was immediately laid to **Oxford** by General *Fairfax*, ſoon after which, ſeveral other places of ſtrength were ſurrendred by the King's ſpecial direction; *viz.* **Newark**, the eleventh (*c*) of *May*, which had been beſieg'd by *Poyntz* and *Roſſeter* (the Scots aſſiſting) from *December* before.

[b] 2. May

[c] 11. May.

The Caſtle of **Banbury** likewiſe, after a ſiege of ten weeks by Colonel *Whalley*.

*Anno* 1646.

And on the thirteenth of *May*, the Scots, having not patience to attend the voluntary ſurrenders of any more places of ſtrength, began (*d*) their march towards **Newcaſtle** in **Northumberland**, taking the King along with them. Where being arrived (and quartering their Army thereabouts) they inſtantly preſſed his Majeſtie to ſend Orders to the Marqueſs of **Ormund**, in **Ireland**, and all other the Governours of his Gariſons in **England**, to give up all the Towns and Caſtles then remaining, to ſuch as ſhould be appointed to receive them for the Houſes of Parliament: Telling him, that otherwiſe, they neither could, nor durſt continue him in their protection.

[d] 13. May.

The King removed to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*.

To which neceſſity his Majeſtie was conſtrain'd to ſubmit: but nothing was by them more earneſtly inſiſted on, than that the Marqueſs of **Montroſs** ſhould lay down Arms; who, with a ſmall ſtrength at firſt, had acted in **Scotland** to admiration: for, beſides many victories of leſs note, he had twice beaten the Marqueſs of **Argyle** out of the Field; follow'd him home, and waſted his Country with Fire and Sword; and vanquiſht *Bayley*, one of their beſt Souldiers: made himſelf alſo Maſter of the Caſtle of **Edenborough**, releaſing divers of his Friends, who had been ſeized on, and impriſoned there, when he firſt took up Arms. But inſtead of thoſe Aids which he hoped for, he was unexpectedly ſet upon by *David Leſley*, who was ſent from the Scottiſh Army in **England** with ſix thouſand Horſe to oppoſe the farther progreſs of this moſt valiant perſons fortune. However, he began to make head again, and was in a way of fair ſucceſs, when he receiv'd the Kings command to diſband; (*viz.* 31 *May* 1647.) To which he readily conforming, took Ship, and put himſelf into a voluntary Exile. After which time of this their perfidious dealing with the King, 'tis obſervable that they never proſpered. But I proceed briefly to point out the times of ſurrender of the reſt of his Majeſties Garriſons.

[e] May.

In the ſame month (*e*) of *May* **Dudley**-caſtle in **Staffordſhire** was delivered up to Sir *William Brereton* by

by Colonel *Leveſon*: and ſoon after (*f*) **Carnarvon** Town and Caſtle to Major General *Mitton*, and Major General *Langhorn*, the Lord *Byron* being then Governour there. Likewiſe **Ludlow** (*g*) (in *Shropſhire*) to Sir *William Brereton*: and **Boſtall**-*houſe* near **Oxford**. Anno 1646. [f] 1. June. [g] 9. June.

*Oxford* it ſelf alſo ſoon followed, (*h*) Sir *Thomas Glemham* being then Governour: As alſo **Farringdon** (*i*) in **Berkſhire**, Sir *George L'iſle* being Governour. [h] 24. June.

Next **Lichfield**-*cloſe* (*k*) in **Staffordſhire**: Then the City of **Worceſter** (*l*), beſieg'd by Colonel *Whalley*, and Colonel *Raynsborough*, Colonel *Waſhington* being Governour: Alſo **Wallingford** caſtle (*m*), Colonel *Blague* being Governour. **Gotherich** Caſtle (*n*) likewiſe in **Hereford** ſhire and **Pendennis**-caſtle in **Cornwall**, whereof *John Arrundel* of **Trerife** was Governour; **Conway** Caſtle in **Flintſhire** being ſtorm'd by Major General *Mitton*. [k] 16. July. [l] 23. July. [m] 28. July. [n] 31. July.

In the next month, after a long ſiege by General *Fairfax*, Sir *Trevor Williams* and Colonel *Langhorn*, **Ragland**-caſtle in **Monmouth** ſhire, was yielded (*o*) to them: And ſoon after the Iſles and Caſtle of **Scilly** were given up: (*p*) As alſo (*q*) the Caſtles of **Denbigh** and **Holt**: Whereupon Generall *Fairfax* advanced (*r*) triumphantly towards **London**. [o] 19. Aug. [p] 16. Sept. [q] 20. Octob. [r] 11. Nov.

And on the firſt of *February* next following, the Scots, having effectually received the whole Sum of two hundred thouſand pounds, for which they ſold the King, they marcht (†) over **Tweed** into **Scotland**. † 1. Febr.

His Majeſtie having thus caſt himſelf upon the loyalty of thoſe (touching whoſe large profeſſions and proteſtations to him, I have already taken notice) let us now behold the bleſſed Fruits of *Presbytery*, by the ſubſequent Practiſes of theſe Zelots; which doth amply make good, what King *James* long ſince declared (*k*) of that Sect; *viz. that no deſerts could oblige; nor Oaths, or Promiſes bind them.* For, notwithſtanding thoſe their ſolemn Oaths and Proteſtations, they moſt perfidiouſly acted contrary to them; haſtning

The King went from *Oxford* to the Scot's Army at *Southwell*.

[k] Baſil. Doron. p. 42.

*Anno* 1646. ning thereby that farther ruin, which ſoon afterwards befel the Church of **England**, and at length terminated in the wofull murther of their native Sovereign, as is notoriouſly known to the World, carrying on all this, under the colour and veile of their *Solemn League and Covenant.*

In order whereunto, the firſt thing obſervable, is
1 6. May. perfect Diurnal p. 1166. a plauſible Letter (*l*), directed to the Committee of Eſtates, at that time reſiding with the Scotch Army; wherein they tell them; that *their earneſt deſire, being to keep a right underſtanding between the two Kingdomes, did move them, to acquaint them, with that ſtrange providence, wherewith they were then ſurpriſed, together with their carriage and deſires thereupon; and to endeavour to improve his Majeſties being there, to the beſt advantage for promoting the work of Uniformity, for ſetling of Religion and Righteouſneſs, and attaining of Peace, according to the* League *and* Covenant, *and Treaty*, &c. affirming, that they *had a Witneſs from Heaven; and that there was nothing more in their deſires, than in all their reſolutions and proceedings; to adhere to the* Covenant *and Treaty.*

¶ What hopes this ſpecious Letter might give his Majeſtie for promoting his earneſt endeavours, for ſuch an happy peace, as he deſired, is hard to ſay; conſidering what relation it had to the *Solemn League and Covenant*: but his former aſſurances in order to his coming to them (as I have already obſerved) being ſuch as they were; he became ſo confident thereupon; as that, ſhortly after, he ſent unto the two
= 18. May. Houſes at **Weſtminſter**, his xi th. Meſſage (*m*), whereby becauſe they had made ſo great a noyſe of ſetling Religion; *That*, together with the *Militia*, and the War of **Ireland**, being the chief things inſiſted on, in their former *Propoſitions*; he recomended to them the advice therein of thoſe Divines in both Kingdomes, whom they had aſſembled at **Weſtminſter**: And for the *Militia* offred, that he would be content to ſettle it, as they themſelves propoſed in the Treaty at **Uxbridge**; *viz.* that all perſons, who ſhould be truſted therewith might be named by the two Houſes of Parliament, for the ſpace of ſeven years; and after that time, to be

be regulated as ſhould be agreed on by his Majeſtie and his two Houſes of Parliament. And touching **Ireland**, that he would do whatſoever was poſſible for him, to give full ſatisfaction to them. And that, if thoſe his free offers would not ſerve; then he deſired, that al ſuch of their *Propoſitions*, as were then by them agree'd on, might be ſpeedily ſent to him; he being reſolved to comply with them in every thing that might conduce to the happineſs of his ſubjects; and removing all unhappy differences, which had produced ſo many ſad effects. Farther offring, that all his forces ſhould be forthwith disbanded; and **Oxford** with the remainder of his other Garriſons, rendred into their hands, upon honourable conditions; and diſmantled. *Anno* 1646.

But to this gracious Meſſage (as to his former) they turn'd a deaf ear; there being, then, another Game to be play'd; which was the getting of the King's perſon out of the Hands of the Scots; ſuſpecting (as they had cauſe) that thoſe their *dear Brethren* would make no little advantage thereof. Notwithſtanding the Votes (*f*) at **Weſtminſter**, that *he ſhould be diſpoſed of, as they ſhould deſire and direct.*

[f] perfect Diurnal. p. 1163.

Concerning which Votes at **Weſtminſter** and debates of both Houſes thereupon, it will not be amiſs, here to take notice: how they alledg'd (*g*) that *the Scottiſh Army in* **England** *was theirs*; id eſt, under their pay. Alſo *that the King ought to be near to his Parliament, whereby they might have recourſe to him, and obtain ſuch things, as ſhould be moſt neceſſary for the Kingdomes.* Likewiſe, *that by* Covenant *they were ſworn to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament: but to detein the King from his Parliament was altogether inconſiſtent with the* Covenant.

[g] Ibid. p. 1170 &. 1171.

Of which Votes the Scots ſeem'd to take little notice; but in ſtead thereof, and for diverſion, amuſed the Members at **Weſtminſter** with ſeveral Letters, which they cauſed to be written to them; one (*h*) from the general aſſembly of the Kingdome of **Scotland**: wherein they told them; that *their ſucceſs againſt the Enemy* (id eſt, the King's Forces) *did lay a*

[h] 18. Jnue. Ibid. p. 1236.

Anno 1648. *ſtrong obligation upon them, to improve the power put into their Hands, for the advancement of the Kingdome of Chriſt, and bringing forth the head-ſtone of his Houſe:* And therefore *did earneſtly intreat and beſeech them in the Bowels of Chriſt, to give unto him the glory due to his name, by a timeous eſtabliſhment of all his Ordinances in full integrity and power, according to the* Covenant, *&c.* Saying, that *the Searcher of Hearts knew how they deſired to keep their* Covenant, *&c.* concluding with their deſires to the Parliament, *to endeavour all the ends of the* Covenant.

[i] *Ib.* p. 1237. The other (*i*) to the *Aſſembly of Divines*, ſitting at **Weſtminſter**, wherein they expreſſed their *Thanks for their conſtant endeavours and labours, in the work of ſetting up the Ordinances of Chriſt; deſiring, that they would go on in the ſedulous promoting of that bleſſed work.*

[k] *Ibid.* The third (*k*) was to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council of the City of **London**, which (becauſe 'tis penned in ſo divine a ſtile) I have here tranſcribed.

Right Honourable,

*Your late and ſeaſonable Teſtimony given to the truth of the Goſpel; and your affection to the peace of the Kingdomes, manifeſted in your humble* Remonſtrance, *and Petition to the Honourable Houſes of Parliament, hath ſo revived the remembrance of your former faith and zeal, and proclaymed you the worthy ſeed of ſo noble Anceſtors in that famous City; as we cannot but acknowledg with all thankfulneſs, the Grace of God, beſtowed on you, and ſtir you up to take notice; how, ſince you were precious in the Lord's ſight, you have been ever honourable. The Lord hath ever loved you; given men for you, and people for your life. What an honour was it, in the days of old, when the fire of the Lord was in* Sion, *and his furnace in your* Hieruſalem (*even in Queen* Mary's *days*) *that there were found in you men that loved not their lives unto the death. What a glory in after-times, when Satan had his Throne, and Anti-*

*Antichriſt his ſeat in the midſt of you, that there were ſtill found, not a few that kept their Garments clear. But the greateſt praiſe of the good hand of God upon you, hath been this; that amidſt the many miſts of Error and Hereſie, which have riſen from the bottomleſs pit, to beſpot the face and darken the glory of the Church, while the Bride is a making ready for the Lamb, you have held the Truth, and moſt piouſly endeavoured the* ſetting of Chriſt upon his Throne. *We need not remember how zealous you have been in the cauſe of God; nor how you have laid out your ſelves, and eſtates, in the maintenance thereof; nor how many acknowledgments of the ſame you have had from the Honourable Houſes; nor how precious a remembrance will be had of you in after Ages, for your ſelling of all to buy the Pearl of price. Wee onely at this time do admire, and in the inward of our hearts do bleſs the Lord, for your right and deep apprehenſions of the great and important matters of Chriſt in his Royal Crown, and of the Kingdomes in their Union, while the Lord maketh offer to bring our Ship (ſo much afflicted and toſſed with tempeſt) to the ſafe harbour of Truth and Peace. Right memorable is your zeal againſt Sects and Sectaries; your care of Reformation, according to the Word of God, and the example of the beſt reformed Churches. Your earneſt endeavours and noble adventures, for preſerving of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Kingdome, together with his Majeſties juſt power and greatneſs; and your high profeſſion, that it is not in the power of any humane authority, to diſcharge or abſolve you, from adhering unto that our ſolemnly ſworn* League and Covenant; *or to inforce upon you any ſenſe, contrary to the Letter of the ſame.* Anno 1646.

*Beſides your other good ſervices done to the Lord and us, in ſtrengthening the hands of the reverend* Aſſembly of Divines, *and of our Commiſſioners in their aſſerting the Government of Chriſt (which, the more it is tryed, will be ever found the more precious Truth) and vindicating the ſame from the Uſurpation of man, and contempt of the Wicked.*

*Theſe all, as they are ſo many teſtimonies of your piety, loyalty, and undaunted reſolution to ſtand for Chriſt; ſo*

*are*

Anno 1646. *are they, and ſhall ever be, ſo many obligations upon us your Brethren, to eſteem highly of you in the Lord; and to bear you on our Breaſts before him night and day; and to contribute our beſt endeavours to improve all opportunities for your encouragement. And now we beſeech you in the Lord (Honourable and well-beloved) go on in this your ſtrength, and in the power of his might, who hath honoured you to be faithfull. Stand faſt in that Liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made you free: And, in purſuance of this Truth, we are confident you will never ceaſe to ſtudy the peace and nearer conjunction of the Kingdomes; knowing, that a threefold cord is not eaſily broken. Now the Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and God even our Father, who hath loved and honoured you, and given you everlaſting conſolation, and good hope through Grace, comfort your Hearts and ſtabliſh you in every good work.*

Subſcribed in the name of the general Aſſembly by *Robert Blair* Moderator.

l 27. Iune. Weekly Accompt, num. 29.

Moreover in another Letter (*l*) from the ſaid Aſſembly of the Kirk of **Scotland**, to the Aſſembly of Divines at **Weſtminſter** they told them, *how they did congratulate* with *the Lord's people in all their ſucceſſes; and did impatiently deſire to have their Brethren here, and themſelves joyned nearer to Chriſt, and to one another in all his Ordinances, and eſpecially in* Presbytereal Government.

But in the neck of theſe Letters, 'tis worthy obſervation, that the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, and Scottiſh-Commiſſioners, delivered a paper (*m*) to the Members at **Weſtminſter**, repreſenting the Neceſſities of their Army; deſiring therefore, *that their Quarters in the North might be enlarged, and a conſiderable ſupply of mony diſpatcht to them.*

m 25. June Perfect Diurnal p. 1219.

Moſt certain it is, that though theſe ſanctified men (both Engliſh and Scotch) did ſeem to be ſo firmly united by their grand Combination, called the *ſolemn-league and Covenant*; as that, in humane reaſon, few there were that thought they could afterwards have differed; the gayning of the King's perſon into their Hands,

Hands, began now to make it manifeſt, that this ſeeming ſacred Tye, was but a mear jugling device, originally forged and ſet on foot for the better carrying on their ſacrilegious temporal ends. For, from that very time, however they conceal'd themſelves, with all the ſubtilties imaginable, their animoſities againſt each other did daily increaſe (as 'twill hereafter appear) Nevertheleſs, to make a ſpecious outward ſhew, of their continued accordance; they agreed together, in ſending certain *Propoſitions* (*n*) to the King (which they had been no leſs than eight months in hammering) in order to a well-grounded Peace, (as their phraſe was:) whereunto they required his Anſwer within four days. *Anno* 1646.

[n] 25. June. Propoſitions ſent to the King at *Newcaſtle.*

How monſtrous and unreaſonable theſe were, the tenor of them will ſufficiently ſhew, (they being publickly printed) in brief, that he ſhould ratify *the ſolemn-league* and *Covenant*, aboliſh Epiſcopacy; inveſt the ſubject with the power of the *Militia*; and exempt from pardon ſeveral Lords and other conſiderable perſons, that during the war had adhered to him. Whereunto His Majeſty moſt piouſly and prudently made this return; That they importing ſo great alterations in Government, both in Church and Kingdome, it was very difficult to return a particular and poſitive anſwer to them, before a full debate, wherein their neceſſary explanation, true ſenſe, and reaſons of them were rightly weighed and underſtood. To which end he deſired to come to **London**, or any of his Houſes thereabouts, upon the publick Faith and the ſecurity of the two Houſes of Parliament, and Scottiſh-Commiſſioners. Where, by his perſonal preſence, he might not onely raiſe a mutual confidence betwixt himſelf and his people; but have thoſe doubts cleared, and thoſe difficulties explained to him, which he then conceived to be deſtructive to his juſt regal power, in caſe he ſhould give a full conſent to thoſe *Propoſitions*, as they then ſtood: Engaging himſelf to give his chearful aſſent to all ſuch Bills, as ſhould be really to the good and peace of his people; and to prefer the happineſs of this Kingdome before his own particular. And,

Anno 1646. as a farther means to work a confidence in them of his own ſincerity in theſe things, he offered again to truſt them with his own perſon: conjuring them, as they were Chriſtians and Subjects; and as they were men who deſired to leave a good name behind them, ſo to receive and make uſe of that his Anſwer, that all iſſues of bloud might be ſtopped, and thoſe unhappy diſtractions peaceably ſetled.

But, as his former gracious and frequent offers, ſo this, could not then find any acceptance at all with them; by reaſon that it tended to the compoſure of thoſe lamentable diſtractions, which tended to the utter ruine of the King and Realm; their aims at firſt, and continued reſolutions ſtill being to ſhare the ſpoyl, which by their ſtrength and power they had moſt unjuſtly got. Nay, in ſtead of any kindneſs or comfort, which he might rationally expect from their many and moſt ſolemn promiſes and proteſtations, they perpetually tormented his pious Soul, with inceſſant importunities, to take their hypocritical *Covenant*; and ſent for ſeveral of their moſt rigid Preachers (*o*), to terrify him with their Kirk-cenſures upon his refuſal thereof.

(*o*) Perfect Diurnal. p. 1233.

In which ſad and diſconſolate condition, I ſhall for a while leave him; and take a ſhort view of the tranſactions, betwixt the Members ſitting at **Weſtminſter**, and thoſe at **Edenborough**, with their reſpective Commiſſioners.

The principal work being now done, here in **England**, by the help of the Scots; the Grandees here (as well as others) began to be weary of their dear Brethren: and for the ſooner riddance of them, paſſed a Vote (*p*), that a Meſſage ſhould be ſent to the Scottiſh Army; *that, in regard they were not uſefull in this Kingdome, for the preſent; and that the payment thereof would be a great burthen thereto, they ſhould with all convenient ſpeed, return into their Country.*

(*p*) 11. July.

But the Scots (never intending to be looſers by their journey hither) knowing full well how to make the beſt uſe of thoſe advantages they then had, gave their dear Brethren very good words; telling (*q*) them in their

(*q*) Weekly Accompt, Num. 29.

their anſwer to the demands made in purſuance of that Vote; *that their earneſt deſires were, the ſetling of* Religion, *and* Church Government; *which, as it was the principal ground of their engagement in this* Cauſe, *ſo would the perfecting of it be their chiefeſt joy, and Glory of both Kingdomes: it being the conſtant reſolution of that Kingdome, againſt all oppoſition, to ſtrengthen and cheriſh the Brotherly kindneſs between the Kingdomes: and,* Peace *ſetled with* Truth, *and thoſe things performed by the Honourable Houſes, which by Treaty they were obliged unto, to recall their Army, with as great alacrity, as they were ready to ſend the ſame into* **England**, *for the aſſiſtance of their Brethren.* Anno 1646.

And in another Letter, ſpeaking of the Arrears due to their Army, they had theſe words (r) —*This Kingdome lyeth under the burthen of great and vaſt expence, in raiſing and entertaining of Armies; and hath with the lives of many precious men, ſet their own Houſes on fire, to quench the flame of yours. And ſeeing, by the ſeaſonable aſſiſtance afforded by this Kingdome to you, and by the late ſucceſſes wherewith God hath bleſſed your Armies, you are in a great meaſure freed of your troubles, and are in a far better capacity to pay the moneys, due to our Armies in* **England** *and* **Ireland**, *than you were at any time ſince the beginning of theſe Wars; we demand of the honourable houſes, to make payment of the ſumms of money duly owing to this Kingdome.* (r) *Ibid.*

¶ The ſtate of things ſtanding thus, made the Game now to be play'd betwixt theſe great Maſters, not a little difficult to each; the chief buſineſs of the then predominant party at **Weſtminſter**, being to gain the perſon of the King into their own hands: and in caſe he ſhould not (upon the matter) totally quit his Regal power to them, by taking their *Covenant*, and aſſenting to thoſe their deſtructive propoſitions before-mentioned; then to keep him cloſe priſoner, and exerciſe the ſame power without him.

And the deſign of the Scots, not onely to uſe the like Regal-power in **Scotland**, but to get a large ſum of mony to boot: conſidering, that having the King in their hands, the Grandees there were able to

June 1648. make their own terms on the behalf of themſelves, as to Riches and Honours. There was therefore no means uneſſayed by each, for accompliſhing their reſpective ends! But the Arguments and debates about this buſineſs, continuing no leſs than ſix months, before all things were fully agree'd, I ſhall reſerve my obſervations upon them till then; and in the mean time take notice of what elſe did occur that is moſt remarkable, in order to the carrying on their main work; and divide the ſame into two parts; the one touching their attempts upon the King, in relation to the *Covenant* and *Propoſitions*: the other towards the advancement of the *Scepter of Jeſus Chriſt*; for by that title they called their *Presbyterean Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*.

As to the firſt; About the beginning of *September*, *James* Duke *Hamilton*, *Lindſey* Earl of *Craford*, the Earl of *Caſſiles*, and ſome others, from the Eſtates of Scotland, came (†) to Newcaſtle to the King; and there earneſtly ſolicited him to take the *Covenant*, and ſign the *Propoſitions*. To ſecond which motion, there was a petition preſented to His Majeſty from the general Aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland, for *Reformation of Religion*, according to the *Covenant*, and *uniformity of Church government*; denouncing God's anger upon him, and the hazard to loſe the Hearts of his good ſubjects, in caſe he aſſented not thereto.

† Perfect Diurnal p. 1303. & 1304.

Soon after which, Mr. *Andrew Cant*, Mr. *Robert Blayre*, and Mr. *James Douglaſs* came (*t*) thither alſo to preſs him to the ſame purpoſe. To torment him likewiſe yet more, one of theſe violent men (I mean a rigid Presbyterean-preacher) beſides many rude and uncivil expreſſions (*v*) in his Sermon there before the King; called for the 52. *Pſalm* to be ſung by the congregation, which beginneth thus—*Why do'ſt thou Tyrant boaſt abroad, thy wicked works to praiſe?* Whereupon His Majeſty inſtantly ſtood up, and called for the 56. *Pſalm*, beginning thus—*Have mercy Lord on me I pray, for men would me devour*: Which the people readily ſung, waving the other.

t *Ib.* p. 1317.

v *Ib.* p. 1419.

Nay, the fierceneſs of theſe Scottiſh-presbyters againſt

gainſt His Sacred Majeſty was ſuch; as that upon certain *Propoſals* (x), made to thoſe of them, who were Commiſſioners from the general Aſſembly, *viz. If the King ſhall come into* Scotland, *and that the Kingdome of* England *ſhall exclude him of the Government there, for his leaving them without granting the* Propoſitions; *Whether or not it would be lawful to that Kingdome to aſſiſt him for the recovery of the Government, he not granting the* Propoſitions, *concerning* Religion, *and the* Covenant, *and not giving a ſatisfactory anſwer to the remanent* Propoſitions.

anno 1646.

x *Ib.* p. 1434. & 1435.

Their Anſwer.

The *Quære preſuppoſeth the King's coming into this Kingdome, which caſe (for the reaſons expreſſed in our late warning) we humbly conceive ſhould not be put into the Queſtion: and therefore deſire your Lordſhips to go about all means for the preſent preventing of it, as a matter of moſt dangerous conſequence to* Religion, *this* Kirk, *and* Kingdome, *and to the King himſelf and his poſterity.*

But, if the Queſtion be ſtated ſimply, without ſuppoſing ſuch a caſe in theſe termes. *If the King be excluded from Government in* England, *for not granting the* propoſitions *concerning* Religion *and the* Covenant; *and for not giving a ſatisfactory Anſwer to the remanent* propoſitions; *whether, in that caſe it be lawfull for this Kingdome to aſſiſt him, for the Recovery of the Government: Or, if it be not lawfull, being put to it, we cannot but anſwere, in regard of the Engagement of this Kingdome, by* Covenant *and* Treaty, Negative.

1. Reſolv'd upon the Queſtion, That the Kingdome of Scotland, ſhall be governed as it hath been theſe five years laſt paſt; all means being uſed, that the King may take the *Covenant*, and paſs the *Propoſitions.*

2. Reſolv'd, that the taking of the Scottiſh *Covenant*, and paſſing ſome of the *Propoſitions*, doth not give warrant to aſſiſt him againſt England.

June 1646. 3. Reſolv'd, that upon bare taking the *National Covenant*, we may not receive him.

4. Reſolv'd, that the Clauſe in the *Covenant*, *for defence of the King's Perſon*, is to be underſtood in defence and ſafety of the Kingdomes.

5. Reſolv'd, that the King ſhall not execute any power in the Kingdome of **Scotland**, untill ſuch time, as he hath granted the *Propoſitions*, concerning *Religion* and the *Covenant*; and given ſatisfactory anſwer to both Kingdomes in the reſt of the *Propoſitions*, preſented to him by both Kingdomes at **Newcaſtle**.

6. Reſolv'd, that if His Majeſtie refuſe to paſs the *Propoſitions*, he ſhall be diſpoſed of according to the *Covenant* and *Treaty*.

7. Reſolv'd, that the union be friendly kept between the Kingdomes, according to the *Covenant* and *Treaty*.

By what hath laſt been inſtanc'd, tis eaſy enough to be diſcern'd, that the bargain ſo long in driving on, was by this time concluded, in reference to the perſon of the King (I mean the certain price for which the Scots did ſell him) which prompted them ſo eagerly and frequently to preſs his taking their *Covenant*, and conſent to thoſe deſtructive *Propoſitions*, which they well knew, he could never do, without apparent hazard to his Soul: and that he had manifeſtly confuted the Arguments of Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, whom they brought to convince him therein. I ſhall therefore need to ſay no more of that matter, then to ſet down the *Quæres* (*y*), which His Majeſtie delivered to the Commiſſioners of **Scotland** upon their laſt importuning him thereto, when they threatned to deliver him up to the Parliament of **England** (as they then called thoſe Members at **Weſtminſter**) in caſe of his refuſal.

*y* 16. Jan.

» Perfect Diurnal p. 1462. *It is a receiv'd opinion by many; that Engagements, Acts, or Promiſes of a reſtrained perſon, are neither valid, nor obligatory. How true or falſe this is, I will not now diſpute: but I am ſure, if I be not free, I am not fit to anſwer any of your* Propoſitions: *wherefore you ſhould firſt reſolve*

*reſolve me, in what ſtate I ſtand, as in relation to freedome, before I can give you any other Anſwer. The Reaſon of this my Queſtion, the Governour can beſt reſolve you. But, if you object the loſs of time, and urgency of it; certainly, in one reſpect, it preſſes none ſo much as my ſelf, which makes me alſo think it neceſſary, that I be not to ſeek what to do, when this Garriſon ſhall be ſurrendred up; to demand of you, in caſe I go into* Scotland, *if I ſhall be there with Honour, Freedome and Safety; or How; being ready to give you a farther and more particular Anſwer, ſo ſoon as you ſhall have reſolv'd theſe two Quæres.* Anno 1648.

Whereunto they give this inſignificant Anſwer.

1. To the firſt, in what ſtate you ſtand, as in relation to Freedome; the Parliaments of both Kingdomes have given ſuch orders, and directions, as they have thought fitteſt for the ſafety of your Majeſty and the Kingdomes, to the General and Governour.

2. To your ſecond *Quære*, of your going into Scotland; we ſhall humbly deſire, that we may not be put to give an Anſwer: but, if your Majeſty ſhall either deny, or delay your aſſent to the *Propoſitions*; we are in that caſe to repreſent to your Majeſty the reſolutions of the Parliament of England.

¶ Having now done with their attempts upon His Majeſty in reference to the *Covenant* and *Propoſitions*; I come to their farther Progreſs for the eſtabliſhing of *Presbytery*. Wherein I am to look back a little.

About the latter end of *Auguſt*, a Bill for *Ordination of Miniſters*, being the third time read (*a*) in the Houſe of Commons at Weſtminſter, and thence tranſmitted to the Lords; not long after they received a Petition (*b*) from the County of *Lancaſter*, ſubſcribed by twelve thouſand hands, for ſetling of the *Claſſes* in thoſe parts, with the names of ſuch as they had made choyſe of, and preſented to the Houſe for ordering thereof.

(*a*) 27. Aug. Perfect Diurnal p. 1293.

(*b*) *Ib.* p. 1313. Sept. 15.

Nor

Anno 1646. Nor were the *Aſſembly of Divines* ſitting at **Weſtminſter** leſs active; who having fram'd a new *Confeſſion of Faith*, were (*c*) hard at work in adding quotations of Scripture in the Margent of their Copies, for juſtification thereof. And that this bleſſed *Presbytereal Government*, might be the more ſecure from danger the Houſes at **Weſtminſter** paſſed an Ordinance (*d*), not onely for aboliſhing the name, title, and dignity of Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* but nominated Truſtees in whom their Lands ſhould be ſetled.

[c] Octob. 13. *Ibid.* p. 1346.

[d] *Scob. col.* p. 99.

Likewiſe, for the fitter moulding this new *Confeſſion of Faith*, Copies thereof (purpoſely printed) were delivered (*) to each Member of both Houſes at **Weſtminſter**, to the end they might conſider of the ſame, and adviſe the better therein.

[*] Octob. 24. *Scob. col.* p. 1358.

But, notwithſtanding all this holy Reformation, there were ſome, who had not onely the Conſcience to adhere unto the Liturgy, eſtabliſht by Law in the Church of **England**, in their publick ſervice of God; but the Courage to proſecute thoſe by Indictment, which neglected the reading thereof in their Pariſh-Churches. In ſo much as upon notice of this high preſumption, from *Buckinghamſhire*, an Ordinance was forthwith voted (*f*) to be brought in, for repealing the Statute which enjoyn'd it. At which time the Houſe alſo ordered (*g*), that all Malignant Miniſters (for ſo were the Orthodox called) ſhould be diſabled from Preaching, and an Ordinance to be brought in for that purpoſe.

[f] Octob. 16. Perfect Diurnal p. 1360.

[g] *Ibid.*

And, though by an Order (*h*) of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon* (one of their Aſſembly of Divines, (and an eminent ſtickler for the Cauſe) was, for ſome opinions and expreſſions, favouring of *Independencie*, to have been ſilenc'd: yet, by reaſon of his zeal to God's Glory (as they term'd it) that is to ſay, his activeneſs againſt Epiſcopacie, he was exempted from the Rigour of that ſentence.

[h] *Ibid.* p. 1364. 28. Octob.

Moreover, as they took care to diſable thoſe of the Clergy, which were Orthodox and Loyal, from preaching any more: ſo, to encourage all others who

who were for their turn, though not at all qualified with learning, they gave liberty to every bold and ſchiſmatical Mechanick to preach, under the notion of *Gifted-men*. To which purpoſe an Ordinance (*i*) was brought in to the Houſe, and read, for approving of ſuch illiterate perſons to be Miniſters. *Anno* 1646.

(*i*) 14. Novem. *Ib.* p. 1368. b.

And, that Epiſcopal Government might never return again, they paſſed (*k*) an Ordinance for the ſale of all the Lands belonging to the Biſhops; with ſpecial inſtructions (*l*) therein, for the Contractors and Surveyors. Amongſt which Inſtructions, it is not the leaſt obſervable; that for the better encouraging of Purchaſers, they ſhould ſell them at ten years purchaſe. Nay, ſuch was their care, to make this ſacrilegious work as plauſible to the people as might be; that, beſides the extraordinary pay their Surveyors of thoſe Lands had (*viz.* 20s. a day, and five ſhillings a day to every Boy that did but carry the end of the meaſuring-Chain) they gave ſpecial directions, that the Gentry and other popular-men, reſiding in thoſe parts where ſuch Lands lay, ſhould be feaſted by the Surveyors (which feaſts amounted to no ſmall charge) ſaying, *Wee muſt pay well and hang well*

(*k*) 16. Nov. *Scob. Col.* p. 101.

(*l*) Perfect Diurnal. p. 1387.

About this time alſo, there was a Committee appointed (*m*) to inquire into the Value of all Church-livings, in order to *the planting of an able Miniſtry*, as they gave out; whereas in truth, it was to diſcover which were the beſt and fatteſt Beneficies, to the end, that the principal Champions for the *Cauſe*, might make choice of thoſe for themſelves (whereof ſome had three a piece, and ſome four, as is very well known) it being aparent, that where any ſmall Benefice was, there the Church-dores were ſhut up. The more to juſtify which practice of theirs, I could name an Aſſembly man, who being told by an Eminent perſon, that a certain Church in the **Weſt of England**, had no Incumbent; askt what the yearly value of the Benefice did amount unto; and he anſwering fifty pounds *per annum* : the Aſſembly man reply'd----*if it be no better worth, no Godly-man will accept of it.*

(*m*) 11. Nov. Perfect Occurrences.

Anno 1646.

But notwithſtanding all this, the advancement of the *Scepter of Jeſus Chriſt* (that is to ſay, the eſtabliſhing the **Presbyterean-Government** by a Law) went but ſlowly on, inſomuch as the Covenanting Brethren in **London**, who were dayly agitated with the zealous breath of the *Presbyterean Bellows*, from the Pulpits and otherwiſe; growing hot for the *Scotch Diſcipline*, buſyed themſelves not a little in getting Hands (*n*) to a Petition, for proſecuting the ends of the *Covenant*; and, that *Presbyterie* might be eſtabliſhed. And, for the better ſpeed of that bleſſed work the latter part of their new *Confeſſion of Faith*, being brought in, by the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and read in the Houſe of Commons; it was Ordered that marginal notes ſhould be forthwith added thereto, to prove every Article by Scripture: and that the Aſſembly ſhould alſo bring in their Anſwers to the Quæres of the Houſe, concerning the *Jus divinum* of *Presbyterie*.

(*n*) 5. Decem. Perfect Diurnal p. 1406.

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## CHAP. XXII.

BUT oh the fates! Now that after all this formal combining and *Covenanting* with the precious Brethren of **Scotland**; Horſe, Arms, Jewels, Plate and Money, in no ſmall proportion, ſo frankly offered up to this Dagon of *Presbyterie*, and a numerous Army poured in from that Nation, to help the Lord againſt the mighty: ſo many dreadfull battels fought, ſo much Engliſh-bloud lamentably ſpilt, and ſuch a vaſt Treaſure ſpent, and all to advance *the Scepter of Jeſus Chriſt*; nay the top ſtone of this glorious building ready to be laid on. Now (I ſay) the perfect compleating of this great and glorious work was ſo near, that the main Fabrick ſhould begin to totter ſpecially by the unhappy aſſaults of their own Godly party; and at laſt to tumble down; what could be more deplorable?

deplorable? yet ſo it hapned. I muſt therefore here begin to change my note: and, as I have Hiſtorically manifeſted whence that ſacred Impe of *Presbytery* originally ſprung; How 'twas firſt tranſplanted hither, what a luxuriant growth in ſhort time it had; and what glorious fruit it produced. So ſhall I now briefly ſhew how, and by what means it fell to decay: and how that prodigious Monſter † of *Independencie*, creeping up by the body thereof, at length did much overtop it; and triumphing for a while, at laſt produced no leſs direfull effects than what that old ſtock of *Presbyterie* always did; even the barbarous deſtruction of our late gracious King (of ever bleſſed memory) in his Royal perſon; after he had been moſt inhumanly perſecuted, deſpoiled of his Kingly authority, and moſt ſhamefully made Priſoner by thoſe devout *Covenanters*.

*Anno* 1646.

† Anabaptiſts, Millenaries, Quakers, *&c.*

¶ That Ambition and Avarice were moſt aſſuredly the primary cauſes which incited this Saint-like Generation to act ſuch horrid things as no age hath formerly ſeen: and to carry on theſe their foul deſigns under the ſpecious veile of *Religion*, the *Laws of the Land*, and *Liberty of the ſubject*, hath been already fully manifeſted. Having therefore, by this ſubtil ſtratagem, got the ſword, and conſequently the wealth of the Realm into their power: I now come to obſerve; how, through the admirable juſtice of Almighty God upon theſe grand Hypocrites; which firſt kindled the flames of Civil war amongſt us; the ſame power and wealth, was by the like ravenous brood, now called *Independents* (which ſprung forth of their own phariſaical loyns) ſoon torn and wreſted out of their greedy Jaws, upon the like principles; and what uſe they made of it.

By what hath been already ſaid, 'tis ſufficiently manifeſt, how and to what end the eſtabliſhment of the *Scottiſh Diſcipline*, was firſt and principally aymed at by the *Presbyterean* party here; but the ſeverity thereof being at length diſcerned by ſome, through a cleerer Light; the new Reformers thought it moſt proper, not onely to repreſent to the People, the true

Anno 1646. face thereof in its proper ſhape; but to hold forth unto them an abſolute freedome from the merciles phangs and teeth of that cruel beaſt, under the notion of *Chriſtian-Liberty*; whereby every man might exerciſe himſelf in the pretended ſervice of God, according to what form or order he liſt, as *Independent* from any that could call him to account; which pleaſing Doctrine being not a little gratefull to the vulgar, ſoon obtain'd ſo fair an entertainment eſpecially amongſt the ſouldiery; as that, not onely the generallity of the Army and many of the Gariſons cheerfully embraced it; but moſt of the people, through out all parts of the Realm, right willingly inclin'd thereto.

The *Presbyterean*-Hedge being therefore thus troden down; no wonder was it, that, like ſcattered Flocks, multitudes were gathered up by other Shepherds into new Congregations; *Anabaptiſts*, *Millenaries* (or fifth Monarchy-men) *Quakers*, &c. each differing from other in divers material points; but all centring in oppoſition to *Presbyterie*; which ſtrange opinions (no leſs abſurd than various) were ſo inconſiſtent with the zealous *Diſciplinarians* (who termed them Heretical and Blaſphemous) that they ſpared for no pains in endeavouring to ſuppreſs them.

As to the Tenets and practices of theſe *Independent*-Libertines, let this one inſtance ſerve for a Taſt; one Mr. *Gregory* (of Colonel *Rich* his Regiment) preaching at a Widows houſe near *Northampton*; told his Auditors, *that he thought he was obliged to unfold the Scripture, as it was revealed to him:* Likewiſe, *that he hoped to ſee the Shop-windows open on the Lord's day:* Alſo, *that the Pſalms were no Scripture; and, that the Parſon of that Pariſh was a Miniſter of Antichriſt.*

But, notwithſtanding this apparent danger to the *Diſciplinarians*, from this bleſſed brood of their own hatching, ſome confidence they yet had of putting a ſtop to their farther growth: to that end therefore (as to their former notable pranks they frequently did) by a ſpecial *Ordinance* (*o*), they cauſed a day to be ſet a part for humbling themſelves, and ſeeking of God (as they term'd

(*o*) 1. Feb. Perfect Diurnal p. 1471.

term'd it) by faſting and prayer, the preamble where- *Anno* 1646.
of I have thought fit here to inſert;

We the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of **England**, *having entred into a* ſolemn Covenant, *to endeavour ſincerely, really and conſtantly, the* Reformation *of* Religion, *in Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Worſhip; and the extirpation of Popery, Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſm, Prophaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the power of Godlyneſs. And, having found the preſence of God wonderfully aſſiſting us in this* Cauſe, *eſpecially ſince our Engagement in purſuance of the ſaid* Covenant; *have thought fit (leſt we partake in other mens ſins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues) to ſet forth this our deep ſenſe of the great diſhonour of God, and perillous Condition, that this Kingdome is in, through the abominable Blaſphemies, and damnable Hereſies vented and ſpread abroad therein; tending to the ſubverſion of the Faith, contempt of the Miniſtry and Ordinance of Jeſus Chriſt. And, as we are reſolved to imploy and improve the utmoſt of our power, that nothing be ſaid or done againſt the Truth, but for the Truth: So we deſire, that both our ſelves, and the whole Kingdome may be deeply humbled before the Lord, for that great reproach and contempt, which hath been caſt upon his name, and ſaving Truths; and for that ſwift deſtruction, which we may juſtly fear will fall upon the immortal Souls of ſuch, who are or may be drawn away, by giving heed to ſeducing Spirits. In the hearty and tender compaſſion whereof, we the ſaid Lords and Commons do order and ordain; that* Wedneſday, *being the tenth day of* March *next be ſet apart for a day of publick Humiliation,* &c.

And to back this their Godly Exerciſe (foraſmuch as their ſolemn *League and Covenant* had effected ſuch great matters otherwiſe) the Houſe of Peers ſoon after voted (*p*) an *Ordinance* to be brought in, for diſabling every perſon whatſoever, from bearing any office, Civil or Military, that ſhould refuſe to take the *Covenant*.

(*p*) 8. Febr. *Ibid.* p. 1479.

Anno 1646. But that which they deemed above all, not onely to get a hand over this many-headed-Monſter (*Independencie*) but to eſtabliſh to themſelves a laſting dominion over the perſons and Eſtates of all other people was to gain the King's perſon into their power; concerning whom they had been trucking with the Scots for the ſpace of ſix months at the leaſt (his Majeſtie being all that while at **Newcaſtle** upon **Tine**, and their Army quartered in the Adjacent Counties) not without ſome Heart-burnings towards thoſe their dear Brethren, for keeping him ſo long, and continuing their Army in this Realm, at ſo vaſt a charge and intollerable a burthen to thoſe Northern parts, having had no uſe thereof at all, after the render of **Newark.**

Nor did this deteiner paſs without ſome quick diſputes betwixt them; the Grandees here affirming (*q*), and inſiſting ſtiffly upon it; *that the Kingdome of* **Scotland** *had no right of joynt exerciſe of intereſt, in diſpoſing the perſon of the King, in the Kingdome of* **England**: urging (*r*) likewiſe; that *foraſmuch as he had deſerted his Parliament and People; entred into, and continued in a bloudy and dangerous war againſt them; had not granted thoſe* Propoſitions, *which by both Kingdomes were ſent unto him, as a means of a ſafe and well-grounded peace: he was not therefore at preſent in a condition to exerciſe the duties of his place; or be left to go, or reſide where and when himſelf pleaſed.* Farther objecting, *that the Commiſſioners of* **Scotland**, *at a conference with theirs had declared* (†), *that it would be prejudicial to both Kingdomes for the King to go into* **Scotland.**

But, after much diſpute the Scots in brief told (*t*) them; that *their Army by the Oath of Allegiance, their Committee of Eſtates by their Commiſſion, and their Officers by their Military Oath, ought to defend the King from harms and prejudices. Often affirming, that the King came to their Army for ſhelter and defence.* Adding, that (*u*) *it was the Law and common practiſe of all Nations, not to deliver the meaneſt ſubject fled to them, though for the greateſt crimes: and that, if the meaneſt were not to be delivered, how would the world abroad condemn them*

q The Anſwer of the Commons in Parliament to the Scots Com. papers Impr. Lond. 1646. p. 20.

r † *Ib.* p. 8.

t *Ib.* p. 30.

u *Ib.* p. 32.

*them, for ſo baſe and diſhonourable an act, the King having caſt himſelf into their hands.* Anno 1646.

They likewiſe ſaid (x) —— *if it be conſidered, that the Scottiſh Army was invited and called into this Kingdome, by both Houſes of Parliament in a Treaty for proſecuting the ends of a ſolemn* League *and* Covenant; *whereof one Article is,* to preſerve and defend his Majeſtie's perſon; *there can remain no doubt concerning this exerciſe of that Right and Intereſt in this Kingdome.* And therefore ſaid; *it ſeemed very ſtrange that when upon invitation they were come into* **England**, *as for other ends, ſo* to defend his Majeſtie's perſon, *their being in* **England** *ſhould be made uſe of as an Argument why they ſhould deliver up the perſon of the King to be diſpoſed of as both Houſes ſhould think fit.* x *Ib.* p. 42.

Whereunto the Engliſh Commiſſioners replyed; *that the Scotch-Army came in hither as Auxiliaries, under pay; and therefore they ought not to capitulate herein at all.* And that whereas the Scots did ſo much urge their Obligation by the *Covenant*, to *preſerve and defend the King's perſon and Authority*; they told (y) them *that they left out the principal Clauſe, which was relative* viz. *in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdomes, without which the other part ought never to be mention'd* y *Ib.* p. 21, 54. & 55.

But the plain truth is, that all this fencing with Arguments, came at laſt to a meer Money-buſineſs. For whereas the Grandees at **Weſtminſter**, by ſtipulation (z) with the Scots for their Expedition into **England**, had promiſed to pay them after the rate of thirty thouſand pounds *per menſem*, ſo long as they ſhould have occaſion to make uſe of their Army: and all being done to give (a) them for the pains, hazzard and charges which the ſaid Army ſhould undergo, a due recompence by way of *Brotherly Aſſiſtance.* Towards the performance of which agreement, though theſe Grandees did manifeſt (b); that beſides much free Quarter, the Scots-Army had monthly received, nineteen thouſand and ſeven hundred pounds: and for the laſt year, ending *ultimo Octobris*, ſeventy two thouſand nine hundred ſeventy z *Ib.* p. 36. a *Ib.* p. 37. b *Ib.* p. 69.

two

*Anno* 1646. two pounds two ſhillings and eleven pence, for the Cuſtomes and other Impoſitions upon coals onely: the *Brethren* nevertheleſs having then the better end of the ſtaff in their hands, as being poſſeſs'd of the King; delivered in unto them an account (*c*) of Arrears, beſides loſſes of no leſs than a Million of money, their free Quarter reckoned; but with a kind intimation, that they would accept of a leſs ſum in groſs for a full diſcharge of all.

(*c*) 18. Auguſt. Perfect Diurnal p. 1281.

Whereupon a Committee being appointed to treat with them thereon, and times of payment; they then ſtoop'd (*d*) to the one half, *viz.* five hundred thouſand pounds, whereof two hundred thouſand pounds to be paid upon the departure of their Army, and the reſt within twelve months.

(*d*) *Ib.* p. 1282.

Much diſpute (indeed) they had about this buſineſs, yea ſome high words, but at length four hundred thouſand pounds was the ſum agree'd (*) on; the one half in hand, upon delivery up of the King. Which ſum, without more ado, ſtop'd the mouths of thoſe Vultures, and put a period to all this hot conteſt: All their Oaths and Obligation whereon they had ſo much inſiſted, meerly to heighten the price of their Sovereign, being then ſet aſide, as 'tis notoriouſly known.

(*) 1. Septem. *Ib.* p. 1282.

Being therefore thus ſold, and delivered (*f*) to the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Denbigh*, and Lord *Mountagu* of **Boughton**; Sir *James Harington*, Sir *John Holand*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Cook*, *John Crew* Eſq; and Major General *Brown* (Commiſſioners from the Members at **Weſtminſter**) to be carried to **Holdenby**-Houſe in *Northamptonſhire*, his Majeſtie hoped (*g*) that he might have two of his own Chaplains admitted to attend him in this ſad and diſconſolate condition (having not one ſervant of his own about him:) but that requeſt would not be granted though again ſeconded (*h*).

(*f*) 28. Jan. Perfect Diurnal. p. 1473 & 1474.

(*g*) 17. Feb.

(*h*) 6. March.

¶ Thus did the bonny Scots part with their native King, leaving thoſe Northern countries miſerably beggar'd by many grievous Taxes impoſed on them by their Army and moſt lamentable oppreſſions by Free-Quarter

Quarter. Which burthens were ſo heavy, that the Inhabitants of **Cleveland**, by their petition to the Members at **Weſtminſter**, and Letter therewith ſent, complained that their oppreſſions were greater than thoſe who ſuffered by the Turks, both their perſons and Eſtates; thoſe under the Turk being quit for a fifth part, whereas they in one year did pay their whole Revenues ſeven times over. *We are* (ſay (*k*) they in their Letters) *the abſoluteſt ſlaves that ever was read of: for they aſſeſs us at their pleaſures; leavy as they pleaſe. If they bid us go, and ride, none dare refuſe. The Kill us in hot bloud, beat us in cold,* &c. *In a word our ſtock is already waſted, our little corn we had, ill gotten in, by reaſon of the great moiſture: we are now thraſhing it for the Scots. We are eating our laſt bread. Who have been able to get away are gone,* &c.

*Anno* 1646.

i *Ib.* p. 1361.

k *Ibid.*

The perfect Diurnal (*l*) further adds ----- *The Country puts up many complaints;* **Bedall**, *a little Town in Yorkſhire of* 57 li. *old Rent; and* **Ayſcough**, *a leſſer Village of* 42 li. *have put up their ſeveral complaints, that they have in leſs than five months laſt paſt, paid to the Scots Army quartering upon them almoſt two thouſand pounds, beſides former Billettings and Taxes: by which ſad ſufferings ſome have left their Houſes, others at the point of leaving theirs alſo.*

l n. 171.

Letters (*m*) from **Richmundſhire**, did likewiſe intimate that two Conſtableries of that County, the Rent whereof amounted to no more than ninety nine pounds *per annum*, were aſſeſſed by the Scottiſh Army, and paid in Free Quarter no leſs than nineteen hundred pounds in four months.

m Weekly Accompt n. 46.

But having made ſuch a fair Market of the King; leaving thoſe Countries thus harraſſed, they march'd (*n*) back over **Tweed**, upon the eleventh of *February.*

n 11. Feb.

¶ Hereupon the Grandees at **Weſtminſter**, having (to the view of the World) finiſh'd their great work by getting the perſon of the king into their power, they imployed *Phillip* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Baſil* Earl of *Denbigh*, *Edward* Lord *Mountagu* of *Boughton*, Sir *James Harington*, Sir *John Holand*, and Sir

Anno 1646. *John Cook* Baronets, Sir *Walter Earl* Knight, *John Crew* Esq; and Major General *Brown* (as already hath been observed) to bring his Majestie from **Newcastle** to **Holdenby** in **Northampton**-*shire*. Who coming to **Newcastle** upon the 22. of *January*; after their stay there till the last day of that month, they set forwards on the Journey; and on the sixteenth (*o*) of *February* got to **Holdenby**; where they kept him under a strict restraint (Colonel *Richard Greaves*, a most confiding Presbyterean, having the chief command of his Guards) not suffring any of his own servants to come near him; no not so much as one Chaplain for performance of such divine offices as common charity could not have denyed to the greatest criminal, though often and earnestly moved by his Majestie thereto. Which being done, they thought of nothing more than singing a *Requiem* to their Souls.

o 16. Feb.

See his observations thereupon in his *Eikon Basilike*.

In order whereunto, in the first place they concluded (*p*) on the new modelling of their Army, lest the tender *Independent*, who grew up apace, might otherwise overtop his *Presbyterean*-parent: and therefore resolv'd to cull out those who were not *Covenant*-proof, and send them for **Ireland**; there to encounter as well with hunger and cold as other miseries and hardships of war: Then to disband others and make a new establishment, consisting of such onely as were pure *Covenanters*, and firm to the *good old Cause*.

p 5. March. Perfect Diurnal p. 1509 & 1510.

And next; to the end, that with more plausibility to the people, and security to themselves, they might have the full sway of all; their drift was, to extort the King's consent (he being then their prisoner) to this their new designed Dominion. For the accomplishment whereof (according to their wonted practises) they caused a petition (*q*) to be exhibited to the two Houses at **Westminster**, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of **London**. Wherein was contained a subtil insinuation of their desires, *that God would bring his Majestie's, Heart, nearer to his chief and greatest Council (the Parliament)*

q 17. March. *Ib.* p. 1524.

*Parliament) and that he would be perſwaded to joyn with them in the* National League and Covenant, *and give ſatisfaction in the* Propoſitions, *which the Parliaments of both Nations ſhould make unto him, for the full aſſurance of his People for the future, and firm eſtabliſhment of the Peace and Union of the Kingdomes in Church and Commonwealth.* Anno 1646.

In which Petition it was alſo deſired, that for ſecurity to the Parliament and City, ſuch as had been in oppoſition to the Parliament (id eſt, loyal to the King) might be removed out of the City, and kept at a diſtance from his Majeſtie's Royal preſence. Declaring (r) likewiſe to the whole world, that they ſtill were, and reſolved to remain in their zeal as fervent to the Parliament as ever: And, according to the *Covenant*, did next under God rely upon the Wiſdome and Juſtice of the Parliament, for ſettlement of their Peace and Proſperity.

(r) *Ib.* p. 1525.

Anno 1647.

And, diſcerning the *Independent*-party of the Souldiery beginning to be then predominant, had drawn the Army neerer to the City of **London**, than the Grandees at **Weſtminſter** did well like; it was by them farther petitioned, that the Army might be forthwith removed, and with all convenient ſpeed disbanded: As alſo, that the Court of Common-Council might have authority to elect Members for the *Militia* of the City, in purſuance of a former Petition of theirs to that purpoſe.

Whereupon, after much debate and quick diſpute (the *Presbyterean*-party in the Houſe being at that time moſt numerous) it was reſolved (†), that the whole Army, Horſe and Foot ſhould be disbanded; onely (*) five thouſand Horſe, one thouſand Dragoons, and ſome few Fire-locks to be continued in pay, for the ſafety of this Kingdome; and ſome to be ſent for **Ireland.**

† 27. April. *Ib.* p. 1569.

* Hiſtory of Independencie p. 33.

Which vote ſo awakened the Souldiery, that no leſs than eight Regiments of Horſe, ſoon ſent up a Counter-Petition (t) to the Parliament, wherein they give reaſons why they could not engage, in the ſervice of **Ireland**: (for thither 'twas reſolved they ſhould go

† 30. April. Perfect Diurnal p. 1572.

Anno 1647. upon their disbanding) and complained of many scandalous suggestions, which had been raised against them, and their proceedings: as also, that they saw designes put upon them, and upon many of the Godly party in the Kingdome. Signifying likewise, that they could not engage for **Ireland**, till they were satisfied in their expectations, and their just desires granted.

But these things, as yet, being not publickly insisted on, nor own'd by any other than the common Souldiers; it was ordered (*v*), that Major-General *Skyppon*, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, Commissary-General *Ireton*, and Colonel *Fleetwood*, should be speedily sent down to the Army, to acquaint them, that there should be a considerable sum of money provided for them, before their disbanding; and that their Accompts should be audited: as also an Act of Indemnity for all the mischeif they had done in the time of warr; it being expected, that this bountiful and gracious offer, would quiet their stirring Spirits, and incline them to submit tamely to the pleasure of their great Masters.

*v Ibid.*

And so confident, at that time, were the *Presbytereian*-party in the two Houses at **Westminster** to baffle their *Independent* offspring, by this artifice of disbanding the Army; that to make room for them in **Ireland**, upon their riddance here, they fram'd an Ordinance (*x*), for clearing that Kingdome of those Scottish forces, which were then imploy'd there, as Auxiliaries against the Irish-Rebels. And soon after, did accordingly order (*y*), that the Army should be disbanded; beginning first with the General's Regiment (then at **Thelmesford** in *Essex*) and that so many of them as would engage for **Ireland**, should be presently taken on, and a fortnights pay advanced to them, together with two months pay of their arrears. The like for the rest of the Army, at their respective Rendevouzes.

*x* 11. May. *Ibid.* p. 1584.

*y* 25. May. *Ib.* p. 1601.

But whilst these now distinct parties of Godly men, were thus striving for Masteries; the King, who still was kept at **Holdenby**, under a most deplorable restraynt

ſtraynt; (and the whole Kingdome under grievous oppreſſions) finding no ſenſe at all in them, neither of His, nor his peoples miſeries, ſent his ſixteenth Meſſage (z); wherein, complaining of his diſconſolate condition there; his Servants being denyed acceſs to him; none admitted to bring or receive any Letters from him: nor any other but the Parliaments Commiſſioners (who were then his Spyes as well as Guardians) to converſe with him: by which means he was not Maſter of thoſe ordinary Actions, which are the undoubted right of every free-born-man, how mean ſoever; and ſo not qualified to make any conceſſions, nor give Anſwers (as himſelf did then moſt rationally obſerve,) yet ſo much was he deſirous of peace; that unto thoſe *Propoſitions*, which they ſent to him at **Newcaſtle**, when he was in cuſtody of the Scots (*viz.* 25. *June An.* 1646.) and whereupon he then gave a general Anſwer, with deſire to be admitted to treat perſonally with them at **Weſtminſter**; that, preſuming they might inſiſt upon the ſame ſtill; he did then, by this his 16th. Meſſage, as to *Religion*, offer to confirm the *Presbyterean-government*, the *Aſſembly of Divines* at **Weſtminſter**, and the *Directory* for three years, being the time required by thoſe *Propoſitions*; ſo that himſelf and his Houſhold were not hindred from that order in Gods ſervice, which they had formerly uſed. Offering, that a free conſultation ſhould be had with thoſe their Divines at **Weſtminſter**, twenty of his own nomination being added thereto; whereby it might be determined what Government in the Church ſhould be after thoſe three years.

Anno 1647.

(z) 12. May. The King's 16th. Meſſage.

But, as to the *Covenant*, he told them, that he was not ſatisfied therein; deſiring, that upon his admiſſion to **London**, he might be aſſiſted with the advice of ſuch of his own Chaplains, and other Divines, as he ſhould think fit to conſult with: farther ſignifying to them; that the *Militia* by Sea and Land, in caſe it were onely as a ſecurity, for preſervation of the peace of his Kingdome (after due performance of all other Agreements, then to be conſidered of) ſhould be, for

Anno 1647. the ſpace of ten years, in the hands of ſuch perſons, as the two Houſes ſhould nominate.

And as to the proſecution of the War in **Ireland** (other things being agreed) he would give them ſatisfaction therein [thoſe being the moſt material of theſe *Propoſitions.*]

But, to be ſhort; the guilt of theſe men, being like that of *Cain* (greater than in their own opinion could ever be forgiven) they ſtill cryed out, *that His Majeſty was averſe to peace, and never yet pleaſed to accept of any tender, fit for them to make: nor to offer any fit for them to receive.* And their preachers were ſtill taught to pray, *that God would incline the King's Heart, to come to His Parliament.*

¶ Leaving His Majeſty therefore out of all hopes to obtain any good by theſe his earneſt and inceſſant Meſſages; I now return to the Grandees of the Army, who had, about this time, a conſiderable Game to play, (the moſt active of them being then become *Independent*) whoſe main work was to avoid disbanding; yet not to be ſeen therein, in the leaſt manner themſelves. To which end, as at the firſt beginning of this woful Rebellion, the rabble and baſer ſort of people in **Scotland**, were piped up by the zealous Kirkmen, to lead on the Dance; the *Gentry* next, and *Nobility* laſt (as they diſcern'd the way) following after the ſame Muſick: So were the Common-ſouldiers here taught to appear in oppoſition to thoſe Orders of the Parliament; whereupon at (*a*) **Bury** in *Suffolk*, in the firſt place they alledg'd, that they were at that time, no leſs than fifty ſix weeks pay in arreare; ſo that the eight weeks pay voted, was not a conſiderable part thereof. Next, that no viſible ſecurity was given, for what ſhould not then be payd. Thirdly (*b*), that nothing was done for their Vindication: and that having been declared Enemies, and ſent home, they might be proceeded againſt as Enemies, unleſs that Declaration againſt the Army of *March* the XIIIth. was recalled: and therefore they petitioned the General, for a publick Rendevouz, whereat their Grievances might be repreſented. Whereupon intimation (*c*) was given; that, theſe

[a] 25. May. *Ibid.* p. 1604.

[b] *Ib.* p. 1605.

[c] 29. May. *Ib.* p. 1606.

theſe things conſidered, there would be a neceſſity for the officers complyance with the Souldiers, leſt that Rendevouz ſhould otherwiſe prove tumultuous, and deſtructive to the Kingdome. *Anno* 1647.

In which petition; conſidering the late Order for disbanding, without redreſſing their Grievances, or vindicating the Army; or calling ſuch perſons to accompt, who had been Intenders or Contrivers of their deſtruction; they deſired, that he would ſpeedily appoint a general Rendevouz, and to uſe his utmoſt endeavour, that they might not be *disbanded*, before their ſad and preſſing greivances were heard and fully redreſſed.

Which Petition being communicated (*d*) by the General to the two Houſes at **Weſtminſter**, did ſo ſtartle their High and Mightyneſſes there; that they forthwith ordered (*) to the common Souldiers, all their Arrears, deducting free Quarter, according to the uſual Rules of the Army. Alſo, that the ſubordinate officers ſhould have the like: and the Commiſſion-officers one months pay more, added to the two formerly voted. Likewiſe, that the Declaration againſt the Army (before mentioned) ſhould be raſed out of the Journals of both Houſes, which was done accordingly. And that there ſhould be an Ordinance drawn up, for their farther ſatisfaction, in point of *Indempnity*, with an *Ordinance* (*f*) *of Oblivion* to boot.

[d] 30. May. *Ib.* p. 1608.

[*] 3. June. *Ib.* p. 1611.

[f] 5. June. *Ibid.*

CHAP.

*Anno* 1647.

## CHAP. XXIII.

BUT this Pſalm of *Placebo*, then tuned by the Members at **Weſtminſter**, did no whit charm the evil Spirit, which was conjur'd up by the Grandees of the Army amongſt the common Souldiers. Who, well knowing how perfidious thoſe Ring-leaders of the Rebellion had been to their Leige-lord the King; concluded, that they would approve themſelves as faithleſs to them, when ever it ſhould lye in their power: And therefore, not daring to truſt their faire words; they forthwith diſpatcht away a party, of a thouſand Horſe, to **Holdenby**, under the command of one *Joyce*, a Cornet (but formerly a Godly Taylor) who arriving there upon *Thurſday* in the night, being the third of *June*; and having ſecured the Guards, under which the King was then kept, took away His Majeſty the next day, to (*g*) **Hinchinbrooke**, near **Huntington**.

3. June. The King taken from *Holdenby*.

8 *Ib.* p. 1612.

Which News ſo aſtoniſht the great men at **Weſtminſter**; that, having had no ſmall experience of many ſignal advantages by their counterfeit Humiliations, and Mock-faſts, they herein fell to their old practice, in that kind once more; appointing *Wedneſday* the ſixth of *June* for that purpoſe; *to the end* (as their uſual canting expreſſions were) *that God would be pleaſed to give them one Heart, and one mind, in carrying on the great work of the Lord.*

Whereupon their famous *Stephen Marſhall* (who was *Presbyterianorum ante-ſignanus*) the Bell-wether of that bleſſed flock; with Mr. *Strong* and Mr. *Whitakers* (zealous men of the ſame ſtamp) were then appointed to pray and preach with the Members, in their own Houſe of Commons, upon that day: the Lords (according to the example of the Commons) appointing others, as devout, to do the like in theirs.

7. June. The King removed to *Childerſley*.

And

And to court the Souldiers yet more, they paſſed an additional (*h*) Ordinance to ſave them harmleſs by an Act of Oblivion and Pardon, for all things done in the time of War. *Anno* 1647. h 7. June. *Ib.* p. 1620. & *Scob. Col.* p. 127.

Nay into ſuch a terror were they then ſtricken; that, in order to the laying of this evil-Spirit in the Army, (ſo conjur'd up by the Independent Grandees there) they did (according to their old wont) ſet on foot a Petition (*i*) in the City of **London**: which being ſign'd by thouſands of the *Presbyterean*-Heard, was brought to the Houſe of Commons by the Sheriffs, accompanyed by divers Aldermen and others; deſiring *that all honourable ways and means, might be uſed for to prevent the farther ſhedding of bloud; and that all juſt ſatisfaction might be given to the Army, and all other Souldiers, who had adventured their lives for defence of the Parliament and Kingdome. Likewiſe, that the* Covenant *and Agreement of both Nations might be kept; and His Majeſtie's royall perſon preſerved and ſo diſpoſed of, that the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, might have acceſs unto him*, &c. i 8. June. *Ib.* p. 1621. 9. June. The King removed from *Childerſley* to *Newmarket*.

Whereupon the Houſe Voted, that an *Ordinance* ſhould be ſpeedily brought in, according to the deſires of the Petitioners. And the ſame day, they paſſed a Declaration, for making void their former Declaration (*k*) of the xiijth. of *March*, concerning the Army. k *Ibid.*

And farther to ſhew, how firm they yet ſtood to their old *Presbyterean*-principles, and the *Covenant*, in order to a bleſſed Reformation (which was for the extirpating the Religion by Law eſtabliſht in the Church of **England**) they paſſed an Ordinance (*l*), entituled *An Ordinance for recreation of Scholars, Apprentices, and Servants.* Whereby, abrogating thoſe ancient Feſtivals of the *Nativity of our bleſſed Saviour*, *Eaſter*, *Whitſontide*, and all other *Holy-days*, which had been (as their ſayd *Ordinance* expreſſed) before that time ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved; they did, inſted thereof, allow them the *ſecond Thurſday* in every month throughout the year for their Recreation. l *Ibid.* & *Scob. coll.* p. 128.

*Anno* 1647.

¶ There is nothing more certain, than that at this time, there was ſo great a terrour upon the *Presbyterean*-Grandees ſitting at **Weſtminſter**, by reaſon that the Army had gotten the perſon of the King into their hands, that they left no likely means uneſſayed to reconcile the two Intereſts; *viz.* the *Presbyterean*, then predominant in the Parliament, and *Independent* in the Army, whereof to give particular inſtances would be too tedious. Nor is it leſs true, that *Cromwell* (who all this while ſitting at **Weſtminſter**, and by his truſty confidents called *Agitators*, actuating the Army) did put them upon all thoſe practiſes; and, the more to fool his fellow-members, did with the greateſt aſſeverations imaginable, confidently profeſs his diſlike of the Souldiers refractorineſs: aſſuring the Houſe, that if he might have leave to go down to the Army, he would undertake they ſhould ſubmit, and lay down their Arms at the Parliament door.

Which vain hope did then ſo far dote moſt of the Members; that ſome of them ſaid publickly; that, having done ſuch glorious things for the Parliament (as a chief Commander in the Army) and now, that he would qualify the Souldiers in this their deſperate mutiny, *he deſerved to have a Statue in Gold.*

The Rendevouz of the Army at *Triplo-Heath.*

But, having by this artifice, obtain'd liberty to get away; when he came to the Rendevouz (*m*), at **Triplo-Heath**; he did not onely approve of all that they had done, but openly joyn'd (*n*) with them in all their bold Engagements, Declarations, Remonſtrances, and Manifeſtos; ſaying to ſome in private, that *now he had got the King into his Hands, he had the Parliament in his Pocket:* but proteſted his ignorance of the deſign; adding (*o*) an Execration upon his wife and children, in aſſeverating thereof.

[m] 10. June. Perfect Diurnal p. 1623.
[n] Hiſt. Inde. p. 34.
[o] *Ib.* p. 35.

And, as heretofore the leading-members at **Weſtminſter** did uſually pen petitions, and ſend them into the City of **London**, and elſewhere, to be ſubſcribed by thoſe of their party, for countenanceing whatſoever they had a mind to act: ſo (then) did the Grandees of the Army, not being ignorant what advan-

advantages had formerly been made of thoſe deviſes *viz.* one from (*p*) **Eſſex** to the General, in the name of the well-affected-People there: deſiring, *that in regard of the preſent unſettled condition of the Kingdome and the deſign of many to deprive the ſubject of their liberty, he would not conſent to the disbanding of the Army, nor any part thereof, untill there ſhould be a general ſettlement of things in the Kingdome.* The like Petitions from (*q*) **Norfolk** and **Suffolk**, deſiring *that there might be no disbanding untill the general grievances were redreſt and Juſtice done.*

*Anno* 1647.

(*p*) Perfect Diurnal p. 1625.

But ſee the dreadfull horrors and apprehenſions, which attend the Conſciences of wicked men in times of diſtreſs and danger! No ſooner did the Army march from the parts about **Triplo** towards St. **Albans**; but the *Presbyterean*-Members at **Weſtminſter**, and thoſe of that gang in **London**, fell into ſuch Agonies; that they forthwith ordered (*r*) all the Trayned-Bands in **London** to be raiſed upon pain of Death; and ſtrong Guards to be ſet about the Line: nay, that all the Citizens ſhould ſhut up their Shops. So that whereas formerly his Majeſtie's inceſſant Meſſages to them for peace, were contemn'd and laid aſide; and when they had bought him of the Scots, he muſt not be ſuffered to come nearer **Weſtminſter** (where they hatch'd all their barbarous contrivances againſt him) than **Holdenby** in *Northamptonſhire*; now they voted his coming to **Richmund**, and did vouchſafe to write Letters to him.

(*r*) 12. June. *Ib.* p. 1626.

But alas, too late; *Independencie* being then triumphant, and *Presbytery* gaſping (as you will ſee by and by) For, in anſwer to this Vote, it was *deſired* (†), *that no place might be propoſed for his Majeſtie's reſidence nearer unto* **London**, *than where they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be.* And, not many days after, a paper (*t*) was ſent to the Houſes at **Weſtminſter**, intituled *the Repreſentation of the Army.* In which it was in the firſt place required, *that the Houſes ſhould be ſpeedily purged of ſuch Members as for their Delinquencie* (ſo they were pleaſ'd to term it)

(†) Hiſtory of Independencie p. 36.

(*t*) 21. June. Perfect Diurnal p. 1612.

Anno 1647. *or for corruptions, or abuſe to the State,* &c. *ought not to ſit there.* Which terrible news put the *Presbytereans* party upon muſtring up all their power; and once for all, to try what one ſtrong blaſt could do. Whereupon they Voted that the Army ſhould remove fourty miles from **London.**

But this vote ſignified very little: for inſtead of any obedience thereto, the Army preſently gave order (*u*) for purging the Houſe, by an impeachment of high Treaſon of all the moſt able and active men, which ſtood for the *Presbyterean*-Intereſt; *viz. Denzill Hollies*, Eſq; Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewes*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Maynard* Knights, Major General *Maſſye*, *John Glyn*, Eſq; Recorder of **London**, *Walter Long*, Eſq; Colonel *Edward Harley*, and *Anthony Nicholls*, Eſq; being in number no leſs than *Eleven* of their chief Members, who had from the beginning vigorouſly born the heat of the day.

Great ſtickling indeed there was by all their party to have preſerv'd thoſe men ſtill in that holy conclave: but all would not do; for it was clearly diſcern'd (*x*) that by their power in the Houſe, the *Ordinance for disbanding the Army* did paſs. So that to avoid ſuſpending the whole Houſe, it was thought moſt fit that theſe men ſhould retire. And ſo they did (*y*); it being high time: for the Army did not ſtick to threaten (*z*) to march up to **Weſtminſter**, if thoſe Members were not ſuſpended; courting the City of **London** to ſit Neutralls, and let them work their will with the Parliament.

This indeed was a ſtroke almoſt fatal to the *Presbyterean*: for it loſt them not onely all theſe leading-men, but a far greater number that ſtaid: ſome falling off from that ſide under colour of clearer Illumination: and ſome others were ſo much daunted thereat, that they had not afterwards courage enough to hold up their heads as formerly: But upon the retiring of theſe *Eleven Members*, the proſecution of their charge was totally forborn.

And now that the Houſe was thus purged the greater part of the remaining Members became moſt obſequious

* 23. June. *Ib.* p. 1625. & Hiſt. of Indep. p. 37. See the Articles of Impeachment Impr. Lond. for *G. Whitaker* at the blew Anchor in *Cornhil.*

*Anno* 1647. 24. June. the King removed from *New-Market* to *Royſton.*

x Hiſtory of Independencie p. 37.

y 26. June Perfect Diurnal p. 1627.

z Hiſtory of Independencie p. 37.

26. June. the King removed from *Royſton* to *Hatfield.*

obſequious to the Army; and declared (*a*), *that they owned it as their Army, and would make proviſion for the maintenance thereof*: ordering, that ſo ſoon as mony could be conveniently raiſed, they ſhould be payd equally with thoſe, who had left the Army. *Anno* 1647.

(*a*) 28. June. Perfect Diurnal p. 1630.

## CHAP. XXIV.

HAving thus garbled the Houſe of Commons, no wonder it was that the whole *Presbyterean-party*, every where, became highly incenſed: and the rather for that they had ſo imprudently ſlipt their oportunity of complying with the king in due time. For then (when 'twas too late) they would have gladly joyn'd with any Intereſt to work themſelves again into ſome authority. Which being diſcern'd by the *Independents*, who then had the King in their Hands; to ſpoyle the *Presbyterean*-deſign, they not onely fell to Courting His Majeſty with great civilities and favours (ſuch, indeed as he never enjoy'd, ſince he fled to the Scots for refuge) admitting (*b*) the Duke of *Richmond* to come and attend him, and two of his own moſt deſired Chaplains: but the people alſo, by many printed (*c*) Books and Papers, ſpread over all **England**; and likewiſe by the Pulpits, whereby they ſtirred up the vulgar to make loud complaints of their preſſures and grievances; and to make addreſſes to the Army, as their onely Saviours; Reſtorers of their Laws, Liberties and Proprieties; Setlers of Religion, and Preſervers of all juſt Intereſts: pretending alſo to eſtabliſh the King in his juſt Rights and Prerogatives; to uphold the Priviledg of Parliament; to reform and bring to account all Committees, Sequeſtrators and others, who had defil'd their fingers with publick moneys; and to free the people from *Exciſe* and other Taxes.

1. July. The King removed from *Hatfield* to *Windſore*.

3. July. Thence to *Caverſham*.

(*b*) 9. July. *Ib.* p. 1642.

(*c*) Hiſt. of Indepen. p. 38.

15. July. The King removed from *Caverſham* to *Maydenhead*.

Thence to *Woburne*.

22. July. Thence to *Latimers*.

Anno 1647.

Seeing therefore that the work of *Reformation* was now thus obſtructed by the Seraphick Brethren here, who walkt by more new and clear Lights; thoſe in **Scotland** grew ſo highly moved thereat, that they indicted (*d*) a *publick Faſt*, and ſolemn day of Humiliation, to be kept throughout the whole Kirk of that Kingdome; ſetting forth a *Declaration* of the Cauſes moving them thereunto, the Copy whereof I have thought fit here to inſert.

(*d*) 25. July. Perfect Occurrences, p. 199.

1. ——*That, notwithſtanding our ſolemn Engagement in the* Covenant; *our Obligations for great and ſingular mercies, and our many warnings by Judgments of all ſorts: yet, not onely do we come far ſhort of that ſobriety, Righteouſneſs, and Holineſs, that becometh the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt: but ungodlineſs and worldly luſts abound every where throughout the land, unto the grieving of the Lord's Spirit, and provoking of the eyes of his glory, and to make him increaſe his plagues upon us; and to puniſh us ſeven times more, becauſe we continue to walk contrary unto him.*

2. *That the Lord's hand is ſtill ſtretched out againſt us, in the Judgment of the Peſtilence, which ſpreads not onely in ſeveral parts of the Country; but continueth and increaſeth in many of the moſt eminent Cities of the Kingdome.*

3. *The great danger that threatens Religion and the work of Reformation, in theſe Kingdomes, for the number, power, and policy of the Secretaries in* **England**; *which are like, not onely to interupt the progreſs of uniformity, and the eſtabliſhment of the Ordinances of God, in their beauty and perfection; but to overturn the foundation already laid, and all that hath been built thereupon, with the expence of ſo much bloud and pains.*

*And therefore we are earneſtly to pray to the Lord, that* the ſolemn League and Covenant *may be kept faſt and inviolable, notwithſtanding all the purpoſes and endeavours of open Enemies, and ſecret underminings to the contrary.*

*We are to intreat the Lord, on the behalf of the King's Majeſty, that he may be reconcil'd to God; and that he may*

*may be now furniſhed with wiſdome and councill from above, that he be not involved in new ſnares, to the endangering of himſelf and theſe Kingdomes; but that his Heart may incline to ſuch reſolutions, as will contribute for ſetling of* Religion *and* Righteouſneſs. Anno 1647.

*We are alſo to intreat the Lord, on the behalf of the Parliament of* **England**; *of the Synod of Divines; and of all ſuch in that Land, as do unfeignedly mind the work of God; that they may not be diſcouraged nor ſwerve in the day of temptation; but that every of them in their Stations, and according to their places and callings, may be furniſhed with Light and Strength from Heaven, for doing of their duty with faithfulneſs and zeal.*

*We are to ſupplicate for direction to our Committee of Eſtates, that they may diſcern the times, and know what is fitting to be done, for ſecuring our ſelves and encouraging our Brethren.*

*We are to pray for a Spirit of Light, of Love unto our Aſſembly, that they may be inſtrumental in preſerving Truth, and advancing Holineſs amongſt our ſelves; and for carrying on the work of God amongſt our* Neighbours.

*That the Lord would pour out upon all ſorts of perſons, in theſe Kingdomes, a Spirit of Grace and Supplication, that it may repent us of all our Iniquities; and that we may be reconcil'd unto the Lord; that ſo all tokens of his wrath may be removed from amongſt us, and he may bleſs us with the ſweet fruits of Truth and Peace.*

It cannot eaſily be thought, but that the Scots did ſomewhat more than *faſt* and *pray*, conſidering the deſperate condition wherein their *Covenanting-Brethren*, eſpecially at **Weſtminſter** and in **London**, then ſtood; and that *the great work of Reformation* (as they call'd it) lay in ſuch hazard. But, at ſuch a diſtance what more could ſoon be expected, than that they ſhould by the help of the zealous Preachers, earneſtly incite the *Covenanters* in **London**, to beſtir themſelves; and put more courage into thoſe drooping Members, who (after the late purge) were then left in the Houſe, which (for certain) they under-hand in ſome ſort did;

*Anno* 1647. did; and were like enough, above board, to have done much more; conſidering that by an Ordi-
*Hiſt. of Ind. p. 40. nance (*) of *May* the 4th. then paſt, the *Militia* of that great City was eſtabliſhed in the hands of ſuch perſons as were nominated by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council there. To ſecure themſelves therefore againſt this imminent danger, the Army
*f Ib. p. 39. & p. 40. were neceſſitated, by picking a quarrel (f) with the City, to wreſt the *Militia* out of their hands, and then totally to cleanſe the Houſe at **Weſtminſter** of the remaining *Presbyterean*-humour, by a ſtronger purge then it formerly had.

*g Ibid.* In order whereunto, there was a Letter (g) forthwith ſent from General *Fairfax* and the Army, together with a *Remonſtrance* to the Houſes at **Weſtminſter**, demanding the *Militia* of the City, to be put into their Hands. Whereupon the Houſe of Commons tamely and readily voted (h) the repealing of that Ordinance of *May* the 4th. and preſently paſſed a new Ordinance, for reviving the old *Militia*; and tranſmitted it to the Lords.

*i* 24. July. *Ib. p. 41.* Which unexpected change cauſed the City to meet (i) in *Common-Council*, and to reſolve of Petitioning the Parliament again therein, within two days following.
*k* 26. July. *Ib.* And ſo they did (k) by their Sheriffs, and ſome of the Common-Council. But, to ſecond this Petition there followed them (within three hours) ſome thouſands of Apprentices, and other ſtout fellows with another Petition, whereby they claim'd the *Militia* as the Citie's Birthright by ſundry Charters, confirm'd in former Parliaments: for defence whereof they alledg'd, that they had adventured their Lives as far as the Army: and thereupon *deſired, that the Militia might be put again into the ſame Hands, in which it was put with the Parliament and Citie's conſent upon the 4th. of May.* And this they did in ſo tumultuous a faſhion, that the Lords (who were then but ſeven in number) preſently granted it.

And having ſo done, and ſent it to the Commons, ſlipping out by a poſtern, went themſelves away by water. But the Commons having no mind to diſpleaſe the

the Army, refus'd to do the like; and angrily bad the Apprentices to be gone, intending to riſe and adjourn themſelves. Which purpoſe of theirs being diſcern'd by thoſe youngſters, was by them ſoon prevented, by ſhutting up their doors, and peremptorily requiring their complyance with the Lords. The Commons therefore ſeeing themſelves in this ſtreight, did at length (with much unwillingneſs) yeild to the importunity of theſe their bold Suitors: and, not onely ſo, but were by them forc't to paſs a farther vote; which was, *that the King ſhould be admitted to come to* **London** *to treat.* *Anno* 1647.

But this uproar being made known to the Grandees of the Army, the greateſt advantage imaginable was made thereof. For the confiding Members, being thereupon ſent for to the Army, fled (*l*) to the Head-Quarters at **Windſore** within three days after; the Speaker alſo bearing them Company; who, having couſened the State of vaſt ſums of Money, was threatned with an Impeachment if he did not come with them. [l] 29. July. *Ib.* p. 43.

Of the Houſe of Commons that ſo fled (*m*) to the Army, the number was ſaid to be above fourty: and of the Lords which came after, the names were theſe; *viz.* (*n*) the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Warwick*, *Manchester*, *Salisbury*, *Kent*, *Moulgrave*, the Viſcount *Say* and *Sele*; the Lords *Grey* of **Warke**, *Wharton* and *Howard* of **Eſcrick**. [m] *Ibid.* [n] Perfect Diurnal p. 1686. & 1688.

Of the Houſe of Lords that ſtay'd, the Lord *Willoughby* of **Parham** was made Speaker.

But of the Commons, there was about one hundred and fourty; who coming to the Houſe, and miſſing their *old Speaker*, and the Serjeant at Mace which uſually attended, choſe (*o*) Mr. *Henry Pelham* to be their new Speaker, and another Serjeant to attend him. Which number being all of the old *Covenanting flock*, and yet not further illuminated, proceeded to doe and act as a Parliament: firſt voting (*p*) in their old companions, called the *Eleven impeached Members*. Next, ſetting up a *Committee of Safety*, enabling them to joyne with the Committee of the [o] Hiſt. Indc. *ut ſupra.* [p] *Ib.* p. 44.

*Anno* 1647.

30. July. The King removed from *Latimers* to *Stokepogeys*.

¶ 30. July. The Kingdome's Intelligences. p. 617.

reſtored *City-Militia*; and giving them power to liſt and raiſe forces, appoint Commanders and Officers; and iſſue forth Arms and Amunition, for defence of both Houſes and the City, againſt all that ſhould invade them. And, in the neck of theſe Votes, came out a *Declaration* (*q*) of the City; which the Lords and Commons, then ſitting at **Weſtminſter** ordered to be publiſhed throughout all **England** and **Wales**; wherein (after a large preamble) they went on thus;

——*We do, in the preſence of Almighty-God, profeſs, that there is nothing in the world, that we more deſire, than that His Majeſty may be put and left free, in ſuch an honourable condition and capacity, as his perſon may appear to be at Liberty, to receive and treat upon ſuch* Propoſitions, *as ſhall be preſented unto him from the Parliaments of both Kingdomes: for our Conſciences tell us, that whilſt his royal perſon is environ'd by an Army, and remains under the power thereof, we cannot expect that either His Majeſtie's Princely Heart, can give that free aſſent unto thoſe things, which ſhall be propounded unto him, as is requiſite: or if he do, cannot hope, with good reaſon, that we and our poſterity ſhall, without alteration enjoy the ſame: And therefore we are reſolved earneſtly (yet with humility) to apply our ſelves to the Parliament, to this purpoſe: and hope, that all good Subjects, who are touched with any ſenſe of that duty and allegiance, which by the Law of God and man, they owe unto the King, will unanimouſly joyn with us therein.*

*We cannot omit alſo to declare unto the Kingdome, how we have ſadly obſerved, ſince the* Eleven accuſed Members *withdrew themſelves; and that the Army hath daily grown upon the Parliament; that a great and conſiderable number of other Members of the Houſe of Commons, have alſo retired themſelves, to the endangering of the Kingdom, which never more needed a full Council: And, therefore, we ſhall make our ſpeedy addreſs to the honourable Houſe of Commons, to call in all the Members of their Houſe, reſiding in the Army, or retired to their dwellings, by leave of the Houſe or otherwiſe. And we ſhall particularly inſiſt upon the*

*the readmiſſion of the* Eleven Members, *lately driven out of the Houſe of Commons, by the violent purſuit of the Army, contrary to the ſenſe of the ſame Houſe, the Law of the Land, and the Priviledges of Parliament: wherein alſo we are confident, all good Engliſh-men, and Lovers of their Country, will adhere unto them and us,* &c. Anno 1647.

*And we declare, that we ſincerely deſire an happy and ſpeedy Peace, by the ſettlement of true Religion in this Kingdome; by re-eſtabliſhing His Majeſty in his juſt Rights and Authority; by upholding all lawful Priviledges of a free Parliament; by maintaining the Fundamental Laws of the Land; by reſtoring and ſecuring the Subject unto, and in his juſt liberty and property; and, by freeing the long oppreſſed Kingdome of all Taxes, and enforced free Quarter, towards the maintenance of an Army, which of a long time hath had no viſible Enemy to encounter. And from this Reſolution (by the bleſſing of God) we ſhall never recede, for any earthly conſideration, or advantage whatſoever.*

But whilſt the Citizens were thus Declaring, and the Members very buſy at **Weſtminſter**, the *Fugitives* (for ſo they then call'd them that were fled to the Army) were not idle at **Windſor**; for there they ſate in conſultation with the Council of War, and ſigned an *Engagement* (*r*) to live and dye with General *Fairfax*, and the Army under his Command: as alſo a *Remonſtrance*, ſhewing the grounds of their intended advance towards **London**; Declaring (†) againſt the choyce of the new Speaker at **Weſtminſter**; and that, as things then ſtood, there was no free-Parliament ſitting; being, through the violence done, on the twenty ſixth of *July* before, wholy ſuſpended: as alſo, that whatſoever Orders or Votes, had paſſed ſince that time, they ſhould be *null and void*, and not at all ſubmitted unto.

*r* Hiſtory of Independencie p. 44.

† *Ib.* p. 45.

With the Army thus marching towards the City, alſo joyned (*t*) the Trayned Bands of ſome Countries (viz. *Kent*, *Eſſex* and *Surrey*) which put the *Covenanting Brethren* into ſuch dreadful apprehenſions, and pannick fears; as that they often ſent Commiſſi-

*t* *Ibid.* The Army marcheth towards *London.*

Anno 1647. oners to mediate for peace, but could obtain no other terms, than (v) *that they must desert the Members sitting at* **Westminster**; *as also the Eleven, formerly impeached. Moreover, that they should call in their Declaration, then newly printed and published; Relinquish the Militia; Deliver up all their Forts, and Line of Communication to the Army, together with the Tower of* **London**, *and all the Magazines of Armes therein; Disband all their Forces; Turn all the Reformados out of the Line; withdraw all their Guards from the Houses; Receive such Guards of Horse and Foot, within the Line, as the Army should appoint to guard the Houses; Demolish their works; and suffer the whole Army to march in triumph through the City.*

v *Ib.* p. 46.

Unto all which they forthwith tamely yielded, as may seem from those poor, pittiful, abject and slavish Expressions, made by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council, then sent to General *Fairfax*; in these words (x)----*And, forasmuch as we observe, that the chief cause, which hath drawn your Excellency and your Army thus near the City, is to bring home those noble and honourable Members of both Houses; who, because of the Tumults at* **Westminster** *the twenty sixth past, have retired themselves, to the end they may by you be placed in safety, and in a free-Parliament at* **Westminster**; *we chearfully and heartily joyne with your Excellency therein: and, according as we shall find directions from your Excellency, they shall find all ports and passes open, to receive you and them: and also such Guards of two or three Regiments, as your Excellency shall think fitting for their conduct to the two Houses of Parliament. And the Parliament being set with Peace and Safety, we shall humbly submit to their direction, what forces of yours and ours to continue for their future Guard; in which service we humbly offer the whole strength of this City.*

x Perfect Diurnal. p. 1689.

Whereupon on **Hounslow**-*Heath* the Army drew (y) up in Batalia, there being present the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Kent*, and *Moulgrave*; the Viscount *Say* and *Sele*; the Lord *Gray* of **Werke**, the Lord *Howard* of **Escrick**, and Lord **Wharton**; the Speaker also of the House of Commons, and about

y 3. Aug. *Ib.* p. 1688.

about one hundred Members of that Houſe. Where the Common-Souldiers were taught to make great Shouts; and cry *Lords and Commons*, and *a free-Parliament*. *Anno* 1647.

From whence, upon the ſixth of *Auguſt*, the General brought (*z*) the fugitive Members with a ſtrong party to the Parliament Houſe (the two Pallace-yards being filled with armed Guards, and double Files placed throughout **Weſtminſter**-Hall, to the ſtairs of the Houſe of Commons; and ſo through the Court of Requeſts to the Lords Houſe) put the Speakers in their reſpective chayrs; and ſet himſelf in a Chayr of State: where he had great Thanks given him by the Speakers of both Houſes.

[z] 6. Aug. Hiſt. of Ind. p. 46.

Which being done, a publick day of *Thanksgiving* was appointed for this happy reſtoration of them to their old Seats again, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* voted (*a*) *Generaliſſimo* of all the Forces and Forts throughout **England** and **Wales**, and Conſtable of the Tower of **London**; and the Common-Souldiers one month's gratuity, beſides their pay. And on the next day following, the whole Army marcht (*b*) triumphantly through **London**, with their Train of Artillery, and ſoon after demoliſh'd (*c*) the Lines of Communication, environing that great City.

[a] *Ib.* p. 47.

[b] 7. Aug. *Ibid.*

[c] *Ib.* p. 48.

Anno 1647.

## CHAP. XXV.

AND now that the *Fugitive-members* were thus brought again to the Houſe, the chief buſineſs was to make *null and void* all that was acted by thoſe that ſate in their abſence. But in debating (*d*) thereof, the *Presbytereans* held up moſt ſtoutly; inſiſting with great courage on the validity of them: Inſomuch as the *Speaker*, finding it difficult for the *Fugitives* to carry the Votes, by ſtrength of Reaſon or Number; ſhew'd forth a *Letter* (*) from the General of the Army, accompanied with a *Remonſtrance*, full of high language, and not without threats againſt thoſe that ſate whilſt the two *Speakers* were with the Army calling them *Pretended Members*; and laying to their charge in general, *Treaſon*, *Treachery*, and *breach of Truſt*: and proteſting *that if they ſhould preſume to ſit, before they had cleared themſelves that they did not give their aſſents to ſome certain Votes, they ſhould ſit at their peril; and that he would take them as Priſoners of War, and try them at a Council of War.*

(*d*) *Ib.* p. 49, & 50.

(*) *Ib.* & Perfect Diurnal p. 1705. & 1706.

14. Aug. The King removed from *Stoke-pogeis* to *Oatlands*.

Which Letter, though it did not a little ſtartle the *Presbyterean*-Members: yet were they loath to leave the Houſe, having ſate there ſo long as abſolute Dictators. In order therefore to their continuance within thoſe walls, it was earneſtly moved (*f*) by ſome of them, that the Speaker ſhould command a general meeting of the whole Houſe, upon the next day, and declare that they ſhould be ſecured from danger; as alſo that no more than the ordinary Guards might then attend the Houſe.

(*f*) Hiſt. of Indepen. p. 50.

But theſe motions were violently oppoſed, with ſhrewd menaces by the *Independent-Members*; the Speaker alſo declyning to put any Queſtion therein, and adjourning till the morrow; ſo that the *Presbytereans* were left to come again at their peril. Which hazzard of their ſafety, occaſion'd a very thin Houſe the next day, many of that party abſenting themſelves:

ſelves: and of thoſe which came, 'twas obſerv'd, that ſome tackt about to the other ſide, and ſome ſate mute. *Anno* 1647.

At laſt a Committee was appointed (*g*) to bring in an *Ordinance of Accommodation* (as they called it) but more properly *the Ordinance of Null an Voide*; which damn'd all the Votes, Orders, and Ordinances paſſed in the Houſe, from the xxvjth. of *July* (that the Apprentices forc't the Members, then ſitting, to vote and do as they required) untill the ſixth of *Auguſt*, that thoſe Members, which fled to the Army were brought in Triumph again to the Houſe. Which *Ordinance*, within few days, was paſſed (*h*). And ſoon after that, another (*i*) wholſome one, for eſtabliſhing of well affected Miniſters in ſequeſtred Livings.

But though this *Ordinance of Null and Voide*, was thus paſſed, the *Independent*-party thought not themſelves ſecure enough; and therefore erected (*k*) *a Committee of Examinations*; to enquire into and examine who they were that had been active in procuring the *City Petition*, and *Engagement* to be ſubſcribed; or inſtrumental in that force upon the Houſe, on the twenty ſixth of *July* before mentioned, or in any other endeavour to raiſe forces.

Which Committee hunted ſo cloſe after them that had been buſy therein, that Sir *John Maynard* (*l*) Knt. of the Bath (a Member of the Houſe of Commons) *James* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Theophilus* Earl of *Lincoln*, *James* Earl of *Middleſex*, *John* Lord *Hunſdon*, *George* Lord *Berkley*, *William* Lord *Maynard*, and *Francis* Lord *Willoughby* of **Parham** were all of them impeached (*m*) of High Treaſon, in the name of the Commons of **England** for levying war againſt the King, Parliament, and Kingdome; Sir *John Maynard* being thereupon committed (*n*) to the Tower, and the Lords to the cuſtody of the uſher with the *Black-rod*. And, to the end, that this now predominant-party might the more engage the Common people, to joyn with them, upon occaſion, Agitators were imploy'd into ſeveral Counties, for getting Subſcriptions to Petitions againſt *Tythes*; *Incloſures*; and *Copy-hold-fines* which were uncertain.

¶ Being

g *Ibid.*

h 20. Auguſt. *Ib.* p. 52. *Scob. coll.* p. 128.

i 23. Aug. *Ib.* p. 131.

23. Aug. The King removed from *Oatlands* to *Syon*-houſe, where he dyned; Thence to *Hampton-Court*.

k Hiſt. of Ind. p. 53.

l 7. Septem. Perfect Diurnal p. 1728.

m 8. Sept. *Ib.* p. 1729.

n *Ibid.*

*Anno* 1647. ¶ Being thus entring upon one of the laſt Scenes in this moſt woful Tragedy; I muſt look back a little; and, from what hath been ſaid, ſummarily obſerve; firſt that however ſpecious and plauſible the *Proteſtations*, *Vows*, and *Declarations* of theſe monſtrous men have otherwiſe been; their chief deſign originally was to deſtroy and extirpate Monarchy, in all His Majeſtie's Realms and Dominions. Secondly; that, when by the aſſiſtance of the giddy-multitude (deluded and captivated with many glorious promiſes) they had got the ſway of all into their Hands; they moſt traiterouſly murthered the King in his politick capacity; ſetting him̃ totally aſide, as to Authority and Rule; and inhumanely burying him alive, by a ſevere and barbarous impriſonment, moſt inſolently tooke the Reynes of Government into their own uſurping power.

Next, that as *Ambition* and *Avarice* eagerly incited ſome Grandees of the faction to ſhoulder out the reſt, from ſharing with them in the ſpoyl they had got; though no leſs active than themſelves, in accompliſhing the general ruine: the like haughty and covetous deſires prompted others, to be no leſs ſolicitous for their own temporal advantage. So that, as the Reformation of miſcarriages and corruptions in Government, was at firſt cryed up by the *Presbytevean-Brethren*; and nothing in ſted thereof exerciſed but oppreſſion and deſtruction: So likewiſe, under as fair and plauſible pretences, the power was ſoon wreſted from that ſeeming Holy Generation, by the more Seraphick-Saints of the *Independent* Tribe; who, captivating the *Souldierie* at laſt, as the *Presbytereans* had done the *people* at firſt by their ſplended allurements, with an imaginary Happineſs; got the King by that means, into their own cruel Hands: and then ſubjugating the City of **London** (which had been both Mother and Nurſe to that Imparallel'd Rebellion) made the remainder of their Task the leſs difficult.

And as this grand work was originally begun by the *Presbytereans*, under the Popular name of a *Bleſſed-Parliament* (by which ſubtile Enchantment the vulgar were at firſt moſt cunningly abuſed) and purſued to the

the utter *ſubverſion of the King's regal power.* So was it carryed on by the *Independent* to the laſt (as by and by ſhall be manifeſted) untill it became thoroughly compleated in the horrid *murther of his royal perſon:* towards the perpetration of which prodigious Fact, I ſhall now briefly ſhew, by what degrees and ſteps they did moſt audaciouſly proceed. *Anno* 1647.

## CHAP. XXVI.

HAving thus ſubjugated the City, and purg'd the two Houſes at **Weſtminſter,** (as is already obſerved) they then put on a *Presbyterean*-cloak for a while; and under that diſguiſe, pretending their deſire to make peace with the King, preſented (*o*) him with the ſame *Propoſitions* (in effect) as he had formerly received from the Grandees at **Weſtminſter,** when he lay at **Newcaſtle,** in cuſtody of the Scots

(*o*) 7. Septem. Perfect Diurnal p. 1727.

Whereunto he made anſwer (*p*); that *unto ſome of them he could not conſent without violation of his Conſcience and Honour: nor to ſome others, for that they were diſagreeable to the preſent condition of affairs as things then ſtood, and deſtructive to the main and principal Intereſts of the Army, and of all thoſe whoſe affections concurr'd with them:* And therefore deſired that the *Propoſals of the Army might be likewiſe treated on, in order to the ſetling of a laſting peace*; ſtill urging his deſires of a *perſonal Treaty.*

(*p*) 9. Sept. *Ibid.*

But to this, vouchſafing him no reply at all, they caſt off that veile and proceeded yet farther in brideling the City, by Impeaching (*q*) the Lord Mayor, divers Aldermen, and ſome eminent Citizens, for having an Hand in the *Petition, Engagement,* and *Force upon the Houſe of Commons* upon the xxvi th. of *July* beforemention'd; who were thereupon committed (*r*) to the Tower.

(*q*) 24. Sept. Perfect Diurnal p. 1748.

(*r*) 25. Sept. *Ibid.*

*Anno* 1647. About this time alſo, for the better encouragement of thoſe that had a mind to buy *Biſhops Lands*, they paſſed an Ordinance (†) whereby the Purchaſers were promiſed to have their Bargains comfirm'd under the great Seal of **England.** And to the end that the multitude of Wild-headed Schiſmaticks (Limbs of this monſtrous *Independent*-Body) whoſe help they might need at a deſperate pinch, might propagate the more throughout all parts of the Nation, a Petition (*t*) was fram'd, and Subſcriptions got to it, by many thouſands of the Godly-party in the City of **London,** and preſented to the Houſes at **Weſtminſter,** *for ſending of able gifted men* (as they call'd them) *though not of the Clergy* to preach the Goſpel *throughout the whole Kingdome.* Whereupon Thanks (*v*) was return'd to the Petitioners, by the Houſes.

† 23. Sept. *Scob. coll.* p. 133.

‡ 6. Oct. Perfect Diurnal p. 1761.

* *Ib.*

About this time likewiſe an *Ordinance* was brought (*x*) in to the Houſe of Commons, for ſetling the Church-Government, in a *Presbyterean-way*, with a Clauſe *for tender Conſciences, and ſuch as were Godly, and made Conſcience of their ways.* Wherein, upon large debate had, it was reſolved (*y*), that all manner of Sects ſhould partake of this Indulgence, excepting thoſe of the *Church of Rome*, and ſuch (*z*) as ſhould make uſe of the *Common-prayer*, according to Law eſtabliſht in the Church of **England.**

y *Ib.* p. 1770.

z *Ib.* p. 1772.

It is not the leaſt obſervable; that, as at this time the *Independent* Grandees were laying the foundation of their own future dominion: So the *Presbyterean* Brethren, though then under Hatches, were as buſy, as in ſuch a condition was poſſible; ſetting on the old-*Covenanters* in **Scotland** to make a loud noiſe, as appears by a Letter (*a*) from their Commiſſioners (then reſiding at **Weſtminſter**) ſent to the two Houſes of Parliament, chiefly concerning their *Lord and Sovereign the King* (for ſo they call'd him) wherein they took notice, that he was ſtill under the power of the Army; and of the many *Profeſſions* and *Engagements* made by the ſaid Houſes to the Kingdome of **Scotland**; viz. *that they would take care of the preſervation of his perſon, and of his juſt Power and Greateneſs, which both Kingdomes had*

a 6. Nov. *Ib.* p. 1796.

*had ſworn* (as that Letter did import) *not to diminiſh.* *Alſo, that they were Informed of ſome intentions by the Army, to remove His Majeſty from* **Hampton-Court.** *And finding that their ſtability and happineſs did ſo much depend upon the ſafety and preſervation of his royal perſon; being reſolv'd that the alteration of affairs, ſhould never ſeparate them from the duty and allegiance they did owe unto him; nor from their conſtant reſolution to live in all loyalty under his Government; they had often ſhewn their earneſt deſires, and contributed their utmoſt endeavours, towards the compoſure of thoſe unhappy differences.* And, *that the Houſes at* **Weſtminſter,** *having by their Votes of October the xxvith. intimated unto them their reſolution to apply themſelves to His Majeſty: as alſo, that they were preparing* Propoſitions *to be tendred to him; they deſired that they might be expedited, and communicated to them; that, according to their many Engagements, and relations, there might ſtill be a conjunction of Councils in thoſe things which were for the Common-peace, and joynt Intereſt of both Kingdomes: And therefore, that for the aſſiſting of them, in clearing His Majeſtie's doubts, and for giving mutual ſatisfaction to each other; they deſired, in the name of the Kingdome of* **Scotland,** *that there might be a* Perſonal Treaty with His Majeſty, *as the beſt and readyeſt means to obtain the joynt deſires of both Kingdomes: And, to that end, that the King might be invited to come to* **London,** *with that Honour, Freedome and reſpect, as was due to His Majeſty; or at leaſt, remain at* **Hampton-Court,** *and not to be under the power and reſtraynt of the Souldiers.* Anno 1647.

But this project of the Scots for a *Perſonal Treaty*, which might in any ſort tend to the good of His Majeſty or the people, was then ſet on foot too late; the Grandees of the Army, at that time driving on another deſigne, in order to his abſolute deſtruction; wherein the common Souldiers were to act their parts, by thoſe pernicious Inſtruments, called *Adjutators:* which was by making ſhew to frame certain Articles, in order for ſetling the Liberties of the people, and Intereſt of the Army; and this to be called *the Agreement of the people.* The agreement of the people.

Anno 1647. To which end they chang'd their Guards; putting ſuch upon him as were more ſtrict, and diſcharging well nigh all his Servants, whom they had formerly admitted to wait on him. The tenor of which Inſtrument, called *the Agreement of the people* was to this effect.

1. That there ſhould be a more equal diſtribution, by *Counties*, *Cities* and *Boroughs*, for election of their Repreſentatives in Parliament.

2. That the Parliament, then ſitting, ſhould be diſſolved upon the laſt day of *September*, *anno* 1648. then next enſuing.

3. That the people might, of courſe, chooſe a Parliament for themſelves every two year; and to begin on the firſt Thurſday in *April*, then next following, and to end upon the laſt of *September* enſuing.

[b] *Ib.* p. 1799. 4. That (*b*) the people were thenceforth to be declared the *Supream-power*, whereunto that, and all future *Repreſentatives* ſhould be ſubordinate and accountable.

This not pleaſing the Members at **Weſtminſter**, was by them voted to be the very deſtruction of the Parliament, and fundamental Laws of this Kingdome; But no leſs active were they themſelves (though in private) in framing an Impeachment againſt the King, by the name of *Charles Stuart*; a Committee being appointed to collect together all His Majeſtie's Letters, and other Papers taken at **Naſeby**, or elſewhere; to the end they might be ready, when the Houſe ſhould have occaſion to uſe them: Yet all this while *Cromwell* (who was the very Soul of that party) did ſo play the Ambodexter, that he ſometimes made ſhew to the King, how well he was pleaſed with his late Anſwer to thoſe *Propoſitions* from the Houſes at **Weſtminſter**, in that he ſeemed more to approve of the Armies *Propoſals*, than thoſe from thence: At other, heightning the Grandees there, by all the ſubtilties imaginable againſt His Majeſtie's Anſwer: But privately ſpurring on the Agitators to the greateſt fierceneſs that might be: yet whiſpering

whiſpering to the King ſuch a fear of their unrulyneſs, as that His Majeſty ſtood in no little danger to be clandeſtinely murthered by the Hand of ſome hot-ſpirited Enthuſiaſt. *Anno* 1647.

## CHAP. XXVII.

AND here to enlarge a little farther upon this grand Impoſtor *Cromwell* (from the relation of a perſon of credit, who was at that time a confident of his) I ſhall obſerve; that when the King was on the way from **Holdenby** with that body of Horſe commanded by *Joyce* (as before hath been obſerved) the Head-Quarters of the Army were at **Kenton** in **Cambridg-ſhire**, about three miles from **Newmarket**, where *Fairfax* the General, being walkt out with one of his Officers, having ſpeedy advertiſement thereof, by one that came with all poſſible haſt from thence, he preſently returned back to the Town, where he found *Cromwell* and *Watſon* a Scout-maſter (immediately come from the Parliament) newly alighted off their Horſes.

To whom imparting the News, *Cromwell* ſeeming not a little ſurpriſed therewith, abſolutely diſſavowed any knowledge thereof: but forthwith concluded with the General to diſpatch a ſpecial Meſſenger preſently away, to prevent His Majeſtie's being brought to the Army. Whereupon the Meſſenger, haſting away with that errand, met the King about two miles from **Childerley**, and there acquainting His Majeſty that the General and Lieutenant General thought it not ſafe, that he ſhould at that time come to **Kenton** or **Newmarket**, adviſed for the preſent, that he ſhould lodge at **Childerley**, where the Lady *Cutts* then lived, and had fit accommodation for him. Which being, by His Majeſty aſſented to, he reſted there that night.

Anno 1647. Whereupon *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* coming thither on the next day, and behaving themſelves with all obſequiouſneſs to him; he askt them by whoſe authority he was thus taken from **Holdenby**, the Commiſſioners which were put there as a Guard upon him, knowing nothing from their Maſters at **Weſtminſter** of any Order for the ſame. Whereunto they anſwered, that it was not by any direction from either of them; and with no little confidence ſeemed to diſlike the Action. To whom the King replyed; *If then you do not hang up* Joyce, *I will not believe you*; deſiring to go to his own Houſe at **Newmarket**, whereunto they aſſented; and uſing very large expreſſions of fidelity to him, removed His Majeſty thither, within few days after.

There it was that *Cromwell* firſt gave him hopes of his reſtoration, and that he would be cordially inſtrumental therein; and, as an earneſt thereof permitted divers of his own truſty Servants and Chaplains to come and ſerve him in their reſpective places: All which had been formerly denyed him, as well by thoſe Parliament-Commiſſioners who were placed over him upon his remove from **Newcaſtle**, as by the Scots for the time he was in their Hands.

After which being carryed from place to place (as hath been already obſerved) he was brought at length to **Hampton-Court**, and continually fed with fair promiſes, and great hopes by *Cromwell*, that he ſhould be reſtored to his juſt rights; Commiſſary-general *Ireton* (who had marryed *Cromwell*'s daughter, and had the moſt power with him of any, as is well known) being totally averſe to the *Presbyterean-government*, which the then predominant party in Parliament had reſolved to ſet up: Boldly expreſſing at **Colebrooke** (but in private) ſo great an indignation againſt it, and ſuch an intire affection to the King, out of a ſeeming hearty ſenſe of his patient ſufferings and unparalled condiſcenſions; *that rather than His Majeſty ſhould continue thus enſlaved by that vile party, if but five men would joyn with him, he would adventure his life in order to his reſtoration*; *Cromwell* himſelf, having for the ſame reaſons afterwards at **Putney**, ſolemnly profeſſed;

profeſſed; that *if but ten men would ſtick to him, he would hazard his life and fortune for him upon the ſame ſcore*, or words to that effect. Anno 1647.

Being thus at **Hampton-Court**, where the like unreaſonable and enſlaving *Propoſitions* were brought to him from the Members at **Weſtminſter**, as he had received from them when he was at **Newcaſtle** and **Holdenby**, having no ſmall hopes of his reſtoration, through the power of *Cromwell*, who had the greateſt influence on the Army: and being well aware that the predominant party in Parliament did ſtill ayme at the eſtabliſhing themſelves in a perpetual dominion: as alſo, that, in order thereto they did reſolve ſo to garble the Army, according to their own Intereſt, ſo that the ſtrength thereof might be broke in pieces, and a new modell ſet up, conſiſting of thoſe, who ſhould hold firm to the *Covenant*; His Majeſty plainly foreſeeing how deſtructive this muſt needs be, not onely to himſelf and his royal family, but to Monarchick government, thought fit in his Anſwer to thoſe their *Propoſals*, to take care of the Armies intereſt, which he then lookt upon as the better friends to himſelf and the publick.

But before he would fully reſolve what Anſwer to make, call'd that perſon to him from whom I had this relation, (he being a great officer under *Cromwell*, and in much eſteem with him;) and told him he muſt reſolve him a ſhort Queſtion; which was, whether he could aſſure him, that *Cromwell* was the ſame in his Heart to him, as he had by his Tongue ſo freely and frequently profeſſed himſelf to be. At which Queſtion that perſon being not a little ſtartled; and fearing the danger of an uncertain and unſafe Anſwer, intreated reſpite till the next day at Noon. Which being given him, he went privily that night to *Cromwell*, then in bed at **Putney**; and acquainting him freely with the occaſion of coming to him at ſuch a time, *Cromwell* in brief aſſured him, that he did really and uprightly intend from his Heart, to perform the ſame to his utmoſt, which he had formerly ſo often profeſſed to His Majeſty that he would do; which was the full reſtoring and eſtabliſhing

Anno 1647. bliſhing him in his juſt and lawful rights: imprecating, that neither himſelf, his wife or children might ever proſper, if he did not perform what he had ſo promiſed, in caſe the Army remained an Army: and if not they were obliged to fall with him: and that he would ſtand by him if there were but ten men beſides that would adhere to him, with moſt bitter reflections upon that rigid party in Parliament, which by their *Presbyterean* principles and practiſes did meerly deſign to enſlave him.

But notwithſtanding all this aſſurance, that perſon was ſo cautious, that he conditioned with *Cromwell*, that, if any thing ſhould thenceforth happen, which might hinder the real accompliſhment of this his fair deſign, that His Majeſty might have timely notice thereof, to the end he might endeavour to avoid the danger, which being aſſented to, he return'd to His Majeſty with a cheerful countenance (not at all ſuſpecting the leaſt to the contrary) and imparted to him the ſubſtance of what had then paſſed betwixt them. Whereupon the King, framing his Anſwer to thoſe *Propoſals* from the Parliament (ſo brought to him as aboveſaid) ſent it by the ſame perſon to *Cromwell* and *Ireton* to be peruſed, with liberty to add or alter what they ſhould think fit. Which being done by them, and returned to His Majeſty, he wrote it a new and ſent it to **Weſtminſter.**

But ſee now the horrid perfidiouſneſs of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. No ſooner was this candid and gracious Anſwer from the King Imparted to the Houſe of Commons, but that both of them appeared with the higheſt in their bitter invectives againſt it. The News whereof being forthwith brought to the King, he call'd for the perſon, who had been ſo lately with *Cromwell*, and acquainting him therewith, ſent him back to *Cromwell* to require a reaſon thereof. Whoſe anſwer was, that what he had then ſaid in the Houſe of Commons, was to ſound the depth of thoſe virulent humours, wherewith the *Presbytereans*, whom he knew to be no friends to the King were poſſeſs'd with all: But after that time he never came more to His Majeſty.

That

That perſon therefore, whom the King had ſo imployed to *Cromwell*, obſerving thus much, made it his chief buſineſs to find out the Councils and deſigns of the principal Officers of the Army at **Putney**: and diſcerning at length how dangerous they were in reference to His Majeſty, gave him private Advertiſement thereof, to the end he might conſider which way beſt to preſerve himſelf. Whereupon, reſolving to get privately from **Hampton-Court** to the City of **London**, the ſame perſon (ſo imploy'd as aboveſaid) undertook to find him out a ſecure lodging there: and, accordingly leaving him, did provide ſuch a one; His Majeſty determining, that ſo ſoon as he ſhould get ſafe thither, to let him have knowledg thereof. *Anno* 1647.

And now at length, being fully ſenſible of what he had ſo long feared: which was, that notwithſtanding his own clear and candid dealing with them in all reſpects; and that he did ſo far rely upon them, that he had ſtrictly prohibited all thoſe of his faithful ſubjects, who had ſerved in his Armys, that they ſhould not joyn with the Scots, in caſe they ſhould raiſe any forces in order to his pretended reſtoration, as *Cromwell* ſeem'd to ſuſpect that they might (though nothing leſs would have been the effects thereof, conſidering they ſtuck ſo cloſe to their *ſolemn League and Covenant:*) he was to expect no better than deſtruction and ruine to himſelf and his poſterity, and abſolute ſlavery to all his good Subjects; he cauſed a Boat to be privately brought to the River-ſide; and upon the eleventh of *November*, about the beginning of the night, went alone from the Privy-lodgings, through a Door where no Guard ſtood, into the Park; and ſo croſſing the **Thames** landed at **Ditton**; where Sir *John Berkley* (afterwards Lord *Berkley*) Mr. *John Aſhburnham* and Colonel *William Legg* (ſometime Groomes of his Bedchamber) were placed with Horſes.

The King went from *Hampton-Court* towards the Iſle of *Wight*, 11. Novem.

But ſo it hapned, that when the King was got on Shore, and had ſtay'd ſome time for them, Mr. *Aſhburnham* diſwaded him from going to **London**, and led him into **Hantſhire**, where His Majeſty demanding of him, to what place he intended to conduct him;

Anno 1647. him; he anſwered into the Iſle of Wight, whereof Colonel *Hamond* was then Governour, in whom Mr. *Aſhburnham* had no little confidence.

To which His Majeſty replyed, that he would not adventure himſelf thither; unleſs he might have ſufficient aſſurance, under the Governour's hand, for his ſecurity from any danger; and thereupon ſent Mr. *Aſhburnham* and Sir *John Berkley* into the Iſle, to treat with *Hamond* to that purpoſe, ſtaying himſelf at Tichfield-*houſe* (belonging to the Earl of Southampton) with Colonel *Legg*, till they returned: ſtrictly charging them, that they ſhould not let *Hamond* know where he was, unleſs he would give him full aſſurance under his Hand, for his freedome, and return thence when he pleaſed.

But, inſtead of obſerving theſe His Majeſtie's directions, they came back, and brought *Hamond* with them. And being come to Tichfield, went to the King (then in his Bed-chamber) leaving *Hamond* below, telling His Majeſty what they had done; whereat the King, being not a little amazed, askt them if they had a promiſe under *Hamond*'s hand, for his ſecurity; and they replying No, but that he would approve himſelf a man of Honour, He plainly told them, that they had betray'd him, or words to that purpoſe, concluding then, that he was no better than his priſoner.

Which ſharp reſentment of his condition, touch't them ſo neer, that they offer'd to kill *Hamond*, and take ſome other courſe for His Majeſtie's ſafety. But to this their vain propoſal the King did utterly refuſe to aſſent, rather chooſing to yeild up himſelf a Sacrifice (as he afterwards was made) to thoſe bloud-thirſty-men, who had reſolved his deſtruction, and ſubverſion of the Government, than to be guilty of aſſenting to take away the life of that one Rebel in cold bloud. And putting himſelf thereupon into the hands of that unworthy perſon, was by him kept in no better condition than a priſoner, untill he was by his conſent taken away by the direction of *Cromwell*, and the reſt of thoſe bloudy Regicides, who brought him

to

to the Block, as we ſhall ſee anon. But I return. *Anno* 1647.

At his departure from **Hampton-Court** he left in his withdrawing-room a Letter directed to the Commiſſioners which attended him there, to be communicated to both Houſes of Parliament; the effect whereof was to tell them, *that he had with great patience endured a tedious reſtraint; which he did willingly undergo, whilſt he had any hopes that it might conduce to the peace of the Kingdoms: but then finding by too certain proofs, that this his continued patience, would not onely turn to his perſonal ruin, but be of much more prejudice than furtherance of the publick good; he did conceive, that he was bound, as well by natural as political obligations, to ſeek his ſafety, by retiring himſelf for ſome time from the publick view both of his friends and enemies: challenging the judgment of all indifferent men, if he had not juſt cauſe to free himſelf from the hands of thoſe* who did change their Principles with their condition; earneſtly urging, that all juſt Intereſts (viz. *Presbyterean*, *Independent*; *Army*, and *Scots*) might be heard, together with himſelf, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety: and then, that he would inſtantly break through that cloud of retirement, and ſhew himſelf to be really *Pater patriæ*.

In this Letter of his Majeſtie's (whoſe unparallel'd Sufferings had raiſed his Obſervations to an higher pitch than ſome who have been much magnified for their Wiſedom did ever reach) it is to be noted, that he ſaw *he had juſt cauſe to free himſelf from the Hands of thoſe who did change their principles with their condition.* Now, leſt this his expreſſion ſhould be thought to have reference meerly to the *Independents*, in whoſe power he then was; it will not be amiſs to conſider that Letter, written by the Commiſſioners of **Scotland** unto the two Houſes at **Weſtminſter**, dated the ſixth of *November*, then paſt, in reference to the King; together with that Anſwer of the Commiſſioners of the general Aſſembly of the Kirk, unto certain *Propoſals* made to them *anno* 1646. touching the King's coming into that Realm, upon his excluſion from the Government in **England**, in caſe of his

*Anno* 1647. leaving them without taking the *Covenant*, he being then at **Newcastle**, in custody of the dear Brethren of that Realm.

Being thus got away from **Hampton**-*Court*, he arrived (*d*) in the Isle of **Wight** upon the thirteenth of *November*: whence (incessantly desiring a safe and well-grounded Peace to these Kingdoms) he soon sent another Message to the Members at **Westminster**, wherein, to shorten that Work, he expressed his mind to this effect; viz. *That, conceiving himself to be at much more freedom and security than formerly, he thought it necessary to offer such Grounds to the two Houses for that purpose; which, upon due examination of all Interests, might best conduce thereto. And therefore, as to the abolishing of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. he could not consent to it, as he was a Christian and a King: first, being satisfied in his Judgment, that this Order was placed in the Church by the Apostles themselves; and, that ever since that time, it had continued in all Christian Churches throughout the World, till this last Century of years: And in this Church, in all times of Change and Reformation, it had been upheld by the wisedom of his Ancestors, as the great Preserver of* Doctrine, Discipline, *and* Order in the Service of God. *Next, as a King at his Coronation, that he had not onely taken a solemn Oath: but, that himself and his predecessors, in their confirmation of the great Charter, had inseperably woven the Right of the Church into the Liberties of the rest of the Subjects: Nevertheless was willing, that it should be provided, that the particular Bishops might perform the several Duties of their Callings, both by their personal Residence, and frequent Preaching in their Diocese; as also, that they should exercise no Act of Jurisdiction or Ordination without the consent of the Presbyters; and to limit their powers, that they might not be grievous to tender Consciences.*

*Moreover, that he could not consent to the Alienation of the Church-lands, it being a Sin of the highest Sacrilege; conceiving it also to be a prejudice to the publick good; many of his Subjects having the benefit of renewing Leases at much easier rates than if those Possessions were in the hands of private men; besides the discourage-*

*ment*

(*d*) 13. Nov. Perfect Diurnal, p. 1785.

Another message from the King to the Houses at *Westminster*.

*ment that it would be to all Learning and Induſtry, when ſuch eminent Rewards ſhall be taken away: yet, conſidering the great diſtemper concerning* Church-Diſcipline, *and that the* Presbyterean-Government *was then in practice; to eſchew confuſion as much as might be, and for ſatisfaction of the two Houſes of Parliament, was content, that the ſaid Government ſhould be legally permitted to ſtand in the ſame condition it then was for three years: Provided, that himſelf and thoſe of his Judgement (or any other, who could not in Conſcience ſubmit thereto) might not be obliged to comply therewith, but have free practice of their own profeſſion. And that a free Conſultation and Debate might be had with their Divines at* Weſtminſter *(twenty of his Majeſtie's nomination being added to them) whereby it might be determined by his ſaid Majeſty and the two Houſes, how the Church-Government, after that time, ſhould be ſetled, (or ſooner, if differences might be agreed) as ſhould be moſt agreeable to the Word of God; with full Liberty to all thoſe who ſhould differ upon conſciencious grounds from that ſettlement. Provided, that it might not be underſtood to tolerate thoſe of the Popiſh-profeſſion; nor to exempt thoſe from the penalty of the Laws, or tolerate* Atheiſm, *or* Blaſphemy. Anno 1647.

2. *As to the* Militia, *though it was undoubtedly the inherent right of the Crown: yet, to evidence his deſire to ſecure the performance of ſuch Agreement as ſhould be made in order to a Peace, his Majeſty was content, that, during his whole reign, it ſhould be diſpoſed of by his two Houſes of Parliament.*

3. *As to the Arrears of the Army, that he ſhould concur in any thing that might be done without violation of his Conſcience and Honour.*

4. *As to the Diſpoſal of the great Offices of State, and Naming of Privy-Councillers, he offered the diſpoſing of them, for the whole time of his reign, by the two Houſes of Parliament,*

5. *For the Court of Wards and Liveries, that it ſhould be taken away, ſo as a full recompence might be ſetled on his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors in perpetuity.*

6. *That he would conſent to the making of all Oaths,*

Anno 1647. *Declarations, and Proclamations, againſt both or either Houſe of Parliament null and void. So likewiſe of all Indictments and other proceedings againſt any perſon for adhering unto them. And that he would paſs a general Act of Oblivion.*

7. *That, for* Ireland, *he would give ſatisfaction to them.*

8. *That as to ſuch Acts and Grants paſſed under his great Seal ſince the 22th. of* May, 1642. *and confirming ſuch as had been paſſed under that, made by the two Houſes, he would give ſatisfaction in what might reaſonably be deſired.*

9. *That, for confirmation of all theſe and whatſoever elſe might be propoſed by the two Houſes; and alſo of what he ſhould propoſe on his own part, he did earneſtly deſire a* perſonal Treaty *at* **London**, *with Honour, Freedom and Safety.*

10. *And that the Propoſals of the Army, concerning the Succeſſion of Parliaments, and their due Elections ſhould be taken into conſideration.*

11. *So likewiſe that as to what concern'd the Kingdom of* **Scotland**, *he would apply himſelf to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction.*

After the ſending of this Meſſage by his Majeſty, the next thing obſervable that hapned, was a Petition (*f*), through the influence of the *Presbytereans*, preſented to the two Houſes at **Weſtminſter**, by the Common-Council of the City of **London**; acknowledging the Parliament (for by that Title they then call'd thoſe Members ſitting at **Weſtminſter**) to be the *Supream Power in this Kingdom:* and (*inter alia*) praying that the *Covenant* might be duly obſerved.

(*f*) 1. Decemb. Perfect Diurnal p. 1805.

No wonder then, that his Majeſtie's gracious Meſſage of *November* the xvjth. was ſo little regarded, as that he had no Anſwer at all thereto, upon the ſixth of *December* following, he therefore put them in mind (*g*) of it, ſtill preſſing for a *perſonal Treaty.*

(*g*) 6. Decem. *Ib.* p. 1838.

Whereunto, inſted of an Anſwer, they ſent him four Bills to be aſſented unto by him, as preparatory to a Treaty. Theſe were thoſe *four Dethroning Bills*, which, if paſſed into Acts, as they required, might have

The four Dethroning Bills.

have ſaved the labour of a Treaty. Unto which, for Anſwer, his Majeſty made theſe moſt prudent and rational Obſervations. Anno 1647.

1. *That the Commiſſioners of* **Scotland** *had openly proteſted againſt them.*

2. *To allow of that great Seal, made by them, without his authority, before conſideration ſhould be had thereupon in a Treaty, might afterwards hazard the ſecurity it ſelf.*

3. *That theſe Bills did not onely contain the deveſting himſelf of all Sovereignty, and that without poſſibility of recovering it, either to Himſelf, or his Succeſſors (except by Repeal of them:) but alſo, making his Conceſſions guilty of the greateſt Preſſures that could be upon his Subjects: as in other particulars; ſo by giving an arbitrary and unlimited Power to the two Houſes for ever, to raiſe and levy Forces for land or ſea ſervice, of what perſons (without diſtinction of quality) and to what numbers they ſhould pleaſe, and likewiſe for levying money for their Pay.*

So that theſe their Propoſals, being thus deſtructive to Himſelf and his Succeſſors, he (in that his Anſwer) declared; *That neither the deſire of being freed from that tedious and irkſome condition of life, he had ſo long ſuffered, nor the apprehenſion of what might befall him, in caſe they would not afford him a perſonal Treaty, ſhould make him change his reſolution, of not conſenting to any Act, till the whole Peace were concluded:* ſtill earneſtly preſſing for a perſonal Treaty with them.

It being now viſible enough, that *Independency* grew up every day more and more, *the Brethren of* **Scotland** became ſo ſenſible thereof; that the Aſſembly of Divines of that Kirk, wrote to thoſe ſitting at **Weſtminſter**; paſſionately deſiring them to adhere unto the *Covenant*, and conſtantly to endeavour the extirpation of Hereſie and Schiſm in the Church of **England.**

And, to ſecond that, came another Letter to the Members of both Houſes ſitting at **Weſtminſter**, from the Scotiſh-Commiſſioners, wherein was incloſed a large *Declaration*, in which are theſe Expreſſions.

—(h) *There*

Anno 1647.

h Ib. p. 1850.

---(h) *There be ſome things which properly concern the Kingdom of* **England**, *their* Rights, Laws, *and* Liberties: *But there be other matters, which in their own nature, as being common to both, or by* Covenant *or* Treaty *concern both Kingdoms; wherein, unleſs we ſhould forget our duty to God, to the King's Majeſty, to our native Kingdom, and to this Nation, our common Concernment and Intereſt cannot be denyed. For as* **Scotland** *was invited and engaged in this War, upon grounds and reaſons of common Intereſt: ſo we truſt it will not be offenſive, that in making Peace, we claim from the Houſes an improvement of the very ſame principles, and a performance of the Treaties they have made with us; that the ſame meaſure of conjunction of Intereſt be given to us, which was had of us, and promiſed unto us; wherein the very Law of Nations, and the Rules of common Equity, doth plead for us. Yet, in the application of this Rule, we ſhall not ſtretch our ſelves beyond our lines, the expreſs condition of our* Solemn League and Covenant, *the duty of our Allegeance, and the* Treaties *and* Declarations *between the Kingdoms; which are ſo many ſtrong Obligations, as all who have Honour or Conſcience muſt acknowledge ſhould be inviolably obſerved.*

*Having laid this, as a moſt juſt and ſolid ground of our proceedings, we ſhall ſpeak of the beſt and moſt probable means to procure a good agreement with the King, for ſetling* Religion *and a laſting peace: and next to the* Propoſitions *which are to be the foundation of the peace and ſafety of both Kingdoms. And it is ſtill our opinion and judgment, that the moſt equal, faireſt and juſt way, to obtain a well-grounded Peace, is by a* perſonal Treaty *with the King; and that his Majeſty, for that end, be invited to come to* **London**, *with Honour, Freedom, and Safety. And, as it is far from our thoughts and intentions, in expreſſing our differences upon the* Propoſitions, *to provoke or give offence: ſo we truſt, that our freedom, in diſcharge of the truſt committed to us, proceeding from our* Zeal to Religion, Loyalty to the King, *and* Love to Peace, *ſhall receive a candid interpretation from the honourable Houſes; and that they will, in their Wiſedoms, not ſlight the deſires of a Kingdom, who in the time*

time of England's greateſt danger, eſteemed no hazard too hard for their aſſiſtance; and are now ſeeking nothing but the performance of the mutual Obligations, Declarations and Treaties between the two Kingdomes; and to prevent the danger, which may enſue upon the violation and breach of ſo ſolemn Engagements. Anno 1647.

The Houſes of Parliament have frequently profeſſed, that the cheif end of their wars was the Reformation and Eſtabliſhment of Religion, according to the Covenant: and they have often promiſed and declared to the King, and to all the world (not without deep atteſtations of the name of God) that no trouble or ſucceſs, ſhould ever make them wrong or diminiſh the power of the Crown, which were the chief motives and arguments that induced Scotland to engage with them in this war. Let therefore that be given to God, which is God's, and to Cæſar that which is Cæſar's; whereby it may be evident, that you are not unmindfull of the ſolemn Vows you made to God in the time of diſtreſs, for Reformation of Religion; and it may alſo really appear, that the advantages and power, which ſucceſs hath put into your hands, hath not leſſened your loyalty to the King. And, according to our many profeſſions and near relations, let us really and cordially cheriſh and ſtrengthen the union between the two Kingdomes, under His Majeſty by all pledges of reciprocal kindneſs, that ſo Religion and Righteouſneſs may flouriſh, and both Kingdomes languiſhing under the heavy preſſures and calamities of an unnatural war, may live in peace and plenty.

As we cannot agree to this way of ſending thoſe four Bills to His Majeſty for his aſſent, before any Treaty upon the reſt of the Propoſitions: ſo we are extremely unſatisfied with the matter of thoſe new Propoſitions, lately communicated unto us, for the reaſons expreſſed in our anſwer unto them, which we do herewith deliver unto your Lordſhips to be preſented to both Houſes of Parliament. And we do deſire, that they would take the whole buſineſs into their farther conſideration, and that there be a perſonal Treaty, with His Majeſty here at London, upon ſuch Propoſitions, as ſhall be agreed upon, with advice and conſent of both Kingdomes, according to the Treaty.

Anno 1647.

*This in general was their* Declaration: *but the particular desires, which they exhibited, were these*; viz. *that the honourable Houses would establish* the solemn League and Covenant; *and that His Majesty be desired to give his royal assent for confirming the same by Act of Parliament. That the setling of* Reformation, *and an* uniformity in Religion, *in the Kingdomes of* England *and* Ireland, *be inserted in the new* Propositions: *And, in particular, that the* Confession, *the* Directory for worship, form of Church-Government, *and* Catechisme *agreed upon by the* Assembly of Divines, *be established: That effectual course be taken by Act of Parliament for the suppressing of* Blasphemy, Heresy *and* Schisme *and all scandalous Doctrines, and practises, as are contrary to the light of Nature, or to the known principles of Christianity, or the power of Godlinesse; or which may be destructive to order and Government; or to the peace of the Church or Kingdome.*

*That the Ordinances concerning the calling and sitting of the* Assembly of Divines, *be desired to be confirmed by Act of Parliament.*

*That the Proposition, for the confirmation of the* Treaties *betwixt the two Kingdomes, and the proceedings betwixt them, be expressed. And that Treaty for the return of the Scots Army of the date of* Decem. 23. 1646. *be inserted amongst the rest.*

*That His Majestie's assent be desired to what the two Kingdomes shall agree in the prosecution of the Articles of the large* Treaty, *which are not yet finished: and that all other things be inserted concerning the joynt Interest of both Kingdomes, or the Kingdome of* Scotland *in particular. That the Armies in both Kingdomes, which were raised for the* preservation of Religion, *and* defence of the King's person, *may be disbanded, now the war is ended, and have due satisfaction for their arrears. That speedy releif may be sent to* Ireland: *and that an Act of Oblivion may be agreed upon, to be passed in the Parliaments of both Kingdomes.*

*That His Majesty be restored to His Rights; and that in the* Propositions *a conclusion may be added; promising all real endeavour, that His Majesty may live in the splendor and glory of his royal progenitors, as beseemeth his royal place;*

*place; that ſo all differences and troubles may end in a mutual confidence and rejoycing.* Anno 1647.

Upon debate of which Meſſage from His Majeſty (*Nov.* 16.) and of that *Declaration* and thoſe *Propoſals* by the Scottiſh-Commiſſioners, the Houſe of Commons paſſed theſe following Votes (*i*).

[i] 3. Jan. Perfect Diurnal p. 1865.

1. *That no more addreſſes be made from the Parliament to the King; nor any Letters or Meſſage received from him.*

Vote of no more Addreſſes to the King.

2. *That it ſhould be Treaſon for any perſon whatſoever, to deliver any Meſſage to the King, or receive any Letter or Meſſage from him, without leave from both Houſes of Parliament.*

3. *That the Members of both Houſes, and the Committee of both Kingdomes, had power to ſit and act alone (as formerly the Committee of both Kingdomes had) for the ſafety of the Kingdome.*

4. *And, that a Committee ſhould be nominated to draw up a* Declaration *to be publiſhed, to ſatisfy the Kingdome of the reaſons of paſſing theſe Votes.*

To back which *Votes*, the General and Council of the Army, did put forth a *Declaration* (*k*), ſignifying their Reſolutions to adhere to the Houſes, for ſetling and ſecuring the Parliament and Kingdome, without the King, and againſt him, or any other, that ſhould thereafter partake with him. And ſent Thanks (*l*) to the Houſe of Commons for thoſe Votes.

[k] 11. Jan.

[l] 15. Jan. Hiſt. of Ind. P. 75.

To ſhew the people likewiſe, the Reaſons of thoſe four *Votes*, the Grandees at **Weſtminſter** appointed (*m*) a Committee to ſearch into the King's converſation, and errors of his Government, and to publiſh them in a *Declaration* to the World wherein they objected (as high crimes againſt him) his father's death, the loſs of **Rochell**, and the Maſſacre and Rebellion in **Ireland**. Which *Declaration* being printed by their authority, was afterwards ordered (*n*) to be diſperſed throughout the whole Kingdome, by the ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons, in thoſe Countries and places for which they did ſerve.

[m] *Ib.*

[n] 11. Feb.

Anno 1647.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

THE King therefore ſeeing himſelf thus layd aſide, penned a *Declaration* (o) with his own hand, for the ſatisfaction of all his people; which, ſoon after was made publick by the Preſs. Whereby, repreſenting his ſad and moſt diſconſolate condition, through a long and ſtrict Impriſonment, together with his earneſt endeavours to have compoſed all things by an happy peace; whereunto he added moſt juſt, cleer and undeniable Reaſons, why he could not aſſent to paſs thoſe *four dethroning Bills* before-mentioned: farther ſhewed what uſage he had endured by Colonel *Hamond* the Governour, in whoſe cuſtody he then was; moſt of his ſervants being by him diſcharg'd, the Guards redoubled, and himſelf reſtrain'd of that Liberty, which before he had been allowed. Appealing alſo to the world, how he had deſerved that dealing from his ſubjects; having ſacrificed to them, for the peace of the Kingdome, all, but what was much more dear to him than his life; *viz.* his *Conſcience* and *Honour*: and, deſiring nothing more than to perform it, in the moſt proper and uſual way; *viz.* by a *perſonal Treaty.*

(o) 18. Jan.

Taking notice likewiſe of the often repeated profeſſions, and Engagements made to him by the Army, at **Newmarket** and St. **Albans**, for aſſerting his juſt Rights in General, by their voted and revoted *Propoſals*, which he had reaſon to underſtand ſhould be the utmoſt that would be expected from him: yea that in ſome things he ſhould be eaſed. And concluded; that, if it were peace they deſired, he had ſhewed the way thereto (being both willing and deſirous to perform his part in it) by a juſt complyance with all cheif Intereſts.

Was it plenty and Happineſs? Thoſe were the inſeperable effects of peace. Was it *ſecurity?* His Majeſty who wiſht that all men would forgive and forget like him,

him, did offer the *Militia* for his own time. Was it *Liberty of Conſcience?* He who wanted it, was moſt ready to give it. Was it *right adminiſtration of Juſtice?* Officers of Truſt, were referred to the choyſe of the two Houſes. Was it *frequent Parliaments?* He had legally and fully concurred therewith. Was it the *Arrears of the Army?* Upon a ſettlement, he told them that they would be certainly payd, with much eaſe; but before that there would be found much difficulty, if not impoſſibility in it. *Anno* 1647.

But all this was then to no purpoſe: for having got the power of the Sword into their hands, the Voice of an Angel from Heaven, could have been nothing regarded: for on they went with their great worke; In order whereunto a Pamphlet was publiſht by authority (that is to ſay licenſed by a publick *Imprimatur*) where the Prophet *Ezekiel* (*p*) was produced to diſcover what they intended----*Thus ſaith the Lord God, concerning the prophane wicked Prince whoſe day is come, when Iniquity ſhall end. Remove the Diadem. Take off the Crown: This ſhall not be the ſame. Exalt him that is low and abaſe him that is high.*

[p] *Ezekiel*, cap. 21. verſ. 25, 26, & 27.

And to cajole the *Presbyterean* (having formerly ſecured themſelves from the reach of their Holy Diſcipline) they paſſed an *Ordinance* (*q*), for the ſpeedy dividing and ſetling the ſeveral Counties of this Kingdome, into diſtinct *Claſſical-Presbyteries*, and *Congregational Elderſhips*. And, deſiring to ſeem men of the greateſt Sanctity imaginable, they conſtituted (*r*) a *Committee, for the enumeration of great crying ſins*; appointing that they ſhould daily meet, and do their utmoſt endeavour to ſuppreſs them: And paſſed another *Ordinance* (†) for ſuppreſſing of *Stage-plays*, and demoliſhing *Play-Houſes*.

[q] 29. Jan. *Scob. coll.* p. 139.

[r] Weekly Intelligencer. p. 824.

† 11. Feb. *Scob. Col.* p. 143.

But all theſe devices were meerly circumſtantial; thoſe which more immediately tended to the carrying on their grand work, being the chief; *viz.* the approbation which the people then had (or ſeem'd to have) of their *Votes for no more Addreſſes to the King*. Towards the obtaining whereof, having been not a little ſollicitous, they imploy'd their moſt buſy Emiſſaries, and

*Anno* 1647. confiding-friends in all parts of the Realm. Who acted for them ſo vigouroufly; as that, from **Taunton** (a populous corporation in *Somerſetſhire*) they had very great Thanks for the ſame. So likewiſe from the Godly-party in *Buckinghamſhire* (*t*); who alſo, made large promiſes to adhere to, and ſtand by them in the farther proſecution thereof, to the utmoſt of their abilities, againſt all oppoſers: deſiring, that they would proceed to a ſpeedy ſetling of the civil Government, in ſuch a way as might beſt conduce to the freedome and happineſs of this Nation: and that they would put forth their power, for promoting of *Religion* according to the word of God: to give due encouragement to all Godly and able Miniſters; to caſt out ſuch as were ſcandalous, and unfit for the work of the Miniſtry: and to be tender of the Conſciences of ſuch, whoſe converſations were, as becometh the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.

*t* 9. March. Weekly Intelligencer p. 868. Hiſt. of Ind. p. 91.

For which the Petitioners had not onely thanks thereupon rendred unto them, for their conſtant affections to the Parliament: but an order was forthwith made; that the Petition ſhould be printed, to the end that the world might take notice of the ſingular affections of the Petitioners; and that they might be an example for other Counties of the Kingdome.

*Anno* 1648. Which tranſactions here, ſo awakened the Brethren of **Scotland**; that ſeeing no good could be effected by words, they reſolv'd to diſpute the buſineſs otherwiſe, and therefore agreed of rayſing an Army. But the general *Aſſembly of that Kirk*, endeavouring to oppoſe them therein, the eſtates of Parliament there declared (*v*), that the breaches of the *Covenant* and *Treaties* ſhould be repreſented, and reparations ſought for the ſame. Next, that the War which they were to make with **England**, ſhould be for ſtrengthning the Union betwixt the two Kingdomes, and encouraging the *Presbytereans* and well affected there. Moreover, that they would declare His Majeſtie's conceſſions concerning Religion, not to be ſatisfactory. And that whereas *Religion* had been, and they truſted ſhould be, the principal end of all their undertakings; ſo they would

*v* ... April. Perfect Diurnal p. 1978.

would be carefull, that the then preſent queſtion to be ſtated, ſhould contain ſecurity and aſſurance, to be had from His Majeſty, by his ſolemn Oath, under his hand and Seal, that he ſhould, for himſelf, and for his ſucceſſors, give his royal aſſent, to paſs Acts of Parliament, injoyning the *League* and *Covenant*; eſtabliſhing *Presbyterial Government*, the *Directory for Worſhip*, and *Confeſſion of Faith*, in all his Dominions: and that he ſhould never make oppoſition to any of theſe, nor endeavour any change thereof: As alſo, that this ſecurity ſhould be had from him before his reſtitution to the exerciſe of his royal power. *Anno* 1648.

All this notwithſtanding, the *Kirk* was not one jot ſatisfied: but earneſtly urged (x), *that the Parliament ſhould declare againſt His Majeſtie's conceſſions, poſitively, without any condition, and preſently without delay*; they being (as they expreſt) ſo prejudicial to the *Cauſe* and *Covenant*. (x) *Ib.* p. 1979.

And when they diſcerned, that Forces were levying throughout that Kingdome, they ſo much feared, that His Majeſty and his good Subjects might receive any benefit thereby; that they did put up a large *Petition* to the Parliament there: wherein they earneſtly deſired (y) the Lords, as they would anſwer the contrary at the great day of Judgment, that they would not proceed ſo, as to give any encouragement unto the *prelatical* or *malignant party* in **England**, nor be any grief to the *Presbyterean Party*; *nor to reſtore the King, untill he had reſolved the ſettlement of Presbytery, and that what they intended on the King's behalf, might be with ſubordination to thoſe ends expreſt in the* Covenant. (y) *Ib.* p. 1994.

Whereupon the Parliament there, declared (z), that they would be ſo far from joyning, or aſſociating with the *popiſh*, *prelatical*, or *maligiuant-party*, if they ſhould again riſe in Arms, either to oppoſe or obſtruct all or any of the ends of the *Covenant*; that, on the contrary they would oppoſe, and endeavour to ſuppreſs them, as Enemies to the *Cauſe* and *Covenant* on the other ſide. (z) *Ibid.*

Like-

Anno 1648. Likewiſe, that in regard His Majeſtie's late conceſſions and offers concerning *Religion*, were not ſatisfactory: and that the principal ends of all the undertakings of that Nation, had been, and they hoped ſhould be, to ſee *Religion* in the firſt place ſetled: and that, as they ſhould endeavour the reſcuing of His Majeſty from thoſe, who malitiouſly carryed him away from **Holdenby**-*Houſe* againſt his own will, and the declared reſolutions of both Kingdomes, and did ſtill detein him cloſe priſoner, to the end he might come, with honour, freedome and ſafety, to ſome of his Houſes in or about **London**, where both Kingdomes might make their application to him, for ſetling of *Religion*, and a well grounded Peace: So they did reſolve, not to put in His Majeſtie's hands, or in any other whatſoever, ſuch power, whereby the ends of the *Covenant*, or any one of them might be obſtructed, or oppoſed; *Religion*, or *Presbyterean-Government* endangered: but, on the contrary, that before any Agreement ſhould be made, His Majeſty ſhould give aſſurance, under his ſolemn Oath, and under his Hand and Seal; that he ſhould, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, give his Royal aſſent and agreement to ſuch Act or Acts of Parliament, of both, and either Kingdomes reſpectively, for enjoyning *the League and Covenant*, and fully eſtabliſhing *Presbyterean-Government*, *Directory for Worſhip*, and *Confeſſion of Faith* in all his Dominions; and that he ſhould never make oppoſition to any of theſe; nor endeavour any thing thereof.

Moreover, that if any war ſhould be made; as it ſhould be on juſt and neceſſary grounds; ſo did they reſolve, to give the truſt and charge of their Armies and Committees to none, but ſuch as ſhould be, and were of known integrity, and againſt whom there was no juſt cauſe of exception.

Alſo, that the Parliament was willing to ſubſcribe, for the grounds of their undertaking an Oath; wherein, both in the framing of it, and otherwiſe, they were willing the Church ſhould have intereſt, as had been in the like caſe. And, that the reſolutions of the Parliament thereupon might be the more effectual, and

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in regard of the then preſent condition of affairs, it was their opinion, that the Kingdome of **Scotland** ſhould be put in a *Poſture of Defence*, as it was in the year 1643. And, like as they had drawn that *Act of Poſture*; which being allow'd in Parliament, and ſent to the Shires, they thought it fit time to ſend their demands to the Parliament of **England**; and that ſome diſcreet man ſhould be ſent with the ſame, and a limited time appointed for his return with anſwer. *Anno* 1648. Poſture of Defence.

¶ I ſhall not ſtand here to give inſtance of ſuch particulars, as further happened betwixt the Grandees at **Weſtminſter**, and the Scots, upon this buſineſs: for all thoſe paſſages were to no other end, than by thus fencing with each other, to prevent any cenſure in their reſpective Actings; and conſequently, to obtain the peoples aſſiſtance upon occaſion. For in ſhort, the ſtate of the buſineſs ſtood thus; the *Independents* of the Army, to gain the whole and abſolute power of rule into their hands, having printed and publiſhed ſeveral *Declarations*, *Remonſtrances*, *Manifeſtos* and *Propoſals*; beſides Petitions of their own framing (whereunto they got ſubſcriptions in many places) inſinuating to the people their willingneſs to redreſs publick Greivances, to be the Reſtorers of Peace, the Laws and Liberties of the Subject; to be ſetlers of *Religion*, maintainers of the *priviledges of Parliament*; Callers to accompt of all Committees, Sequeſtrators, Treaſurers, *&c.* and to be their deliverers from *Exciſe*, and other Taxes; but, above all, preſervers of all true Intereſts; *Reſtorers of the King* to his juſt Rights and Prerogatives, with Honour, Freedom and Safty to his perſon; without which, they profeſſed *there could be no ſetled peace or happineſs in this Nation*. And, in purſuance of their undertakings, having made Addreſſes to His Majeſty, with more tolerable overtures, than any that he could obtain from the Members, ſitting at **Weſtminſter**; they, after a while, made private propoſals to him, ſutable meerly to their own Intereſts, but wholy derogatory to his Regal power, the *Religion* eſtabliſhed by Law; as alſo to the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the Subject. Whereunto, when they ſaw, that the King could not, with

*Anno* 1648. his Conſcience and Honour aſſent, they enterteined new deſigns againſt his Perſon and Government, uſhering them in by the help of a *Levelling-party*; who in purſuance thereof, obtruded clamourous *Petitions* againſt any farther *Treaty* with His Majeſty, and demanded exemplary Juſtice from the Members at **Weſtminſter** againſt him; which, through the influence that the Army had on them (conſidering how the Houſes had been garbled) were entertain'd with Thanks.

Hiſtory of Independencie part 2. p. 5.

Hence was it, that when thoſe *Propoſitions* of 13. *Nov. anno* 1647. were brought into the Houſe from His Majeſty, whereby he preſſed them ſo earneſtly for a *perſonal Treaty*, the *four Dethroning Bills* were ſent to him, to be firſt ſigned, before they would admit thereof: And, upon his refuſal to yield unto them; thoſe *Deſtructive Votes*, of *no more Addreſſes* to him were paſſed.

The miſerable condition of his Majeſty, and in him of all his loyal Subjects being therefore thus evidently ſeen by moſt men, who beheld nothing but ſlavery and oppreſſion, thenceforth to be their portion; did ſo awaken them; that from *Eſſex* there came a *Petition* by many thouſands, to the Members at **Weſtminſter**, for a *perſonal Treaty* with the King, as the moſt proper means to a well grounded peace. After that, another from (*a*) *Surrey*, a multitude of that County, accompanying it to **Weſtminſter.** Which reliſht ſo ill with the Grandees, that they ſent the Guards to beat them away; whereupon divers were wounded and ſome ſlain.

(*a*) 16. May.

Nor had the *Kentiſh-men* better ſucceſs: for, having by their Grand Jury, in the name of the whole Shire, fram'd a petition for peace; the Committee of that County, being jealous, that the people would take Heart thereat, prohibited (*b*) the ſame, by printed papers, publiſhed in all the Churches; branding it to be *ſeditious* and *tumultuous*; ſaying, *that they would hang up two in every Pariſh, that were promoters of it, and ſequeſter the reſt.*

(*b*) Hiſtory of Independencie part 1. p. 95.

And, when the people, ſeeing themſelves oppoſed in that their modeſt way of Application, reſolved of farther con-

conſideration therein, by a general meeting, and to come arm'd for their own defence; a party of Horſe was firſt ſent in amongſt them; and afterwards the whole Army (under the Command of their General *Fairfax*,) whereupon ſome of them fled into **Eſſex**, where Sir *Charles Lucas* and divers of that County joyned with them; as alſo the Lord **Capell** at **Colcheſter**, with ſome Horſe which neceſſitating the reſt, for their own defence to make to **Sandwich** and ſome Caſtles on the coaſt thereabouts; the Army advanc't after, ſlew and took divers of them priſoners, and ſequeſtred the eſtates of all that deſired peace; *Weever* (a hot-headed *Independent*) having (*c*) mov'd in the Houſe of Commons, *that all* **Kent** *might be ſequeſtred, becauſe they had rebell'd; and all* **Eſſex** *becauſe they would rebel.* *Anno* 1648.

(*c*) *Ib.* p. 97.

But, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of their Army, and ſeverity againſt thoſe, who did not ſubmit to their oppreſſive power; the Scots, having rays'd an Army, which was then ready to march into **England**, in purſuance of the ends of the *Covenant* (as hath been obſerved) there were many others in ſundry parts of the Nation, as well *Presbytereans* as *Royaliſts*, diſcerning no better fruits to themſelves of thoſe ſucceſſes, which the *Independents* then had, than oppreſſion and ſlavery; boldly made attempts, in order to the reſcue of His Majeſty out of their cruel hands, and to free the whole Kingdome from their farther Tyranny.

Of theſe, the firſt was by Sir *Nicholas Kemiſh*, who got (*a*) with ſome forces into **Chepſtow**-caſtle. The next was that of the valiant Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who ſhortly after ſurprized (*b*) the ſtrong town of **Barwick**. After this, Col. *Laughorn*, *Poyer* and *Powell*, having rayſed eight thouſand men in *Pembroke-ſhire*, ſecured **Tenby**-caſtle, with the town and caſtle of **Pembroke**; and declared (*c*) in thoſe parts for the ſettlement of the King and Kingdome. Sir *Philip Muſgrave* alſo, upon the like fair hopes, took (*d*) **Carliſle**. About the ſame time (*) likewiſe, part of the royal Navy (conſiſting of twenty great Ships of War, under the command of their Vice-Admiral *Batten*) revolted, and came (*f*) in to the Prince in **Yarmouth** road;

[a] 3. April.

[b] 30. April.

[c] 8. May.

[d] 25. May.

[*] [f] 27. May.

*Anno* 1648. road; *Pontfrait*-caſtle, being within few days after
[g] 3. June. ſurprized (*g*) by the Royaliſts; and the Earl of *Hol-*
[*] 5. July. *land*, with the Lord *Francis Villers* in Arms (*), with two thouſand men, near **Kingſton** upon **Thames.**

And to make the expectation more ſecure, Duke *Hamilton*, with a powerfull Army of the Scots entring
[h] 13. July. (*h*) **England**, publiſhed a Declaration, conſiſting of
The third *Invaſion* of the *Scots*. theſe heads, 1. That the King ſhould be brought to **London**, to treat in perſon with the two Houſes of Parliament. 2. That all thoſe who had a hand in, or contrived the carrying of the King from **Holdenby**, ſhould be condignly puniſhed. 3. That the Engliſh Army ſhould be disbanded. 4. That *Presbytery* ſhould be ſettled. 5. And that the Members of Parliament, which were forcibly ſecluded from the Houſe, ſhould be re-ſeated there.

After which, within few days, Major *Lilburne* (Brother to *John*) Governour of **Tinemouth**-caſtle in the
[i] 9. Aug. Biſhoprick of *Durham*, declared (*i*) for the King.

But the fruits of all theſe fair hopes were ſoon blaſted: for as that Caſtle was ſhortly after ſtorm'd by Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, and *Lilburne* with his men put to the Sword: So was **Chepſtow**-caſtle by Col. *Eure*; and Sir *Nicholas Kemiſh* kill'd in cold bloud.

The Earl of *Holland* alſo with the Lord *Francis Villers* were encountred by Colonel *Rich*, Major *Gibbons* and
[k] 7. July. Sir *Michael Liveſey*, totally routed (*k*); the Lord *Francis Villers* ſlain; the Earl himſelf purſued to St. **Ives** in **Huntingdon**-*ſhire*, and there taken. *Laughorne*, *Poyer* and *Powell* were likewiſe defeated by *Cromwell* and Colonel *Horton*: And Sir *John Owen*, who was in Arms about that time in **Northwales**, vanquiſht by Major General *Mitton*.

The Navy alſo (brought in by *Batten*) fell off to the Earl of *Warwick*: Duke *Hamilton* with his Army,
[l] 17. Aug. being utterly routed (*l*) at **Preſton** in **Lancaſhire**, and in his flight at **Uttoxeter** in **Staffordſhire**, taken priſoner. **Colcheſter** laſtly, which had held out with great hardſhip, expecting relief from Duke *Hamilton*,
[m] 27. Aug. was forc't to ſurrender (*m*) and ſubmit; whereupon Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George L'iſle*, were immediately

ately ſacrificed to the rage of theſe mercileſs men; the Lord *Capell* made priſoner, and the Townſmen fined at fourteen thouſand pounds. *Anno* 1648.

But thoſe black clouds, before they were thus diſperſt, betokening a ſuddain ſtorm, put theſe new Saints, for their more ſecurity, upon ſome deſperate thoughts of taking away the King's life. To which end one Captain *Rolfe* was imploy'd (*d*) by them (as himſelf did confeſs) to remove his Majeſty out of the way, by poiſon; or any other means; foraſmuch as it would highly conduce to their affairs.

[d] 10. June. *Ib.* p. 104.

Whether it was by Reaſon that *Osburne* (a confident of *Rolfe*'s) had diſcovered the deſign; or that, upon more conſiderate thoughts they took other reſolutions, it is hard to ſay: but the execution of that murther, was then, at preſent, laid aſide.

Many were the petitions, at that time, to the Members at **Weſtminſter**, from ſundry parts; all preſſing earneſtly for a *perſonal Treaty*: yea ſome of them from ſuch as they durſt hardly diſpleaſe; as from (★) the Maſters of the *Trinity Houſe*, Captains of Ships, and Sea-men; and another from (*f*) the City of **London**.

[★] *Ib.* p. 110.
[f] 2. July. *Ib.* p. 111.

¶ There is no doubt, but that the *Presbytereans*-members, were private well-wiſhers, if not contrivers of this third *Scottiſh Invaſion*; though, by the prevalency of the other faction, a Vote (*g*) was paſſed in the Houſe of Commons; that the Scottiſh-Army, under the command of Duke *Hamilton*, were Enemies, and that they ſhould accordingly proceed againſt them: In which argument the *Independents* were ſo fierce; that, when it was objected by one, that he thought the Lords would not concur therein; Reply (*h*) was made; *That the Houſe of Commons, being the Repreſentative of the people, had power to act without the Lords, for the peoples ſafety, in caſe the Lords deſerted their Truſt.*

[g] 15. July. *Ib.* p. 120.
[h] *Ib.* p. 130.

Nevertheleſs, whether it was the courage that the *Presbytereans* then took, by reaſon of Duke *Hamilton*'s Invaſion, and thoſe other diſturbances, before-mention'd; or whether it was the doubts the *Independents*

*Anno* 1648. had, of the dangers which theſe approaching troubles might produce, 'tis hard to ſay: Sure it is, that after much debate and many Arguments, it was reſolved (*i*), *That his Majeſty in perſon ſhould be treated with by Commiſſioners of both Houſes of Parliament in the Iſle of* **Wight**, *upon the whole matter of the Propoſitions at* **Hampton**-*court, for ſettling the peace of the Kingdome!* Which *Vote*, with other circumſtances, did then make ſuch a change in the face of things, that the City of **London** began to aſſume the power of their own *Militia*, and liſted men; ſaying (*k*) *they did it by the Law of ſelf Defence, warranted by the Law of God, of Nature, and of the Land:* and by a farther *Authority, which would make little for the advantage of the Parliament to queſtion.*

(*i*) 28. July. Perf. Diurnal, p. 3003.

(*k*) Hiſt. of Indep. p. 123.

Which ſo ſtartled the Members at **Weſtminſter**; that reſuming their old *Presbyterean-cloak*, they forthwith diſpatch't Letters (*l*) to the *Aſſembly of the Kirk of* **Scotland**; ſetting forth what the Parliament had done in the way of ſetling peace, reforming the Church and Univerſities, and maintaining the *Covenant* and union betwixt the two Nations; complaining of Duke *Hamilton*'s *Invaſion*, under colour of authority from the Parliament of that Kingdome.

(*l*) 3. Aug. *Ib.* p. 126.

And though the *Brethren* of **Scotland** grounded this their third Invaſion upon the *Covenant*; the *Independent*-members at **Weſtminſter** utterly denied that their aſſertion; affirming (*m*) ſtoutly, *that the Scots had broke the* Covenant *therein: yea, that in ſo doing, they had ſet the Engliſh at Liberty from it; and that the* Covenant *was no more* jure divino *than Presbytery.*

(*m*) *Ib.* p. 128.

To which was anſwered by the *Presbytereans* (for concerning this point there grew a tough diſpute in the Houſe betwixt thoſe two Parties) *that the large Treaty contained the* League *between the two Nations; ſo did not the* Covenant, *which was a vow made unto God, with their Hands liſted up to Heaven, for the maintenance and obſervation of the ends and principles expreſſed in the* Covenant, *from which no power on earth could abſolve them. And that, though the* Covenant *was not* jure divino;

divino; *yet the keeping of it, after they had taken it,* Anno 1648.
*was* jure divino; *it being the revealed will of God that they ſhould not offer unto him the ſacrifice of fools, a* Covenant *to day, and break it to morrow.*

But to this ſome of the more zealous replied; that the *Covenant* was originally framed to ſatisfie the Brethren of **Scotland**, upon the firſt bringing in of their Army hither, *to help the Lord againſt the mighty*; without which, the Scots would not have come in to their aſſiſtance: And that work being over, they were not at all obliged by the *Covenant* any further; it being to be laid aſide, as an Almanack out of date. And therefore, to ſtrengthen themſelves the more, there were private Liſtings (*n*) of the *Schiſmaticks* and [n] *Ib.* p. 124.
*Antimonarchiſts*, in **London**. Which did ſo awaken the *Presbyterean*-Saints in that City; that they complain'd to the Houſe of Commons; repreſenting the danger thereof: ſaying, *that if the Houſes did not give them leave to look to their ſafety, they muſt have recourſe to the Law of Nature, and act in their Militia, without the Houſes, in order to ſelf Defence, allowable by all Laws, and practiſed by that very Parliament againſt the King; and likewiſe by* Fairfax *his Army againſt the Parliament.*

Unto which words, there were ſuch high exceptions taken; that ſome of the fiery-ſpirited *Independents* replied (*o*); *that the Parliament having fought with the* [o] *Ib.* p. 135.
*King for the* Militia, *and gotten it by the Sword; no other Intereſt, upon any title whatſoever, ſhould dare to lay claim to any part of it.* Upon which Doctrine they practiſed to purpoſe, as by and by will appear.

CHAP.

*Anno* 1648.

## CHAP. XXIX.

THE next thing whereof I am, in order of time to take notice, is that this fatal and
p 17. Aug. absolute deſtruction (*p*) of the Scottiſh-Army, under the command of Duke *Hamilton*, by Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, at that time Commander of the Parliament's forces (*Fairfax* having declin'd to ſerve againſt the Brethren) was not by any formal Battel; but rather a beating up of Quarters, and ſome ſlight Skyrmiſhes: and that it was then chiefly attributed to the over-confidence which Duke *Hamilton* had in the ſtrength of his own Countrymen; expoſing thoſe Engliſh, which were Commanded by the truly noble Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, to be over powred by the Enemy; thereby expecting an abſolute Conqueſt through his own puiſſance; and ſo to have reapt the whole honour of reſtoring the King, if he ever had any ſuch intent.

So that *Cromwell* being now triumphant over the whole Scottiſh-Army (which was the moſt formidable of any then on foot againſt them) and not long after over thoſe right valiant and loyall perſons at **Colcheſter**; The Ships alſo, which went over to the Prince, falling off again, (as hath already been obſerved) He became ſo ſtrangely elated, that nothing then to be done, could give ſatisfaction to his ambitious and unlimited deſires.

But here, I ſhall alſo obſerve; that notwithſtanding the ſtrong factions into which theſe men were then divided, had begot a perfect hatred of each to other (as the many printed pamphlets then ſpread abroad do ſufficiently ſhew:) Nevertheleſs, for the utter eradicating of the *Religion by Law eſtabliſh'd in the Church of* **England**, which themſelves had at firſt (*3. May* 1641.)
q 29. Aug. *Scob. coll.* p. 165. ſolemnly proteſted to maintain; about this time, they all agree'd together, in framing an *Ordinance* (*q*), for the

the eſtabliſhing of *Presbytery*; containing a particular form and order of *Church-government*, in their *congregational*, *Claſſical*, *Provincial* and *National Aſſemblies*: In which the Lay Elders, conſtituted at that time, in all the Pariſhes, throughout the City of **London**, are expreſly nominated; with direction for the ſetling of all others, throughout **England** and **Wales**, and limitation of their powers: unto the ſharp and rigorous penalties whereof, all conſcientious and orthodox Proteſtants of the Church of **England**, were to be ſubject: but the *Independent* brood, (conſiſting of all ſorts of Schiſmaticks and Sectaries) under the notion of *Godly-men*, and *tender conſcienced*, to be at liberty. *Anno* 1648.

¶ And now to proceed. As I have already taken notice, that a *perſonal Treaty* with the King, was voted by the Members at **Weſtminſter**; I ſhall here obſerve, that all things being prepared for the ſame, it began (*r*) at **Newport** in the Iſle of **Wight**, upon the 18th. of *September*; the chief perſons permitted to attend his Majeſty there, being theſe; the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*; the Earl of *Lindſey*, and Earl of *Southampton*, (Gentlemen of his Bedchamber:) the Biſhops of *London* and *Salisbury*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hamond*, Dr. *Oldſworth*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Turner* and Dr. *Heywood* Chaplains; Sir *Thomas Gardner*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Sir *Robert Holburne*, Mr. *Geffrey Palmer*, Mr. *Thomas Cooke*, and Mr. *John Vaughan*, Lawyers. Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*. (*r*) Perfect Diurnal p. 2164.

The Members at **Weſtminſter** imploying theſe; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Middleſex*, the Viſcount *Say*, the Lord *Wenman*; *Denzil Holles*, and *William Pierpont* Eſquires, Sir *Henry Vane junior*, Sir *Harbotle Grymſton*, Mr. *Samuel Brown*, Sir *John Potts*, Mr. *Crew*, Serjeant *Glyn*, and Mr. *Bulkley*.

Theſe other Divines, for the King being afterwards added; *viz.* Dr. *James Uſher* Archbiſhop of *Armagh* in **Ireland**, , and Dr. *Ferne*: And for the Parliament; Mr. *Stephen Marſhal*, Mr. *Richard Vines*, Mr. *Lazarus Seaman*, and Mr. *Joſeph Caryll*.

But withall, as it is now moſt evident to the world, that there was never any real purpoſe, on the part of the Grandees at **Weſtminſter**, that the Treaty, for-

Anno 1648. merly at **Uxbridge**, ſhould take any good effect: ſo was there leſs expectation here, the King being then their priſoner, and all his forces come to nothing: for, though they then gave way to this *Treaty*; they were, at that very time, contriving and framing the formality of his abſolute deſtruction; of which the ſymptoms were viſible enough, during the whole continuance of that *Treaty*, by ſundry *Petitions* to the Members at **Weſtminſter**, all declaming bitterly againſt it. Which Petitions (as 'tis well known) were firſt fram'd by the Grandees themſelves, and then ſent amongſt the people, to be ſubſcribed, according to their uſual practice. In moſt whereof, it was deſired, that all Delinquents, without exception, might be brought to condigne puniſhment; one whereof concluding (†) thus, from *Pſalm* 149. ver. 6, 7, 8, and 9. *Let the high prayſes of God be in the mouths of his Saints, and a two-fold Sword in their Hands, to execute vengeance upon the Heathen, and puniſhment upon the people; to bind their Kings with chains, and their Nobles with fetters of iron: to execute upon them the Judgments written*; This Honour have all his Saints.

†Moderate Intelligencer, n. 16.

Beſides, it is farther to be obſerv'd; that after the deſtruction of this Scottiſh-Army at **Preſton**, and the reducing of **Colcheſter**, *Cromwell* went into **Scotland**; where he not onely laid the plot with the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, for the deſtruction of the King, and extirpation of Monarchy; but by his help, in the contrivance of that unparalel'd murther; agreed in the formalities conducing thereto.

¶ And now, as to this *Treaty* in the Iſle of **Wight**, 'tis ſufficiently known that it was on His Majeſtie's part, totally and ſingly managed by himſelf, againſt all thoſe ſubtile perſons above-mentioned; the Houſes at **Weſtminſter**, not permitting him to have any aſſiſtant therein, either Divines or others. Alſo, that it was perform'd by him with ſo much judgment, gravity, meekneſs, and curteſie; as not onely much aſtoniſht, but made converts of ſome, that had been his greateſt Enemies, and were then his Antagoniſts there. Wherein, to manifeſt his earneſt deſires for the

the peace of thoſe diſtracted Realms, he was contented to deveſt himſelf, totally in effect of his own Regal power, for life; and to truſt thoſe inſatiable men with the exerciſe thereof; as is apparently to be ſeen by the particular Articles, then aſſented to by him; *viz.* *Anno* 1648.

1. As to the *Militia*, he conſented thereto, as 'twas required by their *Propoſition*.

2. For Epiſcopacy, though he could not conſent to the utter aboliſhing thereof; yet he offered, that it might be regulated and reduced to the primative uſage; and ſo ſetled and continued in the Church: And, in order thereto, that it might be enacted, that the Biſhops ſhould not act without the Council and aſſiſtance of the Presbyters, in the exerciſes of *Ordination* and *Juriſdiction*: and therefore deſired the conſent of the Houſes in the one, that he might the more freely give his aſſent unto the other. Offering to leſſen the extent, or multiply the number of the Dioceſſes, as ſhould be agreed upon by both Houſes.

3. As to Biſhops lands, that he could not conſent to the alienation of them; but offred what he had done before, for ſatisfaction of the Purchaſers and Contracters (which was for the enjoyment of them for a certain time:) being therein ſeconded by the opinion of many Divines (who differ in other things) that the alienation of them would be no leſs than *Sacriledge*.

4. That he would confirm their Ordinance, for the calling and ſitting of the Aſſembly of Divines.

5. That he would confirm the form of Church-government preſented to him, with the *Directory*; and repeal thoſe Statutes, which enjoyn'd the uſe of *Common Prayer*: and all this for three years; provided that a conſultation ſhould be had, between the *Aſſembly of Divines*, and twenty of His Majeſtie's nomination added to them, in the mean time, for the farther ſetling of the Church, at the end of thoſe three years; and that

Anno 1648. Himſelf and His might have the uſe of the *Common-prayer*. But, for the *new Articles of Religion*, His Majeſty haveing not had time ſufficient, as yet, for conſideration of ſo weighty matters, as concern *Faith* and *Doctrine*, deſired, that that part of the *Propoſition* might, for the preſent be omitted.

6. That he would confirm the *Ordinance* for the better obſervation of the Lord's day: provided, that in this *Ordinance*, and others likewiſe preſented to him, alterations ſhould be made of ſome expreſſions in them, which did reflect on former eſtabliſht Laws; it being therefore neceſſary, that they ſhould be penned in other termes.

7. That he would paſs an Act; for prevention of ſaying Maſs in Court, or other places: provided onely, that his Queen might have free exerciſe of her Religion, for her ſelf and her ordinary ſervants, according to the Articles of Marriage, made between the two Crowns, **France** and **England.**

8. Laſtly, that for the *Covenant*, he could not in Conſcience take it himſelf, nor impoſe it upon others; therefore hoped that it ſhould not be inſiſted on, in regard the impoſing thereof could not tend to peace; a great part, even of the Parliaments-party, being utterly perſuaded againſt it: And further, becauſe all the ends of the *Covenant* would be obtained, if an agreement were made in the reſt of the *Propoſitions*.

Theſe were the chief; referring the reſt untill his coming to **Weſtminſter**, where he might perſonally adviſe with his two Houſes, and deliver his opinion, with the reaſons thereof, which done; he would leave the whole matter of thoſe remayning *Propoſitions* to the determination of his two Houſes.

But, as His Majeſty had formerly well obſerved the humours of theſe impious men to be reſtleſs; ever altering and changing their Principles with their ſucceſs: So did he then find the greateſt and moſt wofull experiment

ment thereof. For, having, by the defeat of D. *Hamilton's* Army; the reducing of **Colchester**, and ſubduing the Welch, in *Pembrokeſhire*, cleared all oppoſition, which any could make againſt them; they then did openly manifeſt to the world, that nothing ſhould ſuffice, but the abſolute deſtruction of the King, and utter extirpation of Monarchy. *Anno* 1648.

Towards the accompliſhing of which execrable deſigne, a prodigious *Remonſtrance* (*t*) was contrived by *Cromwel*, and his ſon *Ireton*, with ſome other venemous-minded officers in the Army, then at St. **Albans**, and preſented to the Houſe of Commons by Colonel *Evre* and ſeaven other Officers of the Army, whereby *they fiercely declaymed againſt any peace at all with the King; and likewiſe againſt his Reſtauration:* demanding, that *he ſhould, by a Tryal, be brought to Juſtice.* So likewiſe againſt thoſe Members of Parliament, as had been impeached the year before; and all others that ſate, when the Speaker and Members fled to the Army, that they might be excluded the Houſe: Requiring, that the Souldiers arrears ſhould be paid out of the King's and Dean and Chapters lands. Moreover, that a certain terme ſhould be prefixed to that preſent *Long-Parliament*; as alſo a more equal number of perſons, as *Repreſentatives of the People*, to be thenceforth elected, in whom the ſupreme power ſhould thereafter reſide.

(*t*) 16. Nov. Declaration of the Army at St. *Albans*.

In which *Remonſtrance*, it is not unworthy obſervation, that they ſaid; *whereas it might be objected, that by the* Covenant *they were obliged to the preſervation of His Majeſtie's perſon and authority*; it was with this reſtriction; *viz. in the preſervation of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdome.* So that; *conſidering Religion and the publick Intereſt, were to be underſtood the principal and ſupream matters engaged for*; *and of the King's perſon and authority, as inferiour and ſubordinate thereto. As alſo, whereas the preſervation of his perſon and authority was not conſiſtent with the preſervation of Religion, and the publick Intereſt*; *they were therefore, by the* Covenant, *obliged againſt it.*

*Anno* 1648.

And the better to illuſtrate this, they inſtanced the practice of the Parliament, all along the late wars; *which not onely oppoſed his Majeſty and his authority, but really endeavoured to kill and deſtroy both his perſon and authority by Bullets and otherwiſe, in order to the preſervation of Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdome.* Which *Remonſtrance* was ſoon after preſented (*v*) to the Houſe of Commons, and tendred to the conſideration of the whole Kingdome. But three days after, the *Treaty* (having continued fourty days, whereunto they limited it) ended (*x*).

[v] 20. Nov.

[x] 27. Nov.

And here it is not improper to take notice; that as they had frequently uſed to procure *Petitions* from ſundry places, to countenance the carrying on of any notable deſign, which they had in hand: So now, having publiſht this wicked *Remonſtrance*, they obteined *Congratulations* from thoſe called the *Well-affected* in ſeveral parts; to the end that others might be the more danted from any oppoſition thereto.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXX.

THIS buſineſs of the Treaty being therefore thus over, I come now to the laſt Act of this afflicted King's life. A Scene (indeed) of much ſorrow, and which cannot well be repreſented without great lamentation and the deepeſt expreſſions of ſadneſs, wherein I ſhall be as brief as well may be; pointing chiefly at the times of the moſt notable paſſages therein; but leaving the larger Narrative thereof to ſuch of our Hiſtorians, as have already, or ſhall hereafter ſet forth the Life and Sufferings of this incomparable Prince.

As an Introduction whereunto, it may be fit enough to obſerve; that though the Parliament had been garbled (as before is ſhewed) whereby the Remnant of the *Presbyterians* was totally diſheartened: Yet did the Invaſion from **Scotland**, and Riſings in other Parts, about that time, put ſo much Life and Courage into the drooping Spirits of that Party; as that, having with no little difficulty carryed the Vote for a *Treaty*; they ſtrugled to their utmoſt, for ſuch an iſſue thereof, that the King might be at ſome better Liberty, than he was at that time: and the Adminiſtration of his Authority, in the Two Houſes, as formerly. And then, though the Army ſtood not right to them at preſent; the Majority of Votes might ſome time or other, ſo alter the caſe, as that the ſweetneſs of Dominion might return to them again.

To ſecond therefore what they had ſo vigorouſly begun, diſcerning that the Army in purſuance of their late *Remonſtrance*, were on their March towards **London**, they Voted [y] a Letter to the General, forbidding his nearer approach. Which Vote ſo irritated the Souldiary, that immediately they publiſht a ſharp *Declaration*; [z] therein accuſing the Parliament with *Breach* of *Truſt*, *Inconſtancy* and *Indiſcretion*; ſaying that *they would appeal from them to the People*; threatning forthwith to advance up to **Weſtminſter**, and there to do what God ſhould enable them; and accordingly came up [a] to the corner of **Hide-Park**. Whereupon it was put to the Queſtion in the Houſe; *whether that*

[y] Hiſt. of Indep. part 2. p. 25. &c 26.

[z] 30. Nov.

*An.* 1648. *approach of the Army were not prejudicial to the Freedom of Parliament.* But into ſuch a terror were the *Presbyterian* Members then ſmitten, that they durſt not hold up their Heads to give their Votes therein.

Nevertheleſs, within two days following they took better heart, and ſet on foot a debate, [b] touching the ſatisfactorineſs of His Majeſties Anſwer to the *Propoſitions in the late Treaty.* And, though the ſame day, the General entred **Weſtminſter** with Four Regiments of Foot, and Six of Horſe, taking up his Head Quarters at **White-Hall:** and that ſoon after the King was ſeized on in his Bedchamber, and carryed [c] to **Hurſt-Caſtle** (a Block-houſe in the Sea, not far from the Iſle of *Wight*, where the cold was moſt ſharp, and the Air very unwholſome) as men inflam'd, in this deſperate condition, they again took courage, and held out a ſtout conteſt with the *Independant*-Party, for the ſpace of a whole day and night together: And, notwithſtanding the many ſharp Menaces, which they had from the Sword-men, on the other ſide; they then Voted, [d] *that the King's Anſwer to the Propoſitions from both Houſes, was a ground for them to proceed on, to the ſettlement of the Kingdoms Peace.*

[b] 2. *Dec.*

[c] Ib. p. 29. 4. *Dec.* The King taken from the Iſle of *Wight*, and ſent to *Hurſt-caſtle.*

[d] 6. *Dec.* Ib. 1. 29.

Which put the Army into ſuch a rage, that they forthwith ſent a Paper to the Houſe by *Pride* and *Hewſon* (two of their Collonels) requiring, *that the formerly impeached Members, together with Major General* **Browne** (whom they charg'd to have been an Inviter of Duke *Hamilton* with the *Scottiſh* Army) *might be ſecured, and brought to Juſtice. As alſo, that the Ninety and odd Members, who refuſed to Vote againſt the late* Scottiſh *Engagement; and all that Voted for recalling the Votes of* Non-Addreſſes: *and likewiſe thoſe that Voted for the late Treaty; and that the King's conceſſions therein were a ground for the Houſes to proceed to a ſettlement, ſhould be immediately ſuſpended the Houſe. And that all ſuch faithful Members, as were innocent of thoſe Votes, ſhould by proteſtation acquit themſelves from any concurrence in them, to the end they might be diſtinguiſhed.*

And ſcorning to make any long ſtay, for an Anſwer to that their Paper, they ſent, the next Morning, certain Regiments of Horſe and Foot to **Weſtminſter**, who ſetting Guards upon all the Avenues to the Parliament Houſe, ſeized upon one and Forty of the Members, then Sitting, *viz.*

Major

Major General *Browne*.
Mr. *John Buckley*.
Colonel *Birch*.
Mr. *Thomas Boughton*.
Mr. *Francis Buller*.
Sir *John Clotworthy*.
Mr. *Lionel Copley*.
Mr. *John Crew*.
Sir *Simonds D'ewes*, Knight and Baronet.
Mr. *Drake*.
Sir *Walter Earle*.
Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes*.
Mr. *Giles Greene*.
Sir *Gilbert Gerard*.
Sir *Herbottle Grimſton* Kt.
Mr. *Francis Gerard*.
Sir *Robert Harley*, Kt.
Colonel *Edward Harley*.
Sir *Anthony Irby*.
Mr. *John Knightley*.
Sir *Martin Lyſter*.
Colonel *Edward Leigh*.
Mr. ----- *Lane*.
Sir *Samuel Luke*.
Sir *William Lewes*.
Major General *Maſſy*.
Sir *John Merrick*.
Sir *Richard Onſlow*.
Mr. *Henry Pelham*.
Sir *Robert Pye*, Kt.
Mr. *William Pryn*.
Mr. ---- *Preiſtley*.
Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*.
Mr. *William Strode*.
Sir *Thomas Soame*.
Mr. *Edward Stephens*.
Mr. *John Swinſen*.
Mr. *Charles Vaughan*.
Sir *William Waller*.
Mr. *William Wheeler*.
The Lord *Wenman*.
Mr. *Clement Walker*.

*An.* 1648.

Of whoſe Names Mr. *Hugh Peters* (one of their hot-headed Preachers) came to take a Liſt; and then convey'd them into their great Victualling-houſe, near **Weſtminſter-Hall**, called **Hell**; where they kept them all night, without any Beds. Whence, being driven as Priſoners, (through Snow and Rain) by the Guards, to ſeveral Inns in the **Strand**; the Souldiers upbraided [e] them in their paſſage; *that they were the men, who had couſened the State of their Money, and kept back the Armies Pay.* Which ſignal Act hapned the very day, that their great Maſter, *Oliver Cromwel* return'd from **Scotland** to **London**.

[e] Ib. p. 31.

And, as they made Priſoners of theſe, ſo they denyed entrance into the Houſe unto above one hundred and Sixty more. Whereupon the reſt of the *Presbyterian* Party, being terrified with this uſage of their Fellow-Members, declin'd the Houſe, leaving [f] it to about an hundred and Fifty, who, for the moſt part, being Officers of the Army, perform'd whatſoever the Grandees of that Faction prompted them to do: This Excluſion of thoſe Members, being call'd Colonel *Pride*'s Purge.

[f] 7. Dec.

*An.* 1648. ¶ It is very well known to the world, that throughout the whole courſe of this grand Rebellion, it was the uſual practiſe of the *Presbyterians*, to make great advantages unto their Party, by frequenting of Sermons, and performance of other pretended exerciſes of Religion. Amongſt which the ſtrict obſervance of ſuch dayes, as were ſet apart by their Leaders for *Seeking of God* (as they call'd it) by *Faſting* and *Prayer*, and other wayes of Humiliation, were not the leaſt. In which act of deluding the People, they were at length grown to be ſuch excellent Maſters; that, when any tranſcendent work was to be done, it was always uſhered in, with this ſanctified veile; under pretence, that in the zealous performance of thoſe Duties, they *did ask Councel of the Lord*: and thereupon, by ſome more than ordinary Illumination, were directed to proceed in the buſineſs deſign'd.

Which notable example the *Independants*, deeming fit to be imitated, in order to their own High and Mighty deſigns; they kept a Faſt [g] in the Houſe of Commons, upon the Eighth of *December*. Where Mr. *Stephen Marſhall* (formerly the Great Bell-weather of the *Presbyterian* Flock) Mr. *Carrill* and *Hugh Peters* Preacht that day to them; under pretence of directing them to humble their Spirits, now that God had ſo ſignally appeared to them in their great Victory over the *Scots* at **Preſton**, and other eminent manifeſtations.

[g] 8. *Dec.*

Next to which devout work, the remaining Members, that ſate after this *Grand Purge*, damn'd [h] all the Votes, which the *Presbyterians* had made, either in reference to the *Treaty*, or to their ſecluded Brethren. And, within few days after, divers of the Lords went to the General, to expreſs their good affections to him, and concurrence with his purpoſes for the Common Good: as alſo to let his Excellency know, that they would wave their *Priviledges* and *Titles*, in caſe they ſhould be found burthenſome to the Liberties of the People.

[h] Ib. p. 37. & 38.

☞

And, as the Lords had thus manifeſted their obſequiouſneſs to the Army: ſo did alſo the moſt Godly men of the Houſe of Commons; by ſubſcribing [i] a *Proteſtation* againſt the late Treaty with the King, in the Iſle of **Wight**: but eſpecially againſt that Vote of 5. *Dec.* allowing His Majeſties Anſwer to the *Propoſitions* of Both Houſes, to be a ground

[i] Ib. p. 48, & 49.

ground for them to proceed on for a Settlement; the names of which worthy Members I have here added. *An.* 1648.

*Philip* Lord *Liſle.*
Colonel *Boſwell.*
Mr. *John Gourdon.*
The Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
Mr. *Peregrine Pelham.*
Colonel *Jones.*
Colonel *Temple.*
Colonel *Ven.*
Sir *Thomas Maleverer.*
Sir *Thomas Wrothe.*
Sir *John Bourcher.*
Colonel *Peter Temple.*
Mr. *Humphry Edwards.*
Mr. *Thomas Chaloner.*
Sir *Gregory Norton.*
*Michael Oldſworth.*
*Auguſtine Garland.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Mr. *Dove.*
Mr. *Henry Smith.*
Mr. *Frye.*
Mr. *Searle.*
Mr. *Nicholas Love.*
Mr. *John Liſle.*
Colonel *Rigby.*
Mr. *Cornelius Holland.*
Colonel *Ludlow.*
*Gregory Clement.*
Colonel *Purefoy.*
Colonel *Stapeley.*
Mr. *Dunch.*
Mr. *Cawley.*
Colonel *Downes.*
Mr. *John Carey.*
Mr. *John Blakeſton.*
Mr. *Thomas Scott.*
Colonel *Hutchinſon.*
Sir *Henry Mildmay.*
Sir *James Harington.*
Colonel *Edward Harvey.*
Alderman *Penington.*
Alderman *Atkins.*
Mr. *Daniel Blagrave.*
Colonel *Moore.*
Colonel *Millington.*
Mr. *Prideaux.*
Mr. *Roger Hill.*
Mr. *Dennis Bond.*
Colonel *Harrington.*
Mr. *Hodges.*
Mr. *Benjamin Valentine.*

The work being therefore thus ſmoothly carryed on, to accompliſh their chief deſign for murthering the King, they remov'd [k] him from **Hurſt-Caſtle** to **Wincheſter**, and thence to [l] **Farnham-Caſtle** in *Hantſhire.* The King removed from *Hurſt-Caſtle* to *Wincheſter.*

And that they might effect their buſineſs with the greater Formality, they held a ſolemn *Faſt* in St. *Margarets* Church at **Weſtminſter**; four of the moſt zealous Lords being preſent thereat; and of the Houſe of Commons at leaſt Twenty; where their Pulpit Buffoon, *Hugh Peters* Preacht [m] to them of bringing the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Ægyptian* Bondage, whereunto he Parallel'd the State of this Kingdom. And the better to ſhew how they ſhould be brought out

[k] 21. *Dec.*
[l] 22. *Dec.* Thence to *Farnham.*
[m] Ib. p. 49. & 50.

*An.* 1648. out of this Bondage; having put his hands before his eyes, and laid his head on the Cuſhion; thence raiſing it up again (after a while) he told them, *that he had a Revelation* how to do it; which was, *by Extirpating of Monarchy*, both here, and in all other places.

Thence to *Windſor.*

In order whereunto they removed [n] the King to **Windſor-Caſtle**, where it was concluded [o] on by his Guards, that all State and Ceremony towards him ſhould thenceforth be forborn, and his attendants leſſened.

[n] 23. Dec.
[o] 27. Dec.

[p] Ib. p. 44.

At the ſame time alſo it was firſt moved [p] in the Houſe of Commons, that they ſhould proceed Capitally with the King. Whereupon *Oliver Cromwell* ſtood up and ſaid, [q] *that if any man moved this upon deſign, he ſhould think him the greateſt Traytor in the World: but ſince* **Providence** *and* **Neceſſity** *had caſt them upon it, he ſhould pray God to bleſs their Councils, though he was not provided, on the ſudden, to give them Council.*

[q] Ibid.

But not long after he was: for being a great Pretender to *Enthuſiaſms* and *Revelations*, he told [*] them, that *as he was praying for a Bleſſing from God on his undertaking to reſtore the King to his priſtine Majeſty, his Tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not ſpeak one word more; which he took as a return of Prayer, and that God had rejected him from being King.* And to others he did impudently aſſert, *that it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and fraud.*

[*] Life of K. *Charles* by Dr. *Perinchief* p. 153.

[r] 28. Dec. Hiſt. of Indep. part. 2. p. 55.

Whereunto, the very next day [r] Mr. *Thomas Scott*, brought in the *Ordinance* for Tryal of the King; which was then read, and recommitted three ſeveral times; and the names of the Commiſſioners (conſiſting of ſome Lords, ſome of the Houſe of Commons; ſome Citizens of **London**, and ſome Officers of the Army) added thereto. Which *Ordinance*, being ſoon agreed on, and ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, by the Lord *Grey* of **Groby**, was by them rejected.

Whereupon the Commons fell to voting again, and declared, [s] *That all Members of that Houſe, and others apointed by order of that Houſe, or Ordinances of both Houſes of Parliament, to act in any Ordinance, wherein the Lords were joyned, ſhould be impowred, and enjoyned to ſit and act, and execute in the ſaid ſeveral Committees of themſelves; notwithſtanding the Houſe of Peers ſhould not joyn with them therein. Some of them being ſo fierce againſt the Lords for this their refuſal; as*

[s] Ibid. p. 56.

that

*that they moved for an Impeachment to be framed againſt them, for thus favouring the grand Delinquent of* **England.** *An.* 1648.

And that they might not fall ſhort in imitation of their Parent, the Presbyterian (which firſt laid the Foundation of all this miſchief) they brought * upon the Stage, ſuch another Propheteſs, ‹ as the *Brethren of Scotland* produced, in order to the carrying on their Bleſſed work, in *An.* 1638. (whereof I have then taken notice) *viz.* a Godly Woman out of *Hereford-ſhire* (the News-book of that Week, calls her a Virgin;) who coming to the General and Council of War at **White-Hall,** ſaid *ſhe had a Revelation from God, whereby ſhe was incited to encourage them to go on in their deſigns.* Of which they made no ſmall advantage, approving thereof, as moſt ſeaſonable at that time; and accordingly proceeded: Firſt Voting, ‖ *that the people were, under God, the Original of all juſt power:* Secondly *that the Commons of* **England,** *in Parliament Aſſembled, being choſen by, and repreſenting the people, were the ſupream power of the Nation:* and Thirdly, *that whatſoever is enacted or declared for Law by the Houſe of Commons, Aſſembled in Parliament, hath the force of Law.*

* 29. *Dec.*

‹ The daughter of one *Michelſon.*

‖ 4. *Jan.* Ib. p. 56.

In purſuance of which monſtrous Votes, they fram'd a bloody *Ordinance*; × whereby they conſtituted theſe Perſons, whoſe names I have here inſerted; or any Twenty or more of them, to be Judges, for the Hearing, Trying and Judging of the Kings Sacred Majeſty, which were thereby alſo conſtituted and called *an High Court of Juſtice.*

× 6. *Jan.* Ib. p. 57.

¶ *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*, General of the Army.
* *Oliver Cromwel* Lieutenant General.
*Henry Ireton* Commiſſary General.
*Philip Skipton* Major General.
* Colonel *Valentine Walton.*
* Colonel *Thomas Harriſon.*
* Colonel *Edward Whalley.*
* Colonel *Thomas Pride.*
* Colonel *Iſaac Evre.*
* Colonel *Richard Ingoldſby.*
* Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Kt.
Sir *Thomas Honywood*, Kt.
* *Thomas* Lord *Grey* of *Groby.*
*Philip* Lord *Liſle.*
* *William Viſc. Caſtlemaine.* (*aliter* Lord *Munſon.*)
* Sir *John Danvers*, Kt.
* Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Bar.
* Sir *John Bourchier*, Kt.
* Sir *James Harrington*, Kt.
Sir *William Brereton*, Bar.
* *Robert Wallop*, Eſq;
* *William*

An. 1648. * William Heveningham, Eſq;
* Iſaac Pennington, Alderman.
Thomas Atkins, Alderman.
* Colonel Rowland Wilſon.
Sir Peter Wentworth, Knight of the Bath.
* Colonel Henry Martin.
* Colonel William Purefey.
Colonel Godfrey Boſwell.
John Trenchard Eſq;
* Colonel Mathew Tomlinſon.
* John Blakeſton, Eſq;
* Gilbert Millington, Eſq;
* Miles Corbet, Eſq;
* Sir William Conſtable, Kt.
* Colonel Edward Ludlow.
Colonel John Lambert.
* Colonel John Hutchenſon.
Sir Arthur Haſelrigg, Bar.
* Sir Michael Liveſcy, Bar.
Richard Soloway, Eſq;
Humphrey Soloway, Eſq;
* Colonel Robert Tichburne.
* Colonel Owen Roe.
Colonel Robert Manwaring.
* Colonel Robert Lilburne.
* Colonel Adrian Scrope.
* Colonel Richard Deane.
* Colonel John Okey.
Colonel Robert Overton.
Colonel John Harriſon.
Colonel John Desborough.
* Colonel William Goffe.
Colonel Robert Duckenfeild.
* Cornelius Holand, Eſq;
* John Carue, Eſq;
Sir William Armine, Kt.
* Colonel John Iones.
* Miles Corbet, Eſq;
* Francis Allen, Eſq;
Thomas Liſter, Eſq;
Benjamin Weſton, Eſq;
* Peregrine Pelham, Eſq;
John Gourdon, Eſq;
Francis Thorpe, Serjeant at Law.
John Nutt, Eſq;
Thomas Chaloner, Eſq;
Colonel Algernon Sidney.
* Sir Hardres Waller, Kt.
* Colonel John Barkſtede.
John Anlaby, Eſq;
* Colonel John Moore.
Richard Darley, Eſq;
* William Say, Eſq;
* John Alured, Eſq;
John Fagge, Eſq;
James Nelthorpe, Eſq;
Sir William Roberts, Kt.
Colonel Francis Laſcels.
Colonel Alexander Rigby.
* Henry Smith, Eſq;
Edmond Wilde, Eſq;
James Chaloner, Eſq;
Joſias Barnes, Eſq;
Dennis Bond, Eſq;
* Humphrey Edwards, Eſq;
* Gregory Clement, Eſq;
John Fray, Eſq;
* Thomas Wogan, Eſq;
* Sir Gregory Norton, Kt.
* John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law.
* Colonel Edward Harvey.
John Dove, Eſq;
* Colonel John Venn.
John Fouke, Alderman of London.
* Thomas Scott.
* Thomas Andrews, Alderman.
* William Cauley, Eſq;
Abraham Burrell, Eſq;
* Colonel Anthony Stapeley.
Roger Gratwick, Eſq;

* Iohn

* *John Downes*, Eſq;
* Colonel *Thomas Horton*.
* Colonel *Thomas Hamond*.
Colonel *George Fenwick*.
*Robert Nicholas*, Serjeant at Law.
* Colonel *John Hewſon*.
*Robert Reynolds*, Eſq;
* *John L'iſle*, Eſq;
* *Nicholas Love*, Eſq;
* *Vincent Potter*.
Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Kt.
*John Weaver*, Eſq;
*John Lenthall*, Eſq;
Sir *Edward Baynton*, Kt.
*John Corbet*, Eſq;
*Thomas Blount*, Eſq;
*Thomas Boone*, Eſq;
* *Auguſtine Garland*, Eſq;
*Auguſtine Skinner*, Eſq;
* *John Dixwell*, Eſq;
* Colonel *George Fleetwood*.
* *Simon Maine*, Eſq;
* Colonel *James Temple*.
* Colonel *Peter Temple*.
* *Daniel Blagrave*, Eſq;
Sir *Peter Temple*, Bar.
* Colonel *Thomas Wayte*.
*John Browne*, Eſq;
*John Lawry*, Eſq;
* *John Bradſhaw*, Serjeant at Law named Preſident.

Councillers-Aſſiſtants to this Court, and to draw up the Charge againſt the King.

* Doctor *Iſaac Doriſlaw*.
* Mr. *William Steele*.
* Mr. *Aske*.
* Mr. *Cooke*, Sollicitor.
* Serjeant *Dandy*, Serjeant at Armes.
* Mr. *Phelps* } Clerks to
* Mr. *Broughton* } the Court.

Meſſengers and Door-keepers.

Mr. *Walford*.
Mr. *Radley*.
Mr. *Paine*.
Mr. *Powell*.
Mr. *Hull*.
Mr. *King*, the Cryer.

*An.* 1648.

And that theſe their Sanguinary proceedings might carry the more ſhew of Authority; upon the Third day following, they ſent their Serjeant at Armes with his Mace, accompanyed by ſix Trumpets on Horſe-back, into **Weſtminſter-Hall**, (great Guards of Souldiers waiting in the Palace-yards.) Where (in the midſt of the Hall) after the Trumpets had ſounded, he made ſolemn *Proclamation*, on Horſe-back; *that if any man had ought to alledge againſt* Charles Stuart, *they ſhould repaire, the day following, at Two of the Clock After-noon, into the* Painted Chamber; *where the Committees to receive the ſame were to Sit.* 1 9. *Jan.*

The like *Proclamation* he made at the *Exchange*, and other places in **London**.

The ſame day alſo they Voted, that *Writs* ſhould no longer run in the King's Name; and the making of a new

*An.* 1648. *Great Seal*, with the Armes of England and Ireland (*viz.* the *Croſs* and *Harpe*) on the one ſide, and this Circumſcription; *viz. The Great Seal of* England. On the other ſide the Figure of the Parliament and the Circumſcription; *In the firſt year of Freedom, by Gods Bleſſing reſtored*, 1648.

According to which *Proclamation*, ſo made in Weſtminſter-hall, the next day [z] following thoſe High Court of Juſtice-men ſate formally in the *Painted Chamber*, to receive Informations from ſuch, whom they had then prepared to come in for that purpoſe. For which time, for the ſpace of Nine days, the Grandees had frequent Meetings, to frame and ſettle the ſpecial order and form for executing of that their accurſed deſign. And, having in the Interim, erected a Bloody Theater at the upper end of Weſtminſter-hall, which they call'd *The High Court of Juſtice*, they removed [a] His Majeſty from Windſor-Caſtle, to St. James's (near Weſtminſter) and upon *Saturday January* the Twentieth, made their entrance [b] in State into Weſtminſter-hall, *Bradſhaw* the Preſident having a Sword and Mace carryed before him; and for his Guard Twenty Souldiers with Partizans, under the Command of Colonel *Fox* the Tinker.

[z] 10. *Jan.*

The K. removed from *Windſor* to St. *James's*.

[a] 19. *Jan.*

[b] 20. *Jan.*

Where, after this Prodigious Monſter (*Bradſhaw*) with the reſt of that Bloody-pack (in all to the number of Seventy two, the reſt then declining to ſhew their Faces in ſo Horrid an Enterprize, though moſt of them afterwards avowed the ſame) were ſet; and that Helliſh Act read, whereby they were conſtituted the King's Judges; His Majeſty was brought to the Bar by Colonel *Hacker*, Guarded with a Company of Halberdeers. In whoſe paſſage, it is not unworthy of note, that *Hugh Peters* (one of their wicked Preachers) did ſet on divers of the Souldiers to cry out *Juſtice, Juſtice*, againſt him, and that one of them did then Spit in the King's Face.

Which being done, that inſolent *Bradſhaw* ſtood up, and moſt impudently told [c] the King (calling him *Charles Stuart*) *that the Commons of* England *Aſſembled in Parliament, being ſenſible of the great Calamities brought upon this Nation; and of the Innocent Blood ſhed (which was referred to him as the Author) according to that duty which they did owe to God, the Nation, and themſelves; and according to that Power and Fundamental*

[c] Hiſt. of Indep. Part. 1. p. 87.

*damental Truſt repoſed in them by the People, had Conſtituted that High Court of Juſtice, before which he was then brought; and that he was to hear his Charge, upon which the Court would proceed.* An. 1648.

Then *Cook* their Sollicitor, went on, and ſaid, [a] *that he did accuſe* Charles Stuart, *there preſent, of High Treaſon, and Miſdemeanors; and did, in the Name of the Commons of* England, *deſire that the Charge might be read againſt him.* [a] Ib.

Whereupon they cauſed their moſt falſe and Infamous Charge to be read. Which importing, *that he being admitted King of* England, *and truſted with a limited Power, for the good and benefit of the People, had Trayterouſly and Maliciouſly levyed War againſt that preſent Parliament, and the People therein repreſented; and cauſed and procured many Thouſands of the Free People of this Nation to be ſlain. Concluding, that he did therefore impeach him, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a publick and implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of* England; *Praying, that he might be put to anſwer the premiſſes; and that ſuch Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence and Judgment might be thereupon had, as ſhould be agreeable to Juſtice.*

I ſhall not ſtay here to give inſtance of the particular expreſſions then made by His Majeſty unto thoſe Blood-thirſty-men. Which were with the greateſt Wiſdom, Gravity, and Chriſtian Courage imaginable; conſidering that they already are by ſome Hiſtorians, and others, ſo exactly publiſht to the World: He abſolutely denying and renouncing that their uſurped Juriſdiction, and Authority thus to convent him; and ſtoutly refuſing to ſubmit to their power. In which he moſt undauntedly perſiſted every time he was brought before them, with incomparable magnanimity of Spirit.

On the Second [e] day of their Sitting, they held a Faſt at White-Hall. [e] 21. *Jan.*

And on the Third day, [f] the *Scots* Commiſſioners delivered in certain Papers to them, with a *Declaration* from the Parliament of Scotland, importing a diſlike of thoſe their Proceedings againſt His Majeſty, but nothing regarded. [f] 22. *Jan.*

After which, to the end that theſe Barbarous Regicides might the better conſult touching the manner of his Execution, and to perform it with the greater Ignominy,

*An.* 1648. they reſpited his Sentence of Death for Four or Five days. But then, having fully determined thereon, upon *Saturday* [g] 27. *Jan.* [g] the Twenty Seventh of *January*, they cauſed Him to be brought before them again. Where, after a moſt inſolent Speech, made by the ſame *Bradſhaw* the Preſident, His *Sentence of Death* was read; there being then preſent no leſs than Seventy two of thoſe His Bloody Murtherers, called Judges, who ſtood up and avowed the ſame, the Names of which I have noted with an *Aſteriſm* in the preceding Catalogue.

[h] Ib. p. 108. Which being done, a Publick Declaration [h] was appointed to be drawn againſt the Proclaiming of Prince *Charles*, after the removal of His Father out of this Life; denouncing it to be High Treaſon for any one ſo to do. Likewiſe, that no perſon upon pain of Impriſonment, and ſuch other puniſhments as ſhould be thought fit, might ſpeak or divulge any thing contrary to thoſe their proceedings.

[i] 28. *Jan.* Ib. p. 109. And upon the Morrow, being *Sunday*, [i] ſome of the Grandees came, and tendred to him a Paper Book, with promiſe of Life, and ſome ſhadow of Regality, in caſe he would Subſcribe it; which contained many particulars deſtructive to the Religion eſtabliſht, to the Laws of the Land, and to the Liberties and Properties of the People. Whereof one was, that he ſhould paſs an Act, for keeping on Foot their Army during the pleaſure of ſuch, as they ſhould nominate to be entruſted with the *Militia*; with power, from time to time, to recruit and continue them, to the Number of Forty Thouſand Horſe and Foot, under their preſent General and Officers, and that the Council of War, ſhould have power to make choiſe of new Officers, and Generals, from time to time, as occaſion ſhould happen, and they think fit: as alſo to ſettle a Tax upon the People, by way of Land-rate for ſupporting the ſame Army; to be Collected and levyed by the Souldiers themſelves. And for the eſtabliſhing a Court-Marſhal of extraordinary extent. But ſo ſoon as His Majeſty had read ſome few of thoſe Tyrannous *Propoſals*, he threw them aſide; ſaying, *that he would rather become a* Sacrifice *for his People, than thus betray their Laws, Liberties, Lives, and Eſtates, with the Church, the Common-wealth, and Honour of the Crown, to ſo intolerable a Bondage of an Armed Faction.*

And

And ſuch a Sacrifice they really made him, upon the *An.* 1648. *Tueſday* following (which was the Thirtieth [k] of *January*) having (the more to affront and deject him, had it been poſſible) built a Scaffold for His Murther, before the Great Gate at **White-hall**, whereunto they fixed ſeveral Staples of Iron, and prepared Cords, to tye him down to the Block, had he made any reſiſtance to that Cruel and Bloody ſtroke. To which place they then brought him on Foot, from St. **James**'s, attended by Guards of Souldiers; having filled all the Streets, from **Charing-Croſs** to **Weſtminſter**, with Troops of Horſe, and Companies of Foot.

[k] 30. *Jan.* Ib. p. 110.

Whereon, being aſcended with the Greateſt Chriſtian Magnanimity imaginable; he told them, *that they were in a wrong way to the Kingdoms Peace, their deſign being to do it by Conqueſt, in which God would never proſper them.* Farther declaring to them, *that the right way thereto, would be firſt to give God his due, by regulating rightfully the Church, in a National Synod, freely call'd and freely debating. Secondly the King (his Succeſſor) his due: wherein the Laws of the Land would ſufficiently inſtruct them. Thirdly the People, theirs; in ſuch a Government, whereby their Lives and Goods might be moſt their own.*

*It was for that* (quoth he) *I come now hither; for would I have given way to an Arbitrary ſway, to have all Laws changed, according to the power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here.* Telling them farther (*but praying God, it might not be laid to their Charge*) *that he was the Peoples Martyr.*

And then, moſt Chriſtianly forgiving all, praying for His Enemies, he meekly ſubmitted to the ſtroke of the Axe. It is not unworthy of Obſervation (and therefore, not finding a more proper place for it, I have thought fit to inſert it here,) that ſome of thoſe moſt Impious Regicides, who ſate, and gave judgment of Death upon this Bleſſed Martyr, when, (after the happy Reſtoration of our preſent Soveraign) they were brought to their Tryals for that unparallel'd Murther; ſtuck not (in juſtification of themſelves) to plead, *that they were not within the compaſs of Treaſon, as it is declared by the Statute of* 25. E. 3. *For that, queſtionleſs,* (ſaid they) *muſt intend private Perſons, Counſelling, Compaſſing, or imagining the Death of the King: but you know* (ſaid they) *that the War was firſt ſtated by the Lords and*

The King Murthered.

*An.* 1648. *and Commons, the Parliament of* England, *and by virtue of their Authority was raiſed; they pretending by the Laws, that the right of the Militia was in them; whereupon, accordingly, they rais'd a Force, making the Earl of* Eſſex *General, and after that Sir* Thomas Fairfax. This therefore they inſiſted on for a legal Authority; *becauſe* (ſaid they) *that this Parliament was called by the King's Writ, and that the Members thereof were choſen by the People: Adding, that the Perſons which acted under that Authority, ought not therefore to be queſtion'd, as Perſons Guilty; becauſe, if that which they acted was Treaſon; then the Lords and Commons in Parliament began the Treaſon.*

His Corps removed from *White-Hall* to St. *James's.* 1. *Feb.* Thence to *Windſor.* 7. *Feb.* There Buried. 9. *Feb.*

Having thus finiſht their Grand, and long deſigned work, they permitted the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Earl of *Lindſey* to Interr his Corps in the Collegiate Chapel, within the Caſtle at Windſor, refuſing him Burial, with his Anceſtors in the Church of Weſtminſter, under colour of preventing ſuch confluence of People, which out of a ſuperſtitious reſpect might reſort to his Grave; reſerving that place, therein, which had been built by King *Henry* the Seventh, purpoſely for the Sepulture of himſelf and his Poſterity, for the Bones of his chiefeſt Murtherers. Some of which being afterwards, accordingly, there depoſited, have ſince been Tranſlated, and laid, more properly under the Gallows.

Being thus come to the Period of this incomparable Prince's Life, I may not omit to take notice; that the time was, when theſe Monſters of men, did publickly declare, *that they would make His Majeſty a Glorious King*: which now we ſee moſt truly verifyed, though not as they then ſeem'd to intend it. So Glorious indeed, as Mortal man never was more.

1. Firſt; In that he ſuffered as an Heroick Champion for the Rights of the Church, the Laws of the Land, the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, and Priviledges of Parliament; in ſtoutly (to his utmoſt) withſtanding the conjunctive Power of his Rebellious Subjects; which under the colour of aſſerting theſe, moſt Trayterouſly aſſaulted him in divers ſharp Battels.

2. Next, by his cheerful undergoing the many hardſhips of a deſtructive War, and a tedious Impriſonment.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, by his patient enduring the many inſolent affronts of this ſubtile, falſe, cruel, and moſt implacable Generation, in their Barbarous manner of conventing, and Condemning him to Death; and to ſee his moſt bloodthirſty Enemies then Triumph over him. *An.* 1648. 3.

And that no part of true felicity might be wanting to him, they have made him *Glorious* in his Memory, throughout the World, by a Great, Univerſal and moſt durable Fame; and *Glorious*, by his enjoyment of an Immortal Crown, with the Bleſſed Saints, Martyrs, and devout Confeſſors in the higheſt Heavens.

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## CHAP. XXXI.

AND here, having made a mournful ſtop, for a while, to contemplate the unſpeakable loſs of this excellent Prince, and the direful actings of theſe matchleſs Conſpirators; I begin to conſider, that the *Presbyterians*, may (poſſibly) take much exceptions at this Hiſtorical *Narrative*, in regard that the Life of the King was not taken away by them, but by that Sect which are uſually called *Independants*. Whether the *Presbyterians* or *Independants* were the chief Actors in Murthering the King

Whereunto I anſwer, that, it is not denyed, but that he was actually put to death, by thoſe who (in common diſcourſe) do paſs under that name. But whether the *Presbyterians* can clear themſelves from the Guilt of his Murther, as I know not how to excuſe them; ſo am I ſomewhat doubtful thereof.

For in the Firſt place I would ask, whether they were not the men, which Originally put themſelves in Armes againſt him, and ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to kill him in ſundry Battels? and whether the name of *Independant* was ever then heard of? 1.

Next, whether they did not *Covenant* with the *Scots*, and therein vowed to endeavour the eſtabliſhing of Church-Government here, conſonant to that of theirs, which is well known to be *Presbyterian*? 2.

Likewiſe,

*An.* 1648. Likewiſe, whether they, either before, or whilſt the King was in their Hands, did ever make *Propoſals* to him; but that the eſtabliſhing of their *Diſcipline* was chiefly inſiſted on?

3.

4. Moreover, whether they were not the firſt that diſtinguiſht betwixt *His Perſon* and *His Office?* and by the ſtrength of their Armies, Murthered him in his Politick Capacity, uſurping with great boldneſs, the Power and Authority thereof?

5. Likewiſe, whether they were not the very men, that made him their Priſoner at **New-Caſtle**, and **Holden-by**, refuſing him the comfort of any one of his own Chaplains?

6. Finally, whether they did not perpetually torment him, with their inceſſant importunities; not only to become a *Felo de ſe*, in Murthering himſelf in his Regal capacity, by giving up the Power of the Sword, into their ambitious Hands: but by endeavouring to extort his conſent, for the Sacrificing the Lands of the Church to their greedy Appetite; aiming therein, as much as in them lay, at the very ruine of his Soul, by making him a Robber of God; and thereby pulling upon him all thoſe heavy Curſes, denounc'd by the Pious Donors of thoſe large Poſſeſſions, on the Violaters of their devout Gifts, which they full well knew, that by his *Coronation Oath*, he was ſtrictly obliged to defend.

And, though a more violent and rigid ſort of theſe men, who ſevered from the reſt, not ſo much in point of difference in Religion (if I may ſay they have any Religion in them at all) as to ſecular Intereſt; did get the King out of their Hands; uſing him no leſs Barbarouſly, and at length did put an end to his Life by an inſolent and cruel Murther of his Royal Perſon: what was this worſe, than was done to him by the *Presbyterian?* who moſt inhumanely tormented him, by a lingring and diſconſolate Impriſonment; wherein he was in perpetual fear of Murther, by Piſtol, Dagger, or Poyſon. Nay I would ask of any Rational man, whether he would not rather chooſe to have an end to the like Miſeries, by an open and Publick Death, as His Majeſty had, whereby the World might be the more convinc'd of his Innocency, and Goodneſs; than to be ſo ſtrictly immur'd in the mercileſs hands of ſuch,

ſuch, who might thereby take advantage to divulge what they liſt of him. *An.* 1648.

I cannot deny, but that ſo ſoon as this Heiliſh-Murther was committed, many of the *Presbyterians* did loudly declaim againſt it; ſeeming as much to waſh their Hands of the Guilt, as *Pilate* did from the Death of our Bleſſed Saviour. And I am not ignorant, that whoſoever ſhall, in any ſort, charge the Guilt of his Blood upon them, muſt expect to be ſeverely cenſur'd by all that Party.

Therefore I ſhall herein refer the deciſion of this point, to a Perſon wholly unconcern'd, and without exception; being a Forreigner both by Birth and Reſidence, moſt Eminent for his Learning, throughout the Chriſtian World, and who had no reaſon to deliver any partial opinion herein: I mean the late Famous *Claudius Salmaſius*; who having moſt judiciouſly and elegantly Written upon this Subject, of the King's juſt Rights, as a Monarch here; and conciſely Hiſtoriz'd the chief particulars in the late Rebellion againſt him, until his Generally deplored Murther: at length, by reaſon that the *Independants* did actually cut off his Head; coming to State the caſe rationally (in brief) layes the main Guilt of his Blood at the *Presbyterians* Door, his expreſſion being (in ſhort) this [1] -----*Nunc ad eam quæſtionem perveniimus, quâ tractandum eſt, quinam fuerint Rebellionis illius, & Condemnationis præcipui autores; quis Anglis, Scotis, & Hibernis, optimum Regem peſſimo facinore abſtulit; & tria hæc Regna magnæ Inſulæ, ſub uno Rege, quondam florentia & beata, tot ruinis, ſtragibus, & incendiis miſcuit.*

The opinion herein of the Learned *Salmaſius.*

[1] *Salmaſii* defenſio regia, pro *Carolo* primo. c. 10. p. 343

----- *Et* [m] *quinam alii meritò Regis occiſi crimine notari magis debuêre, quàm qui viam ad eum occidendum munierunt? Illi ſunt, qui nefariam illam ſecurim cervicibus ejus inflixerunt, non alii. Si Latro viatorem per ſylvam tranſeuntem inſidiis exceperit, gladio diſcinctum, & crumenâ ſpoliatum, veſtimentis etiam poſtremò nudatum, ut plerique faciunt, ad arborem religaverit, & fera ſilveſtris de nocte ſuperveniens, & miſerum ſic revinctum offendens, invaſerit, laniaverit & conſumpſerit, cui debet aſcribi mortis ejus cauſa Latroni an Feræ? ille amovit enſem viatori, quo ſe defendere poterat; & inſuper, devinctum, dilacerandum lupis objecit; ergo ille potiùs titulum hujus cædis quàm bellua feret. Mutatis nominibus hæc fabula Presbyterianis convenit, nam res eadem eſt. Illi aliquot annis antè, omnibus modis, per varias*

[m] Ib. p. 333

*An.* 1648. *Petitiones, jus Regis imminuere, & Authoritatem ejus infringere moliti fuerunt, &c.*

Ib. p. 468. ------*Scitum eſt, & verè dictum à quodam de Sectâ* Independentium, *Regem in* Carolo *primùm perdidiſſe Presbyterianos: deinde &* Carolum *ipſum trucidaſſe* Independentes. *Ita juſtum Regem & ſanctum extinxere* Presbyteriani; Carolum *verò, virum probum & pium, non tantum innocentem* Independentes *condemnarunt.* Thus far *Salmaſius.*

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## CHAP. XXXII.

AND now, before I proceed farther in this Hiſtorical Diſcourſe, there are two malicious Scandals, wherewith theſe wicked men, ſince that execrable Murther of their Lawful Soveraign, have endeavoured to beſpot his precious Memory.

The firſt is, that to colour theſe their moſt perfidious and Barbarous dealings, they have not ſtuck to ſay, that *Cromwel* had a real purpoſe (after the King was ſo taken from **Holdenby**) to reſtore him to his juſt Rights (as hath been already obſerved,) with this condition, that he ſhould wholly rely upon him, and his Party, and not endeavour to procure any aid from the *Scots* for that purpoſe: But, that after he was brought to **Hampton-Court**, a certain Letter from the Queen was intercepted by them, and privately opened; the Contents whereof were, that ſhe did thereby acquaint him, that the *Scots* were Raiſing, or preparing to Raiſe an Army in order to his Reſtoration, or expreſſions to that effect. And, that *Cromwel*, having ſeen this Letter, and made it up again ſo artificially, that no violation of the Seal could appear, convey'd it to the King, and the next Morning ſent *Ireton* on purpoſe to His Majeſty, to enquire of him what he knew of any Hoſtile Preparations then in hand by the *Scots* to the purpoſe aforeſaid. Unto whom the King briefly ſaying, that *he did neither know nor believe any thing thereof*, *Ireton* return'd with this anſwer; and that thereupon both of them concluding that

that His Majeſty was not to be farther truſted, they did thenceforth reſolve to proceed againſt him, as hath been already ſhewed. *An.* 1648.

To the which Story, as to the improbability of it, I reply, that 'tis very well known the King was in that open Freedom at **Hampton-Court**, all the time he remained there, that divers of his old and Faithful Servants were not only permitted to attend on His Royal Perſon, in their reſpective places, but many others had the Liberty of Free acceſs to him: So that it is not at all likely, that any Letter from the Queen ſhould come to him at that time, by other hands than thoſe who were of known truſt.

Beſides, what could he expect from the *Scots*, which might conduce to the Reſtoring him to any part of his Regal Authority, without ſubmitting to their ſolemn *League and Covenant*, which they full well knew he could never be prevail'd with to do.

Next, that he had no great reaſon to conſide much in Duke *Hamilton*'s fair intentions towards him, in caſe he ſhould have vanquiſht thoſe men. And laſtly, that it had been no Prudence to depend upon the ſtrength of their Armes, conſidering that the Events of War are uncertain; eſpecially, having ſo much reaſon to hope, and believe, that *Cromwell* and his Party (who had ſuch an influence upon thoſe Members which then Sate in their Parliament, as on the Army) would accompliſh what he had ſo ſolemnly promiſed; conſidering alſo, (in all Humane reaſon) it would conduce to his own proper Intereſt. Thus much as to the Improbability of any Truth herein.

But now to the Impoſſibility thereof. Let it be conſidered, that the *Scots* could not foreſee any danger towards His Majeſty till after he left **Hampton-Court**, which was upon the Eleventh of *November* 1647. Nor then, till the Month of *December* next following, that they ſaw the Four *Dethroning Bills*, which through the influence of *Cromwell* and his Party were ſent to him; and the Vote on the Third of *January* enſuing, of *No more Addreſſes*; Shortly after which he was made cloſe Priſoner by Colonel *Hamond*.

Which deſtructive Bills, and malevolent Votes, was that which in truth alarm'd the *Scots*, as it did the *Engliſh* in divers Parts: who, diſcerning His Majeſty in this miſerable

*An.* 1648. condition, made ſeveral attempts in order to his reſcue (though without ſucceſs, as hath been already obſerved:) who thereupon, and not till then did conſtitute * a *Committee of Danger* at Edenborough, (which was previous to any preparation for Raiſing an Army) and neceſſitated them to conſider what was without delay to be done in this great exigent; foreſeeing well, that the Tyranny of theſe Antimonarchiſts would, in the end, overwhelm them there, as well as the *Engliſh* here. Whereupon they reſolv'd to Raiſe an Army in order thereto.

* In *April* or *May*, 1648. Vide *Sanderſon's* Hiſt. of K. *Charles* p. 1071.

*Scots* entred *England* with a third Army, 13. *July*, 1648.

Beſides, moſt apparent it is, that the King was ſo ignorant of any Preparations made by the *Scots* to that purpoſe, that, until the Month of *July* 1648. when it was told him, that Duke *Hamilton* was entred **England** with an Army, he was ſo ſtrangely ſurprized with the News, that he ſuddenly ſaid, *Then he is undone.*

To paſs by this baſe Fiction therefore, meerly deviſed to give ſome colour for the perfidiouſneſs of *Cromwell*, I deſcend to the next device they had, to countenance their wicked Actions; which was to detract from his deſerved Fame in another kind.

For diſcerning, ſoon after his Death thoſe moſt *Divine Meditations* made publick by the Preſs, and Intituled *Icon Baſilike*, which in his deplorable and diſconſolate ſolitudes he had Pathetically put in Writing; whereby his Great Prudence, Patience, and Piety, in thoſe his woful Sufferings would be made openly conſpicuous to the World; and not being able to ſuppreſs them, (as they did earneſtly endeavour to do) they made it their work to blaſt them, by their falſe and Impudent Reports, that they were none of his own, but compoſed by ſome Royalliſt to gain a Reputation to his Memory, which they ſtudyed by all malicious projects and practiſes to ſuppreſs, and to that purpoſe encouraged a needy Pedagogue, preferring him to the Office of a Secretary, to write that Scandalous Book called Ἐικονοκλάστης, being a bitter invective againſt thoſe his *Divine Meditations.*

But to manifeſt that theſe were no borrowed wares, but by the Good and Gracious aſſiſtance of Almighty God were totally of his own compoſure in the midſt of his moſt ſad afflictions; beſides the unlikely-hood, that any ſuch expreſſions could flow from an Heart not oppreſt and grieved

with

with ſuch a weight of ſorrow as his was; I ſhall make it evident from the Teſtimony of very credible perſons yet living, that he had begun the Penning of them long before he went from Oxford to the *Scots*: For the Manuſcript it ſelf, written with his own Hand, being found in his Cabinet, which was taken at *Naſeby Fight*, was reſtored to him, after he was brought to Hampton-Court, by the hand of Major *Huntington*, through the favour of General *Fairfax*, of whom he obtained it. And, that whilſt he was in the Iſle of Wight, it was there ſeen frequently by Mr. *Thomas Herbert*, who then waited on His Majeſty in his Bed-chamber; as alſo by Mr. *William Levet*, (a Page of the back Staires) the Title then prefixt to it being *Suſpiria Regalia*, who not only read ſeveral parts thereof, but ſaw the King divers times writing farther on it. *An.* 1648.

Which Mr. *Herbert* (being that Learned Perſon, who hath publiſht his Obſervations upon his Travels in Aſia) hath ſince the Kings moſt happy Reſtauration, been honoured with the Title of Baronet, in Teſtimony of the Gracious ſenſe His Majeſty hath of his dutiful demeanour and perfect fidelity, in thoſe Perillous times to his dear Father of Bleſſed Memory. Add hereunto the Teſtimony of Mr. *Richard Royſton* a Bookſeller at the *Angel* in Ivy-lane; who having in thoſe Rebellious times adventured to Print divers of His late Majeſties Declarations, Speeches, and Meſſages; about the beginning of *October* 1648. (the King being then in the Iſle of Wight) was ſent to by His Majeſty to prepare all things ready for the Printing ſome Papers which he purpoſed ſhortly after to convey to him. Which was this very Copy, brought to him on the Twenty Third of *December* next following, by one Mr. *Edward Symmons*, a Reverend Divine, who received it from Dr. *Bryan Duppa*, then Biſhop of Salisbury, and afterwards of Wincheſter. In the Printing whereof Mr. *Royſton* made ſuch ſpeed, that it was finiſhed before that diſmal Thirtieth of *January*, that His Majeſties Life was ſo taken away, as before is obſerved.

What I have here inſtanced to wipe off this foul ſtain, which the malice of wicked men have caſt upon the Memory of His late Majeſty, will be ſufficient, I am ſure, to ſatisfie all ſuch, who through thoſe moſt venomous Inſinuations have been doubtful herein; and enough to ſtop

the

*An.* 1648. the mouths of thoſe vile Detractors, which are any way favourers of that execrable Murther of their Lawful Soveraign.

Whoſe laſt Legacies of what he had left the night before his Suffering, and afterwards delivered by the hands of Mr. *Herbert*, were as followeth, *viz.*

To the Prince (our now Gracious King) his Bible, in the Margin whereof he had with his own hand Written many Annotations. To the Duke of **York** his large Ring-Sun-Dial of Silver, which His Majeſty much valued, it having been invented and made by *Mounſieur De la maine*, an able Mathematician; and who, in a little Printed Book hath ſhewed its excellent uſe, for reſolving many Queſtions in Arithmetick; and other rare operations in the Mathematicks, to be wrought by it.

To the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, his Daughter, the Sermons of the moſt Learned Dr. *Andrews* ſometimes Biſhop of **Winchester**; and Arch-biſhop *Laud*'s Book againſt *Fiſher* the Jeſuit, which he ſaid, *would ground her againſt Popery*; with Mr. *Hooker*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*. As alſo a Paper to be Printed, in which he aſſerted Regal Government to have a *Divine Right*, with Proofs out of ſundry Authors Civil and Sacred.

To his Son the Duke of **Glaucester**, King *James* his works, and Dr. *Hamond*'s *Practical Catechiſm*: To the Earl of **Lindsey** *Caſſandra*; To the Dutcheſs of **Richmund** his Gold Watch: And to Mr. *Herbert* himſelf the Silver Clock, which uſually hung by his Bed-ſide.

Hereunto it will not ſeem impertinent, I preſume, to add a Catalogue of the other Books, which His Majeſty had with him in this His diſconſolate condition; they being theſe, Dr. *Hamond*'s other Works; *Villalpandus* upon *Ezekiel*, &c. *Sands* his Paraphraſe upon King *David*'s *Pſalmes*; *Herbert*'s Divine Poems: *Godfrey* of *Bulloign*, Written in *Italian* by *Torquato Taſſo*, and Tranſlated into *Engliſh* Heroick Verſe by Mr. *Fairfax* (a Poem which His Majeſty much commended) as he did *Arioſto* by Sir *John Harrington* a Facetious Poet; *Spenſer*'s Fairy Queen, and the like, for alleviating his Spirits after ſerious Studies.

Nor can I here omit to tell, that this excellent Prince, with his own hand Tranſlated that Learned Diſcourſe written in Latin by Dr. *Saunderſon* (afterwards Biſhop of **Lincolne**)

colne) *de Juramentis*, which he cauſed Mr. *Herbert* and Mr. *Harington* to compare with the Original, who found it moſt accurately done. *An.* 1648.

Thoſe particulars are ſuch, whereof thoſe who have publiſht much of his Life and Reign have not taken notice.

To give a Character of his Eminent virtues I ſhall not need, it being already ſo well done by Dr. *Pireinchief* in the ſhort Hiſtory which he hath publiſht of his Life; but ſhall take notice, that his delight in Learning was ſuch, that he underſtood *Greek*, *Latin*, *French*, *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Authors in their Original Languages, which Three laſt he ſpake perfectly; no man being better read in Hiſtories of all ſorts, being able alſo to Diſcourſe in moſt Arts and Sciences.

In one of his Books he wrote this Diſtich of *Claudian*.

*Rebus in adverſis facile eſt contemnere vitam,*
*Fortiter ille facit, qui miſer eſſe poteſt.*

And out of another Poet, againſt the Levellers and Antimonarchiſts then predominant:

*Fallitur egregio quiſquis ſub principe credit*
*Servitium. Nunquam libertas gratior extat*
*Quàm ſub Rege pio-----*

Whereunto I ſhall add, that after Mr. *Herbert* had much ſollicited thoſe who were then in Power, that His Royal Corps might be Buryed in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel at Weſtminſter, near to the Grave of King *James*; which they refuſed, alledging the danger of much concourſe to that place out of a ſuperſtitious reſpect; they thereupon granted a Warrant to him, bearing Date the Sixth of *February* for the Interring thereof at Windſor. Hence it was, that Mr. *Herbert*, having often heard His Majeſty ſpeak with Great Honour of King *Edward* the Fourth, from whom he was deſcended, he reſolved to Bury the Corps in that Vault under the Monument of that King (which is betwixt the High Altar and the North Iſle) and gave order for the opening thereof accordingly: but the

*An.* 1648. the Duke of *Richmond*, Marqueſs of *Hertford*, Earl of *Southampton*, and Earl of *Lindſey*, coming to Windſor to perform their laſt duty to His Memory, in ſeeing His Royal Corps decently Interred; and walking up the Quire, where they found by knocking on the Pavement an hollow ſound, they cauſed the place to be opened, it being near to the Seats, and oppoſite to the Eleventh Stall on the Sovereign's ſide; in which were Two Coffins, one very large, of King *Henry* the Eighth, the other of Queen *Jane* his Third Wife, both covered with Velvet; whereupon they concluded to depoſit it there. It was therefore brought down accordingly out of the King's Lodgings, in the upper Ward of the Caſtle, into the Court, the Air being then Serene: but (which is obſervable) before they came to the Door of the Chapel, there hapned Snow to fall, which covered the Hearſe of Black Velvet, in which it was carryed, that it was all White. It being brought to the Grave, the Reverend Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of London, who had been permitted to wait on His Majeſty in the time of His Preparation for Death, and on the Scaffold, was there ready to have performed the Office of Burial, as it is preſcribed in the Publick Liturgy of the Church; but the Governor of the Caſtle (Colonel *Whitchcot*) would not ſuffer it.

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## CHAP. XXXIII.

HAVING thus finiſhed what I thought proper to be ſaid in reference to His Late Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt, thus deſtroy'd by theſe great Pretenders to Godlineſs (as hath been obſerved;)

I ſhall now go on with the remainder of this Story, until I come to the moſt happy, and Miraculous Reſtoration of our preſent Sovereign King *Charles* the Second, whom God long preſerve, and continually defend from the Infernal Plots, and ſubtile Machinations of this dangerous Brood of Cruel men.

Procla-

Proclamation [o] being therefore made in London (and afterwards throughout all England) forbidding to Proclaim Prince *Charles*, the Members remaining in the House of Commons, passed an *Act* [p] (for thenceforth their Edicts were so called) that such as had assented to the Vote of *December* the Fifth, *viz. that the King's concessions were a ground for the House to proceed to a settlement, should not be re-admitted to Sit as Members: As also, that such as were then in the House, and Voted in the Negative, should first enter their dissent to the said Vote: And that such as were absent should declare their disapproval before they Sate.* An. 1648. [o] 30. Jan. Hist. of Indep. part 2. p. 113. [p] 1. Febr. Ib. p. 115.

Soon after this, they passed an Act, [q] for the setting up of another High Court of Justice, for the Tryal of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holand*, the Earl of *Norwich*, Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*. Which Court, upon the Fifth of *February* met [r] in the *Painted-Chamber*, and Elected their Presidents: It being then also debated in the House of Commons, whether they should continue the House of Lords, as a Court of Judicatory, or Consultatory only. And the day following, [s] it being put to the Question, both were carryed in the Negative; and farther Voted; [t] that the House of Peers in Parliament was Useless and Dangerous, and ought to be abolished; and that an Act should be brought in for that purpose: as also that the Peers should not be exempted from Arrests: but did admit, that they should be capable of being *Knights* and *Burgesses* in Parliament, in case they were elected. [q] 3. Febr. [r] 5. Febr. [s] 6. Febr. [t] Ib. p. 115. Et Perf. Diurnal. p. 1250.

House of Peers abolished.

¶ The next thing of Note that hapned, was the Proclaiming [u] of Prince *Charles* at Edenborough, in Scotland, to be King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland (his Royal Father being thus destroy'd:) But 'tis to be noted, that this Proclamation ran thus ----- *Whom all the Subjects of his Kingdom, are bound humbly to obey, maintain, and defend,* according to the National Covenant, *betwixt the Two Kingdoms, with their Lives and Goods against all, deadly. And that before he should be admitted to the exercise of His Royal Power, he was to give satisfaction to that Kingdom, in those things that concern'd the security of Religion, the Union betwixt the Kingdoms, and the Good and Peace of that Kingdom, according to the* National Covenant, *and the* Solemn League and Covenant. [u] 5. Febr.

*An.* 1648. And for Eſtabliſhing the Dominion of theſe Bloody Regicides at **Weſtminſter**, the Members there Sitting went on Vigorouſly; Firſt Voting the abſolute abolition of the *Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy.* Next in deviſing and appointing *A new Stamp for Coyne.* And by Erecting a *Council of State*, conſiſting of Thirty Perſons, *viz.* the Earles of *Denbigh*, *Mulgrave*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, Lord *Grey* of *Warke*, Lord General *Fairfax*, Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Lord *L'iſle* (Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*) Lord Chief Juſtice *Rolls*, Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Lord Chief Baron *Wylde*, Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, Lord General *Cromwell*, Major General *Skippon*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *William Maſham*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrig*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Jun. Sir *John Davers*, Sir *William Armyn*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Alderman *Penington*, Alderman *Wilſon*, *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, Eſq; *Henry Martin*, Eſq; Colonel *Ludlow*, *Anthony Stapeley*, Eſq; *William Heveningham*, Eſq; *Robert Wallop*, Eſq; *John Hutchinſon*, Eſq; *Dennis Bond*, Eſq; *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; *Valentine Walton*, Eſq; *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; *William Pureſey*, Eſq; *John Jones*, Eſq;

But the Lord *Grey* of *Warke* waving that employment, Mr. *John L'iſle* of *Hantſhire*, *Cornelius Holand*, and *Luke Robinſon* were added to this Number, who were called *the Committee of Eſtates appointed by Parliament.*

¶ It is not unworthy of Obſervation, that as the *Scots* and this unhappy *Long Parliament*, at the beginning of their deſperate Practiſes againſt the King, did declare, *that their whole Proceedings, then were according to the* **Fundamental Laws**. So theſe wicked Regicides, after their Bloody Murther of the King, in anſwer to an Embaſſy from the *Dutch*, expreſſed; [x] *that theſe their Proceedings againſt the King, were conſiſtent with the* **Fundamental Laws** *of this Nation of* **England**, *which were beſt known to themſelves.*

[x] Moderate Intelligencer. p. 315.

Nor was the project for their new *Church-Diſcipline* leſs notable, as may ſeem by this following *Petition* [y] *and Advice*, which was preſented [z] to the General of their Army, and the Council of War, by many Chriſtians (as they call'd themſelves) diſperſed abroad, throughout the County of *Norfolk*, and City of **Norwich**, in theſe words;

[y] The Armies weekly Intelligencer, p. 33, & 34.

[z] *Febr.* 16.

——*That your Petitioners acknowledge themſelves unſpeakably engaged to the God of Heaven and Earth, for his great Mercy*

to

*to us, in giving you Hearts to offer your ſelves ſo willingly among the People, in the late Great undertaking of the Nation, againſt the Enemies of the Peace thereof, and Bleſſing your Faithful endeavours, with ſuch Glorious and wonderful ſucceſſes; whereby, as the Lord hath put great Honour upon you, Crowning your Valour with Victory, and making you the War-like Glory of the World, ſo hath he no leſs put great Obligations upon you all, to exalt him that hath exalted you, and to lift up his Glory in the World, where he hath given you a name ſo Great and Glorious, &c. ---- Therefore our dayly Prayers ſhall be for your ſelves, and your Noble Army, that you may never ſtumble at the ſtumbling-ſtone, nor take the honour to your ſelves, that is due to Chriſt; nor be Inſtrumental for ſetting up of a meer Natural and Worldly Government, like that of Heathen-*Rome, Athens, *&c.---- To which end we humbly pray, that your ſelves would enter into Serious and Grave conſideration, and debate the Particulars in the Papers here humbly offered to you: and alſo preſent them to the Honourable Parliament, that they may be improved ſo far, as ſhall be found agreeable to the will and word of God. Which done, we doubt not, but God ſhall have much Glory, the Godly Party ſhall be comforted: Natural men (enjoying their Eſtates) will be at reſt alſo, and much ſatisfied, and this Common-wealth will be exalted, to be both an Habitation of Juſtice, and Mountain of Holineſs; even ſuch a People as God ſhall Bleſs.* An. 1648.

An humble Advice, concerning the Government of the Kingdom, according to the former Platform, or Model.

1. *That you would ſtir up Godly Miniſters, and People, throughout the Kingdom, to Aſſociate, or incorporate into Church-Societies; and grant them your ſpecial Favour, Proviſion and Protection; ſo ſhall you be the Saints Nurſing Fathers.*

2. *That you would pleaſe to ſatisfie the Godly-diſſenting-Brethren, both of* Presbytery *and* Independency *(by ſuch ways and means as your Wiſdoms ſhall think fit) how both their Intereſts may meet herein, that ſo they may concur with one heart in the work.*

3. *That Siſter-Churches over-ſee ſuch Incorporations, and Imbodyings, that only ſuch as be of approved Godlineſs, may have the Right-hand of Fellowſhip given to them.*

4. *That ſuch Churches, where more of them are thus Collected and imbodyed in any Diviſion, Circuit, Province, &c. may chooſe and ſend out ſome Delegates, Members, and Officers to Meet in one Seſſion, Leſſer-Parliament, Presbytery, or Aſſembly,*

An. 1648. *for ordering of all ſuch affaires as there occurr, according to the word, if appertaining alone to that diviſion.*

5. *That all ſuch Churches, and the Members thereof, have voices in Elections of ſuch as are to Sit in General Aſſemblies, or Church-Parliaments, ſo often as occaſion is; and thoſe Elected to Sit there as Chriſt's Officers, and the Churches Repreſentatives; and to determine all things by the Word, as that Law, which God will exalt alone and make honourable.*

6. *That you take ſpecial care to ſend out, and encourage Godly Preachers, that may go into the reſt of the Kingdom, to Preach the Goſpel; that ſo, when others are converted, and the Son of God makes them Free, they may enjoy the former Freedom with the reſt of the Saints.*

And in farther order to the utter aboliſhing of *Kingly Government*, they appointed all thoſe Antick and moſt Venerable *Regalia*, conſerved in the Treaſury at **Weſtminſter**, and chiefly made uſe of at the Magnificent Coronations of the Kings of the Realm, and ſolemn Proceedings to Parliament: Alſo the coſtly Hangings, precious Jewels,
18. *Febr.* with other of the Kings Goods, and rich Furniture for his ſeveral Princely Palaces, to be ſold. And, within few days following, cauſed the Heads of *James* Duke of *Hamilton*, *Henry* Earl of *Holand*, with that truly Noble *Arthur* Lord *Capel*, to be cut off. Touching whoſe actings againſt them, having already made ſome brief mention, I ſhall only take notice of their dealing with Duke *Hamilton* a lit-
2. Hiſt. of Indep. p. 2. p. 131. tle before his Execution, which was that in order to his diſcovery of ſuch Members of Parliament, and Citizens of **London**, as had any Hand in calling him in, *Cromwel* took a Journey on purpoſe, to **Windſor**, and there flattered him with fair promiſes of Life: and though he could get nothing out of him; nevertheleſs he cauſed *Bradſhaw* to carry a favourable countenance towards him upon his Tryal in **Weſtminſter-Hall**; the Lord *Grey* of **Groby**, Colonel *Wayte* and *Hugh Peters* being likewiſe imploy'd to him upon the like Errand: who told him, that they would not much obſtruct his Pretended Plea of Quarter from *Lambert*, upon Articles: *Peters* alſo promiſing him to witneſs the ſame for him (though *Wayte* upon his Report to the Houſe of Commons, of the manner how he took him, had affirmed, that he yielded at diſcretion, and that *Lam-*

*bert*

*bert* was not near him.) Nay honeſt *Hugh* ſeem'd ſo zealous in his behalf, that he Prayed openly for him as his Lord and Patron, and fed him with no ſmall hopes in caſe he would impeach thoſe whom they ſuſpected. But *Hamilton*, inſtead of complying with them therein (expecting otherwiſe to ſave his Head) did not only offer them an hundred thouſand Pounds for his Life, intimating what Service he would do them in **Scotland**; but aſſured them, that he would joyn Intereſts with *Argile*, and be a Servant to them there. Whereupon Meſſengers were ſent Poſt thither, to know *Argile's* mind; who reſolving, that none ſhould ſhare with him in ſo Glorious a Work, refuſed any conjunction with him. The Wind, therefore, blowing in that Door, *Bradſhaw* uſed him more roughly, upon his farther Tryal, than before; and *Hugh Peters* renounc'd what he had formerly teſtified; inſomuch, as Sentence of Death was given againſt him. Nevertheleſs, that he might ſtill expect Life, and not give that Glory to God in this his Judgment, and caſt Infamy upon them, by a Chriſtian acknowledgment of his own and *Argile's* mutual Practiſes, they ſoon cut off his Head. *An.* 1648

And immediately after this, they paſſed an Act, [a] for diſcharging all people from their Allegiance to the late King's Iſſue, and *aboliſhing* [b] *the Kingly Office*. Likewiſe for *aboliſhing the Houſe of Peers, as uſeleſs and dangerous: but with favour to ſome Lords, who had demeaned themſelves with honour, courage and fidelity to the Common-wealth* (as the words are) *ſo that they might be capable of Voting in Parliament, if elected*; *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, being [c] the firſt, which had the benefit of this Act, being admitted a Commoner in this new fram'd Parliament; and the Lord *Howard* of **Eſcrick** the Second. After whom followed *William* Earl of **Salisbury**------

[a] 17. Martii Scob. Coll. p. 7.
[b] Ibid: p. 8.
[c] 16. *Apr.*

And wiſely conſidering; that as the *Preachers* had been their chief Inſtruments, for infuſing ſuch Principles into the Vulgar ſort of People, by their Seditious Lecturing Sermons, as had at laſt accompliſht their long ſtudied deſign, for the aboliſhing of Monarchical Government: Leſt therefore, that by the ſame Engine, the like ruine in time, might be brought upon themſelves; they ordered, *that no Miniſter, in the Pulpit, ſhould meddle with any State-Matters* *An.* 1649.

*An.* 1649. *Matters*; therein purſuing the practiſe of the *Netherlanders*, who had done ſo before, for the prevention of miſchief to their own Common-wealth.

But now to digreſs a little; let us here behold what a Brain-ſick Generation in a ſhort ſpace of time ſprung up from this precious root of *Presbytery*.

[a] Hiſt. of Indep. p. 2. p. 152.

About [a] this time, there came Six Souldiers into the Pariſh-Church of **Walton** upon **Thames**, in *Surrey*, near Twylight in the Evening (Mr. *Faucet*, the Preacher there, having not till then ended his Sermon) one of which number with a Lanthorn in his hand, and a Candle burning in it; and in the other Hand, four Candles not lighted, deſired the Pariſhoners to ſtay a while; ſaying, that he had a Meſſage from God unto them, and thereupon offered to go up into the Pulpit. But the people, refuſing to give him leave ſo to do, or to ſtay in the Church, he went into the Church-yard, and there told them, that he had a Viſion, wherein he had received a command from God, to declare his will unto them, which he was to deliver, and they to receive, upon pain of damnation; it conſiſting of Five Lights.

1. *That the Sabbath was aboliſht as unneceſſary, Jewiſh, and meerly Ceremonial*; And here (*quoth he*) I ſhould put out my firſt Light, but the wind is ſo high I cannot kindle it.

2. *That Tithes are aboliſht, as Jewiſh and Ceremonial, a great Burthen to the Saints of God, and a diſcouragement of Induſtry and Tillage*; and here I ſhould put out my Second Light, &c.

3. *That Miniſters are aboliſht, as Antichriſtian, and of no longer uſe, now Chriſt himſelf deſcends into the hearts of his Saints, and his Spirit enlighteneth them with Revelations, and Inſpirations.* And here I ſhould put out my Third Light, &c.

4. *Magiſtrates are aboliſhed, as uſeleſs, now that Chriſt himſelf is in purity of Spirit come among us, and hath erected the Kingdom of the Saints upon Earth. Beſides they are Tyrants and Oppreſſors of the Liberty of the Saints, and tye them to Laws and Ordinances, meer humane Inventions*: And here I ſhould put out my Fourth Light, &c.

5. Then putting his Hand into his Pocket, and pulling out a little Bible, he ſhewed it open to the People, ſaying, *Here is a Book you have in great Veneration, conſiſting of Two parts, the Old and New Teſtament: I muſt tell you, it is aboliſhed,*

*aboliſhed, it containeth Beggarly Rudiments, Milk for Babes: but now Chriſt is in Glory amongſt us, and imparts a farther meaſure of his Spirit to his Saints, than this can afford, I am commanded to burn it before your Face.* So taking the Candle out of his Lanthorn, he ſet fire on it. Then putting out the Candle he ſaid; *and here my Fifth Light is extinguiſhed.* An. 1649.

Nay, the ſtream at that time carryed Multitudes, ſo violently, this way, that the Souldiers fell to Preaching [e] in many places; ſix of them, in one day, exerciſing their Gifts, in that kind, at **White-Hall**; in ſo much, as that Grand Impoſtor *Cromwel*, ſubtilly obſerving the bent of this Tide, aſcended the Pulpit there himſelf, pretending that he was called up by the Spirit of God; and ſtanding a good while with his Eyes lifted up (as it were in a Trance) his Head inclining to one ſide, he fetcht many deep Groans; ſpent one hour in his Prayer, and near two in his Sermon. In which Prayer, his Humility was ſuch; that, in imitation of *Moſes*, he deſired God to take off from his Shoulders the Government of this Mighty People of **England**, as being too heavy for him to bear. [e] Ib. p. 153.

And ſo much did he then pretend to *Revelations*, and *Inſpirations*; that when any weighty matter was propounded to him, he uſually retired for a quarter of an hour, or more, and declared what was revealed to him. But to proceed.

About this time they paſſed an Act, [f] for ſupporting of their Military Forces, by impoſing a Tax of Ninety thouſand Pounds *Per Menſem* upon the Kingdom. [f] 7. *April.* Scob. Coll. p. 8.

And that the people might be totally confounded as to matter of Religion, or have any regard to Moral Honeſty, but wholly guided by thoſe whimſical Fantaſies, which were, by their Ring-leaders called the *Revelations* and *Inſpirations of God's Holy Spirit*; it was referred [g] to a Committee, to conſider of a way for the Raiſing of Penſions, and allowances out of Deans and Chapters Lands, to maintain certain *Itinerant Preachers*, who were Authorized to go up and down, and ſpread abroad their Antimonarchical Doctrine, whereby the Rabble might be ſet up, and comply with the Souldiery againſt the Nobility and Gentry, Clergy, Lawyers, and all orderly Government. But upon better conſideration, fearing [g] 12. *April.* Ib. p. 156.

that

*An.* 1649. that the Liberty, might in time, overwhelm them with confuſion; and give ſuch a countenance to the *Levellers* (of whoſe help they had made no ſmall uſe, for the King's Deſtruction) as would bring upon them inevitable ruine;

[h] Ib. p. 157. *Cromwel* moved [h] in their Parliament, that the *Presbyterian Government* might be ſetled, promiſing his endeavours thereto; and that the ſecured and ſecluded Members might be again invited to return into the Houſe.

They likewiſe imploy'd divers of their Preachers (of which Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Carrel*, Mr. *Goodwyn* and *Hugh Peters* were the chief) to cajole others of their own Coat, together with the Citizens and expulſed Members, with certain Diſcourſes and Propoſals; telling them, that the *Presbyterians* did differ with the King in point of Civil Intereſt, which was much more irreconcileable, than the Intereſt of Church Government, whatſoe-

[i] Ib. p. 158. ver ſhew was made to the contrary: Alſo, [i] that it was the *Presbyterians* who firſt made War againſt the late King, brought him low, and prepared him to receive his deadly blow from the *Independants*: and therefore, that the King would look upon them, as equally Guilty with the *Independants*, and endeavour equally to cut them off; their deſign being thereby to caſt the *Presbyterians* into utter deſpair; and ſo, to bring them in point of ſelf Preſervation, to joyn with their Intereſts, for common defence.

And to carry on their work with the more ſhew of San-

[k] 19. *April.* Ibid. ctity, they ordered, [k] that a ſtrict Faſt ſhould be kept, to humble themſelves, and implore God's Forgiveneſs, for the Ingratitude of the People, who did not ſufficiently acknowledge, with Thankfulneſs, Gods Great Mercies upon this Land, in Freeing them from Monarchy, and beſtowing Liberty upon them, by changing *Kingly Government*, into a *Free State*, or Republick.

To ſweeten, likewiſe, the affections of the Vulgar towards them, they made moſt ſpecious pretences of paying all the publick Debts, and raiſing Three Hundred thouſand Pounds for ſupplying the neceſſities of the Com-

[l] 30. *April.* Scob. Coll. p. 16. Act for ſale of Deans and Chapters Lands. mon-wealth (as they term'd it) without any charge or burthen to the people; and to that end paſſed an Act [l] for aboliſhing all Deans and Chapters, and for ſale of their Lands.

And

And the better to fortifie themſelves, and their Uſurped Dominion, they fram'd another Act, [m] whereby they declared certain particulars to be Treaſon, *viz.* *An.* 1649.

[m] 1. *May.* Hiſt. of Indep. p. 2. p. 167.

1. If any man ſhould maliciouſly affirm their preſent Government to be Tyrannical, uſurped, or unlawful: or that the Commons in Parliament were not the Supream Authority of the Nation; or that ſhould endeavour to alter that their Government.

2. If any ſhould affirm their Council of State or Parliament to be Tyrannical or unlawful, or endeavour to Subvert them, or ſtir up Sedition againſt them.

3. For any Souldiers of their Army to contrive the death of the General, or Lieutenant General; or endeavour to Raiſe Mutinies in the Army; or to Levy War againſt the Parliament, or to joyn with any to Invade **England** or **Ireland**, to Counterfeit their Great Seal, or kill any Member of their Parliament; or any Judge or Miniſter of Juſtice in their duty.

Soon after this, they framed and paſſed another Act, [n] declaring **England** with all the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, to be a *Free State*, and to be Governed by the Repreſentatives of the People in Parliament, without any King or Houſe of Lords. Which Act was Proclaimed [o] in the City of **London**, by Alderman *Andrews* then Lord Mayor.

[n] 19. *May.* Scob. Coll. p. 30.

[o] 30. *May.* Hiſt. of Indep. part 2. p. 184. & 185.

Alderman { *Pennington* *Edmunds* *Avery*
*Wollaſton* *Pack* *Wilſon*
*Fowkes* *Bateman* *Dethick*
*Kenrick* *Atkins* *Foote* then attending him.
*Byde* *Viner*.

The *Londoners* being by that time brought unto ſo much Vaſſalage by theſe inſolent Regicides; as that, in obedience to a Vote, made by their ſervile Parliament, they were conſtrain'd to invite [p] that wicked Conclave to a *Thanksgiving Dinner*; whereat all of them were to rejoyce together, for bringing the Grand Delinquent to puniſhment (that is to ſay for the Murther of the King) for the greater honour of that day, the Lord Mayor met the Speaker, and the other Members of Parliament at **Temple-Bar**: and there reſigning the Sword to him, re-

[p] 7. *Junii.* Ib. p. 187.

*Ar.* 1649. ceived it again, and carryed it before him to *Chriſts Church*. Whence, after a Canting Sermon, he conducted them to **Grocers-Hall**, and entertain'd them in the quality of a *Free State*: the Cooks having every one of them an Oath to prepare for thoſe Saints, nothing but wholſome Food.

Being therefore thus ſeeming firmly ſetled in their Tyrannical Dominion, they went on in paſſing ſundry other Acts, in their Pſeudo-Parliament, of which the Ruling Grandees had the chief benefit, *viz.*

[q] 25. *Junii.* Scob. Coll. p. 45. 1. To [q] encourage the Purchaſers of Deans and Chapters Lands, by the ſale of them at Ten years Purchaſe, in caſe of ready Money; or doubling what was due to thoſe as ſhould ſo purchaſe.

[r] 4. *Julii.* Ib. p. 46. 2. Another for [r] the ſale of the Goods, and Perſonal Eſtate of the King, Queen, and Prince.

[s] 16. *Julii.* Ib. p. 51. 3. A Third [s] for ſale of the Crown Lands, with particular Inſtructions to ſell them at Thirteen years purchaſe.

[t] 17. *Julii.* Ib. p. 64. 4. Soon after this they paſſed another Act, [t] for Coyning of new Money; with direction for the form of the ſtamp to be thereon.

[u] 17. *Julii.* Ib. p. 65. 5. Another, [u] declaring what Offences ſhould be thenceforth adjudged Treaſon; *viz.* to expreſs or publiſh their Government to be Tyrannical; or that the Commons in Parliament were not the Supream Authority.

6. And for the quicker riddance of Deans and Chapters Lands, they added farther Power [x] and Inſtructions to the Truſtees for the ſale of them.

[x] 31. *Julii.* Ib. p. 68.

7. Next, to reward their Bloody Preſident *Bradſhaw*, who gave Judgment of Death upon the King, they paſſed another Act, [y] for ſettling Two thouſand pounds *per annum* upon him.

[y] 15. *Aug.*

And that there might be a known mark of diſtinction, betwixt themſelves and others they paſſed an Act, [z] for the Subſcribing an *Engagement*; whereby every man ſhould promiſe *to be true and Faithful to the Government then eſtabliſhed, without a King or Houſe of Lords*; or in caſe of refuſal to have no benefit of the Laws.

[z] 2. *Jan.* Scob. Coll. p. 101. Act for the Engagement.

But the Crown-lands, ſo doom'd to be ſold, went but ſlowly off: they therefore paſſed another Act [a] to conſtitute a Committee to remove obſtructions in the ſale of them.

[a] 18. *Febr.* Ibid.

them. Nor was all this ſufficient to ſatisfie their greedy appetites, or was evident enough from the aim they had to devour all the Gleabe and Tithes throughout the whole Kingdom. To which purpoſe they paſſed an Act, [b] whereby they nominated certain Commiſſioners, to receive and diſpoſe of all Rents, Iſſues, and profits of all Rectories, Vicaridges, Donatives, and all other Eccleſiaſtical livings; and of all Impropriations and Gleabe-lands, then under Sequeſtration; out of which to allow an yearly maintenance, for ſuch as ſhould be approved of for the work of the Miniſtry; this act being called *An Act for the better propagating and Preaching the Goſpel in* Wales: For it was to extend no farther at preſent; their Reſolutions being to go on as they found their ſucceſs in this. Hereupon all the Church-doors in that part of the Realm being ſoon ſhut up; they imploy'd three or four moſt Impudent Schiſmatical Knaves (*viz. Jenkin Jones, Vavaſor Powel*, and *David Gam*) to range about in thoſe Parts as Itinerants, there to Preach to the People, when, where, and what they pleaſed, in order to the more firm eſtabliſhment of their own Tyrannical Dominion. *An.* 1649.

[b] 22. *Febr.* Ib. p. 104.

The next work was to make ſale of the Fee-farm-Rents of the Crown: to which end they paſſed an act. [c] Alſo, for the farther enſlaving and terrifying of the People, they paſſed another [d] for the eſtabliſhing *an High Court of Juſtice*; by which act Commiſſioners were named, to hear and determine of all Crimes and Offences, contrary to the Articles therein contained. And having built Three Famous new Pinnaces, the better to ſpread forth and perpetuate the Memorial of ſome of their Grandees; upon the lanching [e] of them (which the States went to ſee) they named one of them the *Faithful Speaker*; another *the ſucceſſful Fairfax*; and the Third *the Bold Preſident*: and ſoon after, for the ſurer obliterating of Monarchy, they Voted [f] that the Kings Armes in all places ſhould be pull'd down and defaced.

[c] 11. *Martii.* Ib. p. 106. *An.* 1650.

[d] 26. *Martii.* Scob. Coll. p. 111.

[e] 15. *Apr.*

[f] 3 *Maii.*

## CHAP. XXXIV.

ABOUT this time the *Scots* (in whoſe power it once was to have reſtored the late King to his Royal Throne; had they been really ſenſible of that whereof in their many *Declarations* they ſo boaſted) ſeeing the Clouds thicken apace from **England**, which threatned the like Slavery to them, as their Presbyterian Brethren here did then ſuffer under the power of the Independant Saints; reſolving to adventure an after-Game, for the recovery of their power, diſpatcht [s] the Lord *Libertown* into the **Netherlands**, unto the young King (*Charles* the Second) by the colour of whoſe Title, they knew full well, that an Army might eaſily be Raiſed: But withall making advantage of his then diſtreſſed condition (inſtigated and animated by the Presbyterians here) they required that he ſhould take the *Covenant*, and likewiſe ſubmit to their *Directory* and *Catechiſm*, promiſing that in ſo doing, they would admit him to the Throne of that Realm; endeavour the recovery of his Rights, and aſſiſt him in bringing the Murtherers of his Father to condign puniſhment. Towards the accompliſhment of which work, the Presbyterians here, were alſo by compact to have acted as opportunity might beſt ſerve.

[s] Hiſt. of Indep. part 2. p. 14. & 15.

Unto which diſhonourable terms he being over-perſwaded, by ſome greater Polititians than St. *Paul* (who prohibited the doing Evil, that Good might come thereof) againſt his own judgment, was drawn to aſſent, and to adventure His Royal Perſon into **Scotland**, for carrying on that work. Whereupon the *Scots* having by the help of their Preachers, ſoon Rais'd a powerful Hoſt (and for that reaſon called the *Kirk-Army*) as a preamble to that Slavery which they intended to the King, welcom'd him thither with that moſt inhumane and infamous Murther, of the beſt of His Subjects; I mean the moſt Loyal and truly noble Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, whom the unhappy event of War had made their Priſoner.

The

The danger of which Army, ſo Rais'd in **Scotland**, being diſcerned here; it was Voted [h] at **Weſtminſter**, that General *Fairfax* ſhould forthwith March into that Kingdom, and quell the Brethren: But he, being either toucht in conſcience with the ſolemn *League* and *Covenant*, which had formerly ſo firmly knit theſe Brethren in iniquity together; or rather over-awed by ſome of the Godly Party here; declined that Service, laying down his Commiſſion. Whereupon that Superlative Saint *Cromwel*, being conſtituted General (having taken off the Heads of Mr. *Love* (one of the fierceſt of the Presbyterian Pulpitmen) and *Gybons*, another active man for the *Cauſe*; the more to ſtrike a terror into the reſt of the Presbyterians here, Marcht into **Scotland** with no leſs than ſixteen thouſand Horſe and Foot. Where, notwithſtanding he had at firſt ſome hopeful effects of his Expedition, he became at length reduced to ſuch deſperate extremities, that he would gladly have retreated for the preſervation of himſelf.

*An.* 1650.

[h] 6. *Junii.*

General *Fairfax* layeth down his Commiſſion.

[i] 26. *Junii.*

*Oliver Cromwel* made General of the Army.

In this ſeeming loſt condition, therefore when thoſe proud Presbyterians of that Realm had in conceit ſwallow'd him up, Almighty God made him the apparent and ſignal ſcourge of that diſloyal and moſt perfidious people, by the utter overthrow [k] of their great and powerful Army at *Dunbar*; their word then being *for Kirk and Covenant*. As Trophies of which wonderful Victory, the colours then taken, were ſoon after hung [l] up in **Weſtminſter-Hall**.

[k] Battail of *Dunbar.* 3. *Sept.*

[l] 21. *Sept.*

It will not (I think) be amiſs, before I proceed farther, to obſerve ſome particulars, which paſſed by Letters betwixt General *Cromwel*, and the Governour of **Edenborough-Caſtle**, within a few days after this great Victory at **Dunbar**; the Governour objecting; [m] *Firſt that the* Engliſh *had not adhered to their firſt Principles, nor had been true to the ends of the* **Covenant**. *And Secondly that men of Civil imployments had uſurped the calling and imployment of the Miniſtry, to the ſcandal of the Reformed Kirks.*

[m] Perſ. Diurnall. p. 476. &c.

To the firſt of theſe objections therefore, *Cromwel* demands of them; *whether their bearing witneſs to themſelves of their adhering to their firſt Principles, and ingenuity in proſecuting the ends of the* **Covenant**, *juſtifies them ſo to have done, becauſe they themſelves ſay ſo. Adding, that they muſt have patience,*

An. 1650. *ence, to have the truth of their Doctrines and Sayings, tryed by the Touch-ſtone of the Word of God: and that there be a Liberty and duty of Tryal, there is alſo a Liberty of Judgment for them that may and ought to trye. Which, if ſo, then they muſt give others leave to ſay and think, that they can appeal to equal Judges, who they are that have been the trueſt fulfillers of the moſt real and equitable ends of the Covenant. But if thoſe Gentlemen* (quoth *Oliver*) *who do aſſume to themſelves, to be the infallible Expoſitors of the Covenant, as they do* (too much to their *Auditories*) *of the Scriptures, account a different ſenſe and Judgment from their own, to be a breach of the Covenant, and Hereſie; no marvel* (quoth he) *that they judge of others ſo authoritatively and ſeverely: but we* (quoth he) *have not ſo learned Chriſt.*

And to the ſecond anſwered thus; *Are you troubled that Chriſt is Preached? Is Preaching ſo incluſive in your Function? Doth it ſcandalize the Reformed Kirks and* **Scotland** *in particular? Is it againſt the Covenant? Away with the Covenant, if it be ſo. I thought the Covenant and theſe could have been willing, that any ſhould ſpeak good of the name of Chriſt: If not 'tis no Covenant of God's approving; nor the Kirk (you mention) ſo much the Spouſe of Chriſt. For a Concluſion.* In anſwer to the witneſs of God upon our ſolemn Appeal, *you ſay you have not ſo learned Chriſt, to hang the equity of your Cauſe upon events. We could wiſh, that blindneſs had not been upon your Eyes, to all thoſe marvellous Diſpenſations which God hath wrought lately in* **England.** *But did not you ſolemnly Appeal and Pray? Did not we do ſo too? And ought not we and you to think, with fear and trembling, of the Hand of the Great God, in this Mighty and ſtrange appearance of his, but can ſlightly call it an event? Were not both your and our expectations renewed from time to time, whilſt we waited on God, to ſee which way he would manifeſt himſelf upon our Appeales. And ſhall we, after all theſe our Prayers, Faſtings, Teares, Expectations and ſolemn Appeales, call theſe bare Events? The Lord pitty you. Surely we fear becauſe it hath been a merciful and gracious deliverance to us.*

*I beſeech you in the Bowels of Chriſt, ſearch after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we ſhall help you by our Prayers, that you may find it. For yet (if we know our Hearts at all) our Bowels do in Chriſt yearne after the Godly in* **Scotland.**

It is not unworthy of Obſervation likewiſe, that as this ſignal diſaſter to the *Presbyterians*, did very much raiſe

raiſe the Spirits of the *Independant* Grandees; ſo did it incite them to give all poſſible encouragement to the reſt of that Party, and to all other Sectaries, of whoſe help, upon occaſion, they might ſtand in need. They therefore firſt paſſed an Act, [a] Intituled *An Act for the relief of Religious and peaceable People, from the rigour of former Acts of Parliament in matter of Religion*: amongſt which thoſe of *primo* and 35° *Eliz.* which concern the Subjects obedient repairing to Church, were repealed. And ſhortly after that, another Act, [b] whereby they directed all proceedings at Law, ſcil. Writs, Pleadings, Patents, Books of Reports, and other Law Books to be in *Engliſh*. *An.* 1650.

[a] 27. *Sept.*

[b] 22. *Nov.* Scob. Coll. p. 148.

Next they impoſed [p] a Tax of an hundred and twenty Thouſand Pounds a Month for the ſupport of their Army: and not long after paſſed an Act, [q] declaring that their new Great Seal, Engraven with a Croſs and an Harp, with this Circumſcription, *The Seal of the Parliament of the Common-wealth of* England, ſhould be the Seal of the Parliament of that *Common-wealth*, and be only uſed by order of Parliament; and that it ſhould be Treaſon to counterfeit the ſame.

[p] 29. *Nov.* Ib. p. 149.

[q] 22. *Jan.* Ib. 151.

Moſt certain it is, that the late wonderful defeat, which the *Scots* received at **Dunbar** by the *Engliſh* then commanded by *Cromwel*, did not a little ſtartle the whole Godly Party in that Nation. For whereas before, though it was through the advantage they made of the King's Name (whom they had got thither, as hath been already obſerved) that they rais'd their Army; 'tis very well known, that His Majeſty was not permitted to have any hand in the conduct thereof; no not ſo much as to be Perſonally in that part of the Realm, in which it was; leſt his preſence ſhould have had any influence thereon, in reference to his own juſt Rights; ſo much did their own guilt of Diſloyalty terrifie them.

But the caſe was now altered: For ſoon after this great overthrow, they ſent to His Majeſty, earneſtly deſiring his preſence with them; and to Court him with the fairer aſſurance of their fidelity, appointed a certain day for his Coronation, [r] which was accordingly perform'd with great Solemnity. So that then ſtanding clear with his beſt Subjects of that Kingdom, he began to form an Army upon his own, and their Intereſt: Yet not without the aſſiſtance,

[r] 1 *Jan.*

*An.* 1651. assiſtance and Joynt-help [r] of the Kirk-Party there, which in humane reaſon might have been thought to his advantage: In the Head whereof he entred [s] **England** at **Carliſle** upon the Seventh of *Auguſt*; and Marcht to **Worceſter** [t] without any great oppoſition. But whether there was any thing of Treachery in them that then over-perſwaded His Majeſty to make ſtay there, againſt his own judgment: or whether Almighty God would not give his Bleſſing to the aid of thoſe who had formerly been ſo falſe and perfidious to His Royal Father and himſelf, is hard to ſay. Sure we are, that ſo great was the confluence, from moſt parts of **England**, to *Cromwell's* aſſiſtance (the Presbyterians then joyning [u] with him, and divers of their Preachers, Marching with him in a Military way) that after a moſt ſharp diſpute, at and near that City, being over-powered with ſtrength and numbers, his Army was totally routed [w], and deſtroy'd; himſelf, and ſome few others being neceſſitated to eſcape by flight.

[r] Hiſt. of Indep. p. 4. p. 20.
[s] 7. *Aug.*
[t] 22. *Aug.*
[u] Ib. p. 22.
[w] 3. *Sept.*

It may ſeem ſtrange (I preſume) to ſome, that I ſhould here touch the Presbyterians ſo near the Quick, there being ſome of opinion; that though the moſt rigid of that Sect, were at that time forward againſt the King: yet, that His Majeſty had many Well-wiſhers of them in this his adventure. But if I be herein cenſured, I deſire to know, what this expreſſion, uſed by thoſe Thirty ſix Presbyterian and Independant Miniſters, which joyn'd together in a Petition for reſpiting the Execution of Mr. *Love* (one of their own Coat, of whom I have already given ſome touch) doth mean, *viz. that in putting him to death, the hopes and expectations of the Common Enemy, againſt compliance with whom, he had made open proteſtation at his Tryal, will be heightened. And, that the forbearance of ſo putting him to death, would manifeſt to the World, that you* (id eſt the Parliament) *do put a difference betwixt thoſe, who offend from Principles of Enmity againſt God and his People; and others, who tranſgreſs through the miſtakes of an erroneous conſcience, in the midſt of great and various changes.*

Again, I would gladly know what conſtruction is to be made of thoſe words, Printed in one of the Newsbooks of that year, *viz. The Presbyterians in* Lancaſhire, *and parts adjacent, have not only declaimed againſt the late de-*

*fection*

*ſection in* Norfolk; *but declared againſt the Conjunction and* Proceedings of Jockey, *and their Young King, with* Middleton, Ogilby, *and the reſt of the Royal Party; and are reſolved to adhere to the preſent Government, and to walk cloſe and ſtedfaſt in the Ways of Truth and Holineſs.* An. 1651.

¶ Here it will not be impertinent (I hope) to make a little pauſe, and contemplate the infinite goodneſs and mercy of God, in ſo wonderful a preſervation of the King (our preſent Sovereign) after this fatal ruine of his Army at Worceſter. Who, though purſued and ſought for, with all the art and skill, that theſe Bloody Regicides, and their whole Party could deviſe; was through the ſignal fidelity of ſome few perſons (of whom certain Narratives of the particular paſſages therein, which are already made publick, do make honourable mention) ſo well ſecured from their fury; and with ſuch admirable contrivance and skill conducted, that he Landed ſafely upon the Fifteenth of *October* following at New-Haven in France.

And as ſo ſtrange, and little leſs than Miraculous a Preſervation of His Majeſties Perſon, deſerves (for a perpetual Thankfulneſs to God Almighty) to be ſpecially recorded to Poſterity: So doth the Memorial of Gods moſt evident Judgments upon the *Scottiſh Nation*, after their unhappy defection from the obedience which they did owe to His Royal Father their Native King; levying divers Armies; ſolemnly *Covenanting* with His *Engliſh* Subjects againſt him, and the Eſtabliſht Government; and laſtly ſelling Him for Money, when for his Safe-guard and Protection, he became neceſſitated to fly from the fury of theſe, and to put himſelf into their Hands. For 'tis not unknown, that they did twice Raiſe their *Covenanting Brethren* in *that* Realm, to invade *this*, in an Hoſtile manner; and after much ſpoil and Rapine made in this (no leſs than Three of their Armies being utterly deſtroy'd; the firſt at Preſton in *Lancaſhire*; the Second at Dunbar in Scotland; and the laſt at Worceſter) the flower of their Youth and moſt Eminent for Chivalry, were either ſlain in open Battail; Famiſht and waſted by moſt cruel and mercileſs uſage in Priſon, or Barbarouſly ſold to Forreign Plantations, there to be Enſlav'd with perpetual Servitude.

*An.* 1651.

## CHAP. XXXV.

BUT to go on with my Story. Certain it is, that this fatal blow at **Worcester** did not only much deject all true hearted and Loyal Perſons; but ſeem'd ſo firmly to eſtabliſh this Barbarous Generation, in their Tyrannous ſway, that nothing but a Miracle was ever like to alter the Scene. Therefore the more to perpetuate their future oppreſſive Dominion, their next buſineſs was, to leſſen and oppreſs the *Nobility*; and to Flatter the *Commonalty* into a Slaviſh ſubjection to their Uſurped and Rigorous power: To which end they (ſhortly after) paſſed Two Acts [a] in their Grand Convention at **Weſtminſter**, (called the Parliament) the one relating to the *Nobility*; which was *to make void all Titles of Honour, Dignities, or Precedencies, given by the late King.* The other *a General Pardon*, [b] in reference to the People; for the firſt moving, and at length obtaining whereof, *Cromwel* himſelf was known to be the ſole Inſtrument.

[a] 4. *Febr.* Scob. Coll. p. 178.

[b] 24. *Febr.* Ib. p. 179.

*An.* 1652. All being therefore now in their Power, and no viſible Enemy to diſturb their quiet; though at the beginning of their Rebellion (*Anno* 1642.) they highly complemented the *Dutch*, deſiring that the King might have no manner of Supplies from them, in reſpect of the near Relation that was betwixt that Model, into which they themſelves then aimed to caſt this Government, and the State of their Provinces; and for that reaſon, expected not only their aſſiſtance, but a Loan of Money from them upon the *Publick Faith* (as in the Twelfth Chapter of this Work may more fully appear.) The caſe was now altered; For looking upon themſelves, after all this wonderful ſucceſs as Mighty Potentates in their New *Common-wealth* and *Free-State*; they imployed *Oliver St. John* (the Chief Juſtice of their Court of Common Pleas) commonly called *Cromwel's Dark-Lanthorn*, as Embaſſador into the **Netherlands**, not only

to

to make a firm alliance with the *Dutch* from the ſimilitude of their Governments, againſt all Soveraign Monarchs and Princes; but to weaken the Intereſt of the Prince of **Orange** with them; who had Married the King's Daughter. *An.* 1652.

Which curteous overture being not at all reliſht, was taken in great diſdain by our Grandees here. But the *Hogen Mogens* on the other ſide; being the Elder *Commonwealth*, ſtrong in Shipping, and expecting to make themſelves abſolute Lords of the Worlds Commerce, were reſolved not to ſtoop, by yielding them the Flag or the old duty of Herring-Fiſhing. Theſe differences therefore occaſion'd a War at Sea with them, which began [a] in the **Downes** this year, on the Nineteenth of *June*; and was again renewed [b] the Sixteenth of *Auguſt*, Weſtwards of the Iſle of **Wight**; in both which the *Dutch* had the worſt, Sir *George Aſcue* then commanding the *Engliſh* Fleet.

[a] 19. *Junii*. *Heath*'s Chr. p. 322.
[b] 16. *Aug*. Ibid. p. 323.

So likewiſe on [c] the Twenty eighth of *October* following, *Blake* being then Vice-Admiral.

[c] 28. *Octob*. Ib. p. 327.

But upon another Fight [d] with them in the **Downes** on the Twenty ninth of *November* enſuing, *Blake* received a great defeat, which did not end the diſpute: for on the Eighteenth of *February* not far from **Portland**, they had another [e] ſharp Fight, in which both ſides received no ſmall loſs. As alſo at [f] *Legorne*, about the beginning of *March*, in which the *Engliſh* were worſted.

[d] 29. *Nov*. Ib. p. 329, 330.
[e] 18. *Febr*. Ib. p. 335.
[f] 2. *Martii*. Ib. p. 336.

¶ Leaving therefore the farther Proſecution of theſe Sea Fights till the next year, I find, that at home, they better to ſecure themſelves againſt the Royalliſts, the paſſed a Third Act [g] in their Parliament, for diſabling of Delinquents (by which name the Royalliſts were call'd) to bear any Office of Truſt, or Power in the Commonwealth; or to have any Voice or Vote in Election of any Publick Officer.

[g] 29. *Sept*. Scob. Coll. p. 209.

The King's Authority and Friends, being thus abſolutely ſuppreſt, and *Cromwel* at every turn the chief Agent therein; not only in thoſe his bold adventures againſt the *Scots*, but in many other, both here and in **Ireland** (as though Victory had been entailed upon his Sword) the time was now come, that he thought fit to act his own part more nearly; yet ſtill under colour of ſolely minding

*An.* 1652. the Publick. As he had therefore made the Souldiery inſtrumental for the ruine of the King, by the influence of his inferior Officers, call'd *Adjutators*; ſo now did he, again ſet thoſe active Engines on work, for the utter confuſion of that Impious *Juncto* called the *Parliament*. Which *Adjutators* being readily inclinable to any thing of change, objected to the *Juncto*, that they had not approved themſelves ſuch worthy Patriots as they expected, but had ſought themſelves, and their own peculiar profit. And therefore (as good Common-wealths-men, and Friends to the Publick) required, that they ſhould ſuddenly prefix a Period to their Sitting; to the end that the Godly Party, and good People of the Nation, might thereupon make choiſe of a more equal Repreſentative, for the rectifying and amendment of what was ſtill out of order.

*An.* 1653. But notwithſtanding this fair pretence, the aim of the Souldiers, was by outing thoſe old Saints, to reduce the whole ſway of all under the power of themſelves, which made them ſo earneſt and forward in the work; being fed with thoſe hopes, through the inſinuation of *Cromwel*. The *Juncto* therefore, foreſeeing this danger; for preventing thereof, were neither ſlack nor unactive: endeavouring firſt to break the Army by Disbanding; and in the next place, to ſpoil their deſign by delays: Nevertheleſs, with much zeal, ſeem'd earneſt to retire; affirming, that they then were in contrivance for a new *Repreſentative* to ſucceed them. All which availed nothing, there being no halting before an Old Cripple: for *Cromwel* was not ignorant of what they aimed at; being well aſſured, that if he let them alone, his deſign would be Croſs'd: and therefore determin'd without more ado, to turn them out of Doors.

To which end, having well ſeaſoned the Souldiery for his purpoſe; and for the better engratiating himſelf therewith, taken the Officers into his Council, he reſolv'd (as 'twas uſual with him) to carry on this great work, under the ſpecious Mask of *Religion* and pretended *Revelations*; thoſe ſtanding him in ſuch ſtead upon all his attempts, as that there were not a few that really believ'd, whatever he undertook could not eaſily miſcarry.

Upon

Upon the Twentieth of *April* therefore, attended with ſtrong Guards, he entred the Parliament-Houſe (with *Fleetwood* his great Confident) commanding ſome few of his attendants to tarry without. Where, without moving his Hat, or going to any Seat, he firſt addreſſed his Speech to the Chief Juſtice *St. John*; telling him, that *he then came to do that which grieved him to the very Soul, and what he had earneſtly, with Tears, pray'd to God againſt. Nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it: But, that there was a* Neceſſity *laid upon him therein, in order to the Glory of God, and the good of this Nation.* *An.* 1653.

Whereunto *St. John* anſwered, *that he knew not what he meant; but did pray, that what it was which muſt be done, might have a happy Iſſue for the General Good.*

Then *Cromwel* turning towards the Speaker, told him how long, under colour of Service to the Publick, they had ſate and acted there: and that in ſtead thereof, themſelves and their Kindred (Engroſſing all places of great profit) had, upon their own Pride and Luxury, conſum'd the Wealth of the Land. Which being ſaid, he gave a ſtamp with his Foot, and bad them for ſhame be gone, and give place to honeſter men.

Whereupon a Member ſtanding up, and modeſtly ſaying, that it ſtood not with common Juſtice to caſt ſo general an aſperſion upon them all, without any Proof; he in wrath taking Sir *Henry Vane*, Junior by the Cloak, ſaid *thou art a Jugling Fellow*; and told *Allen* the Goldſmith, that he had inricht himſelf by Couſening the State, for which he ſhould be call'd to account: and commanded thoſe of his Guard, who at the ſignal of that ſtamp, were entred the Door, immediately to turn them out of the Houſe; Colonel *Harriſon* accordingly pulling the Speaker out of his Chair. *Cromwel* turns the Parliament, called the *Rump* out of Doors.

It was obſerved, that as they went out of the Houſe, he pointed at *Harry Martin* and *Tom Challoner*; and ſaid, *Is it fit that ſuch Fellows as theſe, ſhould ſit to Govern? Men of vicious Lives; the one a noted Whore-Maſter, and the other a Drunkard?* Nay he boldly upbraided them all, with ſelling the Cavaliers Eſtates by bundles; and ſaid they had kept no Faith with them.

This, as it was one of his greateſt Adventures, ſo was it the moſt grateful to the People of all that ever he did; it being

*An.* 1653. being no leſs than the quelling of that many-headed Monſter, which glutted with unmeaſurable Rapine, and Innocent Blood, had been not a little dreadful to the greateſt part of Europe.

Having therefore ſo happily remov'd this Block, yet ſtill keeping cloſe the main end of his deſign, under the ſhadow of ruling by a Civil Power; after much pretended ſeeking of God, he ſelected certain Perſons to manage the ſame, as a *Council of State*, whoſe Names were as followeth;

1. Himſelf as General of the Army.
2. The Lord *L'iſle*, Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*.
3. Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*.
4. Major General *Lambert*.
5. Major General *Harriſon*.
6. Major General *Desborow*.
7. Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Kt.
8. Sir *Charles Wolſeſley*, Bar.
9. Sir *Anthony Aſhley Couper*, Barronet.
10. Sir *James Hope* of *Scotland*.
11. Colonel *Hewſon* of *Ireland*.
12. Colonel *Norton*.
13. Colonel *Mountagu*.
14. Colonel *Benet*.
15. Colonel *Stapeley*.
16. Colonel *Sydenham*.
17. Colonel *Tomlinſon*.
18. Colonel *Jones*.
19. Alderman *Tichburne*.
20. Mr. *Strickland*.
21. Mr. *Carey*.
22. Mr. *Howard*.
23. Mr. *Broughton*.
24. Mr. *Laurence*.
25. Mr. *Holiſter*.
26. Mr. *Comptney*.
27. Mr. *Major*.
28. Mr. *St. Nicholas*.
29. Mr. *Moyer*.
30. Mr. *Williams* of *Wales*.

And to the end that there might be the leſs ſuſpition of his affecting the Rule; with the advice of his Officers, he made choiſe of no leſs than an hundred and four Godlymen, unto whom he committed the whole ſway of the Realm; who were accordingly ſummon'd by a ſpecial Letter to each of them under his Hand.

*Berkſ.* { *Samuel Dunch.* *Vincent Goddard.* *Thomas Wood.* }

*Bedf.* { *Nathaniel Taylor.* *Edward Cater.* }

*Buck.*

An. 1653.

Buck. { George Fleetwood. / George Baldwin.

Cambr. { John Sadler. / Thomas French. / Robert Caſtle. / Samuel Warner.

Cheſh. { Robert Duckenfeild. / Henry Birkinhead.

Cumb. Northumb. Biſhoprick of Durh. Weſtmor. { Charles Howard. / Robert Fenwick. / Henry Dawſon. / Henry Ogle.

Cornw. { Robert Benet. / Francis Langdon. / Anthony Rows. / John Bowden.

Derb. { Jervas Benet. / Nathaniel Barton.

Devon. { George Monke, one of the Generals at Sea. / John Carew. / Thomas Sanders. / Chriſtopher Martin. / James Eriſey. / Francis Rows. / Richard Sweet.

Dorſet. { William Sydenham. / John Bingham.

Eſſex. { Joachim Mathews. / Henry Barington. / John Brewſter. / Chriſtopher Earle. / Dudley Templer.

Glouc. { John Croſtes. / William Neaſt. / Robert Holmes.

South. { Richard Norton. / Richard Major. / John Hildeſley.

Hertf. { Henry Lawrence. / William Reeve.

Heref. { Wroth Rogers. / John Herring.

Hunt. { Edward Mountagu. / Stephen Pheſant.

Kent. { Lord L'iſle. / Thomas Blount. / William Kenrick. / William Cullen. / Andrew Broughton.

Lanc. { William Weſt. / John Sawrey. / Robert Cunliff.

Leic. { Henry Danvers. / Edward Smith. / John Prat.

Linc. { Sir William Brownlow. / Richard Cuſt. / Barnabas Bowtell. / Humphrey Walcott. / William Thompſon.

Midd. { Sir William Roberts. / Auguſtine Wingfeild. / Arthur Squib.

An. 1653. Monm. { Philip Jones.

North. { Sir Gilbert Pickering. Thomas Brooke.

Norf. { Robert Jermy. Tobias Freze. Ralph Wilmer. Henry King. William Barton.

Nott. { John Odingſells. Edward Clud.

Oxon. { Sir Charles Wolſeley, Bt. William Draper. Dr. Jonathan Godard.

Rutl. { Edward Horſeman.

Salop. { William Boterel. Thomas Baker.

Staff. { George Bellor. John Chetwood.

Suff. { Jacob Caley. Francis Brewſter. Robert Dunkon. John Clerke. Edward Plumſted.

Somer. { Robert Blake another of the Generals at Sea. John Pyne. Dennis Hollyſter. Henry Henley.

Surrey. { Samuel Highland. Laurence March.

Suſſ. { Anthony Stapeley. William Spence. Nathaniel Studdey.

Warr. { John St. Nicholas. Richard Lucie.

Wiltſ. { Sir Anth. Aſhley Couper, Baronet. Nicholas Greene. Thomas Eyre.

Wigorn. { Richard Salway. John James.

Yorkſh. { George Lord Eyre. Walter Strickland. Francis Laſcells. John Anlaby. Thomas Dickenſon. Thomas St. Nicholas. Roger Cotes. Edward Gill.

Lond. { Robert Tichburne. John Ireton. Samuel Moyer. John Langley. John Stone. Henry Barton. Praiſ-god Barebone.

Wales. { Buſhey Manſell. James Philips. John Williams. Hugh Courtney. Richard Price. John Browne.

Scotl. { Sir James Hope. Alexander Bredy. John Swinton. William Lockart. Alexander Jeffreys.

Sir

| | | Afterwards theſe following were Elected into them. *An.* 1653. |
|---|---|---|
| *Ireland* | Sir *Robert King.* | |
| | Colonel *John Hewſon.* | |
| | Col. *Henry Cromwel.* | Lord General *Cromwel.* |
| | Colonel *John Clerke.* | Major General *Lambert.* |
| | *Daniel Hutchenſon.* | Major General *Harriſon.* |
| | *Vincent Gookin.* | Major General *Desborough.* |
| | | Colonel *Matthew Tomlinſon.* |

Of theſe, many were Illiterate and of mean condition, divers Fanatick Sectaries, and of that kind the moſt buſie and miſchievous; yet here and there mixt with confiding men, and ſuch whoſe Intereſt was firmly truſted with *Cromwels.*

Being thus choſen and ſent for, they firſt met [d] together in the Council-Chamber at **White-hall.** Whence, after a Grave Speech made to them by *Cromwel*; expreſſing, that he had thus called them together, to conſult of the great affaires of theſe Three Kingdoms, they adjourned themſelves to the Houſe of Commons at **Weſtminſter**; and there taking their places, and choſen Mr. *Rows* to be their Speaker; admiring the great goodneſs of God, that had put it into the Generals Heart, to ſelect them for ſo great a work, they Voted themſelves to be *the Parliament of* **England**, and by that Title to be known and called. [d] 4. *Julii.*

Having ſo done, they fell vigorouſly to work for a *thorough Reformation*; Dreaming of nothing leſs, than that *Jeſus Chriſt* muſt ſhortly Reign with them here on Earth. To prepare the way therefore to his Perſonal coming, they conſidered of aboliſhing the *Miniſterial Function*, as ſavouring (in their opinion) totally of Popery. Likewiſe for the taking away of *Tithes*, as the Reliques of Judaiſm. Alſo to abrogate the *Old Engliſh Laws*, as Badges of Conqueſt and *Norman* Slavery. And laſtly, to ſuppreſs the *Univerſities*, and all Schools for Learning, as Heatheniſh and unneceſſary; with all *Titles of Honour* and diſtinctions, as not agreeable to Chriſtianity. All which they had (without queſtion) ſoon effected; but that ſome few of them, of better judgments, gave a ſtop to their Frenzy.

*An.* 1653. But the Court of *Chancery* they really Voted [e] down; and paſſed an Act [f] for the ſolemnizing of all Marriages by Juſtices of Peace, after Publication made of ſuch purpoſe in the Church or open Market: and that the *Birth* (but not *Baptizing*) of Children ſhould be thenceforth Regiſtred, which ſhews of what Judgment they were in that point.

[e] 5. *Aug.*
[f] 24. *Aug.* Scob. Coll. p. 236.

The Act likewiſe for Subſcribing that Inſtrument, call'd the *Engagement*, which was paſſed 2. *Jan. An.* 1649. they Voted [g] unfit to continue, and totally repealed it. And for the Tryal of what they called Treaſon or High Crimes, they Erected [h] a new *High Court of Juſtice.*

[g] 4. *Nov.* Ib. p. 268.
[h] 21. *Nov.* Ib. p. 272.

By which Phrentick doings, having made themſelves, as well diſtaſtfull, as ridiculous to the World, their Grand Maſter *(Cromwel)* to ingratiate himſelf farther with the People, put a Period [i] to their Sitting; the manner whereof was thus.

[i] 12. *Dec.*

In the Morning a little ſooner than uſual (12. *Dec.*) thoſe of the Members which were *Cromwel's* chiefeſt Confidents, came to the Houſe; where finding then but few of the *Anabaptiſts*, an Eminent Member ſtood up, and addreſſing himſelf to the Speaker, told him, *that he muſt diſburthen himſelf of ſome things that had a long time lain upon his Heart: That he was now to ſpeak to the* Eſſe, *or being, rather than the* Bene Eſſe, *or well-being of the Common-wealth, which was ready to ſink under them, through the ill management of the power betruſted with them; and, that for his own part, he muſt reſign his power from whence he had it; foreſeeing clearly that their Waitings and Expectations of ever coming on to things of publick good were more and more diſappointed:* and ſo deſcended to theſe particular inſtances.

1. That they had dealt diſingeniouſly with the Army, in moving, that the Officers ſhould be treated with to lay down their Pay; and when they could not effect that, the Bill of Aſſeſſments was endeavoured to be caſt out.

2. That they had not a Spirit to do Juſtice, which appeared in their Act for confirming the ſale of Sir *John Stowells* Eſtate, though he were relieved by the Court of Articles. And however he was as vile as could be imagined (ſo was his expreſſion;) yet he knew not but that man was left to be a Tryal upon them, whether they would do Juſtice, or not.

3. That

3. That they had a Principle amongſt them, of de- *An.* 1653.
ſtroying and pulling down, though nothing were ſet up in the ſtead; and that this was eſpecially manifeſted in their Vote, for removing the *Chancery*, and total alteration of the Laws.

4. That though they called their ſelves a Parliament, yet they Acted moſt unlike unto it; and that appeared in their endeavours to deſtroy propriety, in attempting to take off the Power of Patrons to preſent to Church Livings.

5. That they would deſtroy the Miniſtry it ſelf, which appeared by their Vote on Saturday before: and that for theſe Conſiderations, they could not ſatisfie themſelves to ſit any longer, and ſo be guilty of bringing confuſion and deſolation upon the Nation. But if any would yet be ſo hardy as to continue there, he would ſay unto them in the words of the Prophet; Ephraim *hath joyned himſelf to Idols, let him alone.*

This being ſeconded, and after him preſſed earneſtly by ſome others, much ſtartled the *Anabaptiſts* then preſent, who ſpoke fiercely againſt it. Inſomuch as thoſe who had appeard for their Diſſolution, fearing, leſt by delaying time in Speeches, more of the *Anabaptiſts* might come in and out-Vote them; moved, that all who were for their *Diſſolution*, ſhould riſe and walk out. Whereupon, the Speaker and divers other, forthwith went out of the Houſe. But *Squib*, *Moyer*, *St. Nicholas*, and ſome more of that Gang (to the number of about Twenty) ſate ſtill, and having placed Mr. *Moyer* in the Chair, fell to proteſting againſt what the reſt had done; profeſſing, *in the preſence of the Lord, that their Call of God to that place, was the Principal Motive that drew them thither; and that they apprehended their ſaid Call, was chiefly for promoting the Intereſt of Jeſus Chriſt.* Whereupon they continued there until Colonel *Goffe*, with ſome Musketeers came, and asked them *What they ſate there for?* Whereunto it was Anſwered, *to ſeek the Lord*: But perceiving what the Iſſue thereof was like to be, they (nevertheleſs) departed, and Subſcrib'd an *Inſtrument*, whereunto ſome others had ſet their Hands before, for ſurrender of their Power into the Hands of their Maſter, *Cromwel.*

An. 1653. Which *Inſtrument*, ſo ſigned, being brought to His Excellency, he lifted up his Eyes with ſeeming great admiration: and at firſt, with no leſs modeſty faintly refus'd it: but at length, after aſſiduous and importunate ſute, earneſtly repreſenting to him the welfare of the Nation; inculcating to him alſo, how zealous a Patriot he had ever been for the People, he was at laſt overcome (though unwillingly) to receive it.

¶ This Pageant therefore, being thus formally over; the next work was, his aſſuming to himſelf the ſole Dominion and Rule: a thing which few could think it ſafe for any of them to aſpire unto, conſidering what had been acted by him and his Party, utterly to eradicate Monarchique Government. But, as the Common Water-men, look always the contrary way to that they Row; ſo did this Grand Impoſtor: The contrivance thereof being ſecretly laid by himſelf and Major General *Lambert* (who had an aime in time, to ſucceed him in the Government) *Lambert* was the man that dealt with the Principal Officers of the Army, to carry on this deſign, with all ſubtilty imaginable.

Whereupon he firſt told them, how much the Governing by a ſingle Perſon, would conduce to the General quiet and advantage of the Publick; and next to the peculiar Intereſt of each of them in particular, in caſe it were bounded with ſober limitations, and not to be by the Title of King. For an expedient therefore, they reſolv'd on the name of *Protector*; and of a formal Inſtrument, wherein ſhould be contained the Rules of his Government.

---

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

ALL things being accordingly ready in order thereto, upon the Sixteenth of *December* (and about One of the Clock that day) Five Regiments of Foot, and Three of Horſe, were drawn out as a Guard, from **White-Hall** to **Weſtminſter-Hall**: whereof one (*viz.* Colonel *Goffs*) was placed within the Precincts of the Hall.

This being done, *Cromwel*, with the Captain of his Guard and ſome few others, paſſed through theſe Bands of Souldiers to the Door of **Weſtminſter-Hall**. Where alighting from his Coach, there proceeded, Firſt the City Marſhals: Then the Aldermen of **London**, in Scarlet: After them the Judges (all except their Chief-Juſtice *Rolls*:) Next the Two Keepers of their Great Seal (*Keble* and *L'iſle*:) Then Four Serjeants at Armes, with Maces (*viz.* the Parliament Mace, the City Mace, the Council of State's Mace, and the Lord Keeper's Mace:) After theſe the Lord Mayor's Sword-bearer, with the Cap of Maintenance and Sword (but the Sword not Erected:) Then the Lord Mayor: And next to him *Cromwel* himſelf in a Black Sute and Cloak Lined with Velvet, Boots, and a Gold Hatband (all bare headed:) And after him the Principal Officers of the Army, and Council of State.

In which manner they proceeded to the *Chancery-Court*, where a Rich Chair of State was ſet, with a large Cuſheon, and Carpets on the Floor.

Being aſcended into the Court, *Cromwel* ſtanding before the Chair, with the Two Keepers and Judges on each hand of him; Major General *Lambert* declaring to him the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and exigency of the times; did, in the name of the Army, and of the Three Nations, deſire him to accept of the Protectorſhip of them. Whereunto he aſſenting, a large Inſtrument (extending to a whole skin of Velome) was read to him, which contained

*An.* 1653. ed the form of his Government, and ſomewhat, called an Oath; at which he lifted up his Right Hand and Eyes, and aſſented thereto.

Then did the Lord Mayor preſent the Sword to him, and the Keepers the Seal. Both which he delivered back to them reſpectively. This being done, a Common Souldier Seconded with about Twenty more, cryed aloud, *God Bleſs the Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland. After which there was a General ſhout made by the Souldiers throughout the Hall, and after a little pauſe; the like twice more.

*Cromwel made Lord Protector.*

Then he went back to White-Hall, the Lord Mayor carrying the Sword upright before him, the Protector having his Hat on. After which (in the Evening) were ſeveral Vollies of ſmall ſhot, and ſome great, with Ringing of Bells. The Tenor of which Inſtrument, was as followeth, *viz.*

The Inſtrument of Government.

*That the Supream Legiſlative Authority, ſhould be in a* Single Perſon and the People in Parliament; *but the Adminiſtration thereof to be left to the* Lord Protector *and to his Council, whereof the number was not to be above Twenty and One.*

*That all Charters, Patents, Writs, and Commiſſions, ſhould be paſſed by the* Protector: *All Power of Magiſtracy, Honours and Titles to be derived from him. Likewiſe the Pardon of all Offences excepting Treaſon and Murther. He alſo to have the Adminiſtration of all things, with the Advice of his Council, and according to the Tenor of this Inſtrument.*

*That the* Militia, *Sitting the Parliament, ſhould be in the diſpoſal of the* Protector *and the* Parliament; *but in the Intervals in the* Protector *and his Council. The Power alſo of making Peace and War with Forreign Princes to be in the* Protector *and his Council: but he to have no Authority of Repealing, or making any Laws without the conſent of Parliament.*

*That the Parliament ſhould be called before the end of Six Months then next enſuing, and afterwards once in Three Years, or oftner if need require; and that it ſhould not be in the* Protector's *Power to Diſſolve the ſame for the Firſt Five Months, without the conſent of the Houſe.*

*That the Number of Members for* England, *ſhould conſiſt of full Four hundred, Elected according to an equal diſtribution: For* Scotland *Thirty; and for* Ireland *the like Number;*

ber; the number for each County and City to be alſo aſ- An. 1653
ſigned.

That the Calling of ſuch Parliament, ſhould be under the Seal of the Common-wealth, by Writs to the Sheriff in the Protector's Name. But if the Protector ſhould not call the ſame within the times limited, the Chancellor then to do it, under the Penalty of High Treaſon; and if he ſhould fail therein, then that the Sheriffs ſhould perform it. And after ſuch Election ſhould be made, to be tranſmitted by the Chief Magiſtrate, by Indenture to the Chancellor, Signed with his Hand Twenty days before the Sitting of the ſame Parliament. Alſo, if the Sheriff or Mayor ſhould make a falſe Return, that he be Fined in Two thouſand Marks.

That none ſhould be capable to Elect, who had ever born Armes againſt the Parliament, or been Actors in the Iriſh Rebellion. Nor that any Papiſt ſhould ever be capable to give his Voice. And that all Elections againſt theſe Rules ſhould be void, and the tranſgreſſors Fined at Two Years value of their Revenues, and a third part of their Goods.

That no Perſon under the Age of One and twenty years, ſhould be capable of being Elected; nor any other than of known credit, fearing God, and of good behaviour.

No man likewiſe to have power of Electing, whoſe Eſtate ſhould not be worth Twenty Pound per annum Sterling.

That the Return of the Perſons Elected, ſhould be tranſmitted by the Prothonotary in Chancery unto the Council of State, within two days after they ſhould come to his hands; to the end, that judgment might be made of the Perſons, if any queſtion ſhould ariſe, touching the lawfulneſs of the choiſe.

That Sixty Members ſhould be accounted a Parliament, in caſe the reſt be abſent. Neverthleſs, that it ſhould be lawful to the Protector to call a Parliament, when he ſhould ſee cauſe.

That the Bills agreed on in Parliament, ſhould be preſented to the Protector, for his aſſent thereto: and if he ſhould not give his aſſent to them within twenty days, that then they ſhould have the force of Laws without it.

That if any Councellor of State ſhould dye, or be outed of his place, for corruption in the Intervals of Parliament, the Protector, with the reſt of the Councel, to ſubſtitute another in his ſtead.

That a certain annual Tax ſhould be made throughout the Three Common-wealths, for the maintenance of Ten thouſand Horſe, and Fifteen thouſand Foot; which Tax ſhould alſo ſupply the charge of the Navy: and that this rate ſhould not be leſſened, or altered by

the

An. 1653. the Parliament, without the consent of the Protector and his Council. But if it should not be thought necessary hereafter, that any Army should be maintained; then whatsoever surplusage of this Tax should be, to be kept in the Treasury for sudden Emergencies.

That if there might happen to be occasion of making extraordinary choices, and to Raise new Forces, it should not be done, without consent of Parliament; but that in the Intervals of Parliament, it should be lawful for the Protector, and his said Council, both to make new Laws, and raise Moneys for the present Exigencies.

That all the Lands, Forrests, and Jurisdictions, not then sold by the Parliament, whether they had belong'd to the King, Queen, Prince, Bishops, or any Delinquent whatsoever, should thenceforth remain to the Protector.

That the Office of Protector should thenceforth be Elective; but that none of the King's Line should be ever capable thereof; and that the Election should belong to the Council.

That, for the present, Oliver Cromwel should be Protector.

That the great Offices of the Common-wealth, viz. Chancellor, Keeper of the Seal, Governour of Ireland, Admiral, Treasurer; in case they should become void in Parliament time, to be filled up, by the approbation of Parliament: and in the Intervals by the like approbation of the Council.

That the Christian Religion, as it is contained by Holy Scripture, should be the Publick Profession of the Nation; and that those who were to have the care thereof, should have their support from the Publick; so that it be with some other more convenient maintenance, and less subject to envy than by Tithes.

That no man should be by any Fine, or Penalty whatsoever, forced to comply with the said publick Profession, otherwise than by perswasions and Arguments.

That no man professing Faith in Christ, should be prohibited the Exercise of his own Religion, so that he disturb not any other: but that neither Popery, or Prelacy should be permitted the least favour or License; and that all Laws to the contrary should be void.

That all Agreements made by Parliament should be firm and stable; All Articles of Peace made with Domestick Enemies made good.

That all Protectors, in their Order, should be obliged by Oath, at their first taking upon them the Government, by all means to procure the Peace, Welfare, and quiet of the Common-wealth; by no means to violate the present Agreements: and lastly to his power to Administer all things, according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs of England.

After

After which ſolemn Inauguration, he was publickly proclaimed † *Protector*, Firſt in London; and then throughout all the three Kingdoms. *An.* 1653. † 19. *Dec.*

And now that by this tranſcendent ſubtilty, this egregious Impoſter had cheriſht ſo many *Sects* of deſperate Schiſmaticks in the Army, and elſewhere, by whoſe help he firſt pull'd down the *Presbyterian*, and then Murthered the King; it was not his leaſt skill ſo to manage theſe unruly Spirits, that none of them by claſhing with each other might endanger the publick; nor that any of them, upon occaſion, ſhould be unſerviceable to his deſigns. To which end, as well to ballance them equally, as to rule them how he liſted, he made choice of the moſt active and leading Men, into his Council, by whoſe Influence he had the guiding of all the reſt of each Faction. The like courſe he took for the chief Officers of his Army.

And being thus ſetled in this his new Dominion, he ſet forth an Ordinance * declaring what Offences ſhould be adjudged Treaſon: And likewiſe another for repealing thoſe Acts, and Reſolves of *Parliament*, which had formerly been made for Subſcribing the *Engagement*; the preamble whereof I have thought fit here to Inſert. * 19. *Jan.* a Scob. coll. p. 277.

Act againſt the Engagement.

——*Whereas many general and promiſſory Oaths and Engagements, in former times Impoſed upon the People of this Nation, have proved Burthens, and Snares to tender Conſciences; and yet have been exacted under ſeveral Penalties, Forfeitures, and Loſſes. In conſideration whereof; and out of a tenderneſs of requiring ſuch obligations; be it ordained by his Highneſs the Lord* Protector, *by and with the conſent of the Council; that one* Act of Parliament, *publiſhed in Print* 2 Jan. an. 1649. *Intituled* an Act for ſubſcribing the Engagement; *and certain Orders, intituled* Reſolves touching the ſubſcribing an Engagement, &c. *And all and every Clauſe, Branch, Article, and Sentence in them,* &c. *be abſolutely Repealed,* &c.

And being Invited by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, to dine at Grocers-Hall upon *Aſhwedneſday*; to the end he might have the greater Veneration from the People, it was contriv'd, that he ſhould Ride through the City in State to that Feaſt, which was accordingly perform'd as followeth.

Firſt the ſeveral Companies of London, having order to meet at Guild-Hall, in their Liveries, went

*An.* 1653. thence, and placed themſelves, according to their Superiority, in the Streets, from the lower end of *Cheapſide* to *Temple-Bar*, within Rayles, hung with blew Cloath; the City Banner, and Streamers, belonging to the reſpective Companies, being ſet before them. Then the Lord Mayor, with his Mace, Sword, and Cap of Maintenance, attended by the Aldermen in Scarlet, and their Gold-Chaynes, Rode to *Temple-Bar*. Where, meeting the Protector, with his Military Train, he delivered up the Sword to him, making a ſhort congratulatory Speech to his Highneſs. Which being ended, they proceeded towards **Grocers-Hall**, thus.

The Protectors Riding to Grocers-Hall in State.

Firſt the City-Marſhal, and ſome other Officers. Then ſix Trumpets. After them his Highneſs Life-guard. Then eight Trumpets more. Next the City Streamers Red and White. Then the Aldermen. After them the two Shireeves. Next his Highneſs Heraulds, with rich Coats, adorn'd with the Common-wealths Arms (*viz.* the *Croſs* and *Harp*) Then the Mace and Cap of Maintenance. Next the Lord Mayor (*bare-headed*) carrying the Sword. After him two Gentlemen Uſhers. Then his Highneſs the *Protector*, with twelve Footmen in Gray Jackets, laced with ſilver and black-ſilk Lace. After him Rode Major General *Skyppon*, and the reſt of the Council. Then the Officers of the Army: And laſtly divers other, on Horſeback and in Coaches.

Being thus come to **Grocers-Hall**, the Recorder made a Speech to him; letting him underſtand, how happy that City did account themſelves under his Government, and likewiſe in the enjoyment of his preſence there with them that day. Which done, he Knighted the Lord Mayor; and then dined at the midſt of a long Table in the great Hall; the Lord Mayor ſitting at ſome diſtance on his Right hand, and his Son *Henry* on his left: and on each ſide of them his Council of State.

But, notwithſtanding this great Entertainment; well knowing, that all the Bloodſhed and confuſion, which had formerly been; as 'twas chiefly accompliſht by the Pulpits, ſo by the like means his new eſtabliſht Rule might eaſily be ſhak't; he fram'd another Ordinance, [b] whereby certain Commiſſioners were appointed for approbation of publick *Preachers*; the preamble whereof, with the

[b] 20. *Martij* Scob. coll. p. 279.

the Names of the reverend *Tryers*, I have alſo added. *An.* 1653.

—*Whereas, for ſome times paſt hitherto, there hath not been any certain courſe Eſtabliſhed, for the ſupplying vacant places, with able and fit perſons* to Preach the Goſpel: *by reaſon whereof, not only the Rights, and Titles of Patrons are prejudiced; but many weak, ſcandalous, Popiſh, and ill affected perſons have intruded themſelves, or been brought in, to the great grief and trouble of the good people of this Nation. For remedy, and prevention whereof, be it Ordained by his Highneſs the* Lord Protector, *by and with the conſent of his Council; that every Perſon, who ſhall from and after the* 25th, *day of* March, *inſtant, be preſented, choſen, or appointed to any Benefice (formerly called Benefice with Cure of Souls) or to* Preach *any publick ſetled Lecture, in* England *or* Wales, *ſhall, before he be admitted, &c. be Judged and Approved by the Perſons hereafter named, to be a Perſon, for the* Grace of God in him, *his Holy, and unblameable Converſation, as alſo for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to Preach the Goſpel;* viz.

*Francis Rous Eſq;*
Dr. *Thomas Goodwyn.*
Dr. *John Owen.*
Mr. *Thankful Owen.*
Dr. *Arrowſmith.*
Dr. *Tuckney.*
Dr. *Horton.*
Mr. *Joſeph Caryll.*
Mr. *Philip Nye.*
Mr. *William Carter.*
Mr. *Sidrak Simpſon.*
Mr. *William Greenhill.*
Mr. *William Strong.*
Mr. *Thomas Manton.*
Mr. *Samuel Slater.*
Mr. *William Couper.*
Mr. *Stephen Marſhall.*
Mr. *John Tombes.*
Mr. *Walter Cradok.*
Mr. *Samuel Faircloath.*
Mr. *Hugh Peters.*
Mr. *Peter Sterrey.*
Mr. *Samuel Bamford.*
Mr. *Thomas Valentine of Chaford.*
Mr. *Henry Jeſſe.*
Mr. *Obediah Sedgwick.*
Mr. *Nicholas Lockyer.*
Mr. *Daniel Dike.*
Mr. *James Ruſſel.*
Mr. *Nathaniel Campfield.*
*Robert Tichburne Alderman of* London.
*Mark Hildeſley.*
*Thomas Wood.*
*John Sadler.*
*William Goff.*
*Thomas* St. *Nicholas.*
*William Packer.*
*Edward Creſcet Eſq;* or any five, or more of them.

*An.* 1653. Having now ended this year 1653. as to the Principal Tranſactions at Home, I muſt look back a little, and take notice of our farther Military conteſts with the Dutch: wherein I find, that on the ſecond of *June*, upon another ſharp Fight in **Yarmouth** rode, they much worſted thoſe Hogen-mogens. So likewiſe on [b] the laſt day of *July*, wherein *Van Trump* their famous Admiral was ſlain.

2. *Junij.* Heath's hiſt. p. 344. 345.
[b] 31. *July.* Ibid. p. 346. et. 347

But both parties, at length, growing weary of this chargeable and deſtructive War, before the end of this year, a Peace was concluded [c] betwixt them, though not ratified till *April* enſuing.

[c] Ib. p. 357.

*An.* 1654. Which Peace with the Dutch, and the ſlaviſh condition, whereunto this Monſter *Cromwell* had brought the People of theſe Nations, made him not only much Idolized here, by all his Party, but ſomewhat feared abroad: For certain it is, that moſt of the Princes of **Europe**, made application to him; amongſt which the French King was the firſt, his Embaſſador making this Speech to him in the Banquetting-houſe at **White-hall**.

28. *Martij.*

*Your moſt ſerene Highneſs hath received already ſome principal aſſurances of the King my Maſter, and of his deſire to eſtabliſh a perfect Correſpondency, between his Dominions and* **England.** *His Majeſty gives unto your Highneſs, this day, ſome publick Demonſtration of the ſame, and ſending his Excellency for his Service, in the quality of Embaſſador to your Highneſs, doth plainly ſhew, that the eſteem which his Majeſty makes of your Highneſs, and the Intereſt of his People, have more power in his Councils, than many Conſiderations, that would be of great concernment to a Prince leſs affected with the one and the other. This proceeding, grounded upon ſuch ſound principles, and ſo different from that which is only guided by Ambition, renders the Friendſhip of the King my Maſter, as much conſiderable for its firmneſs, as for the Utility it may produce: and for that reaſon it is in ſuch eminent eſteem, and ſought after, by all the greateſt Princes and Powers of the Earth. But his Majeſty doth Communicate none to any, with ſo much Joy and Chearfulneſs, as unto thoſe, whoſe vertuous deeds, and extraordinary Merits, render them more eminently Famous than the greatneſs of their Dominions. His Majeſty doth acknowledge all theſe advantages, wholly to reſide in your High-*

*Highneſs; and, that Divine Providence, after ſo many Troubles and Calamities, could not deal more favourably with theſe three Nations, nor cauſe them to forget their paſt Miſery with more content and ſatisfaction, than by ſubmitting them to ſo juſt a Government. And whereas it is not enough, for the compleating of their happineſs, to make them enjoy Peace at Home, ſince it depends no leſs on a good correſpondency with Neighbour-Nations abroad; the King my Maſter doth not doubt but to find alſo the ſame diſpoſition in your Highneſs, which his Majeſty doth expreſs in thoſe Letters, which his Excellencie hath Order to preſent unto your Highneſs. After ſo many Diſpoſitions expreſt by his Majeſty and your Highneſs, towards the accommodation of the two Nations, there is cauſe to believe, that their Wiſhes will be ſoon Accompliſht. As for me, I have none greater, than to be able to ſerve the King my Maſter, with the good liking and ſatisfaction of your Highneſs; and that the happineſs I have to tender unto your Highneſs the firſt aſſurances of his Majeſties eſteem, may give me occaſion to deſerve by my reſpects, the honour of your Gracious Affection.* An. 1654.

Being therefore thus puft up he (ſoon after) paſſed an Act [d] of Grace and Pardon to all Perſons of the Scottiſh Nation, excepting *James* late Duke *Hamilton*, *William* late Duke *Hamilton*, *John* Earl of *Crawford-Lindſey*, *James* Earl of *Calender*, and many more therein ſpecially named. As alſo another Act, [e] for making **Scotland** one Common-wealth with **England**. Whereby it was likewiſe Ordained, that thirty Perſons of that Nation, ſhould ſerve in Parliament here, for **Scotland**: And, that the People of that Nation ſhould be diſcharged of their Allegiance to any Iſſue of the late King. Alſo, that Kingſhip and Parliamentary-Authority ſhould be there aboliſhed; and the Arms of **Scotland** (*viz. St. Andrew's Croſs*) ſhould thenceforth be borne with the Arms of this Common-wealth. All which being done, he removed [f] his Lodgings (which were before at the Cockpit) into thoſe of the late King, in his Royal Pallace at **White-Hall**.

[d] 12. *Apr.* Scob. coll. p. 288.

[e] Ib. p. 293. Act for making *Scotland* one Common-wealth with *England*.

[f] 18. *Apr. Cromwell* firſt ſeated himſelf at *Whitehall*.

About this time it was, that Colonel *Venables*, having been imploy'd by *Cromwell* to attempt ſome of the chief Plantations, made by the Spanyard in the **Weſt-Indies**, Landing his Men in **Hiſpaniola**, and expecting with little trouble to have taken **S. Domingo**, he

*An.* 1653. he received a ſhameful defeat. * But the next Month he had better ſucceſs in thoſe Forreign parts: For † the Spaniards in *Jamaco* timorouſly flying before them when they Landed there, an eaſie acquiſition was made by the Engliſh of that large Iſland, which hath ſince proved a very proſperous and beneficial Plantation. But to return.

* 25. *Apr.* *Heath's* hiſt. p. 370. *et* 371.

† Ib. p. 371. *et* 372.

*Cromwell* by this time being grown very great; to make himſelf the more formidable to all his late Majeſties good Subjects (then called Royaliſts) by eſtabliſhing his Dominion upon more Innocent blood; having by the wicked practiſes of his Emiſſaries, trayn'd in ſome Perſons to a purpoſe of endeavouring, their own and the Peoples freedome from his Tyrannous Power; he cauſed another bloody Theater to be erected in **Weſtminſter-Hall**, calling it *an high-Court of Juſtice*, where Mr. *John Gerard*, and Mr. *Wowell* (two Gentlemen of great Loyalty) received Sentence ‡ of Death; and were accordingly Sacrificed, as a peace-Offering to this *Moloch*.

‡ 6. *July.*

For the better maintenance, likewiſe, and encouragement of *Preaching-Miniſters*; and for uniting and ſevering of Pariſhes, he made another Act, § which begins thus ----*Whereas many Pariſhes in this Nation, are without the conſtant and Powerful Preaching of the Goſpel, through want of competent maintenance*, &c.

§ 2 *Sept.* Scob. col. p. 353.

Alſo another ‖ for Souldiers, which had ſerv'd the Common-wealth in the late Wars, being Apprentices, and not ſerved out their times; and others that had ſo ſerved the Common-wealth, who were fit for Trades, ſhould exerciſe any Trade; that to ſuch as had ſerved the *Parliament* and Common-wealth, in **England**, **Scotland**, or **Ireland**, by the ſpace of four years, at any time ſince the year 1642. and before the third of *September* an. 1651. and not revolted to the Kings-party, or deſerted the ſervice; or that had ſerved two years in the Wars of **Scotland**, or **Ireland** in the Service of the Common-wealth, ſince the third of *September* 1651. and before the firſt of *Auguſt* 1654.

‖ Ib. p. 357.

Likewiſe a third Act, ¶ appointing Viſitors for both Univerſities. Alſo, for the Schools of **Weſtminſter**, **Wincheſter**, *Merchant-Tailors-School*, and **Eaton** Colledge-School.

¶ Ib. p. 366.

CAP.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

WHEN he called a *Parliament* to meet at Weſtminſter upon the third of *September*, and on the day following, went thither from White-Hall in State; the manner thus; 3. *Sept.* A Parliament called.

Firſt a Marſhall with his Staff.

Then all the Life-Guard, and his Domeſtick-Officers, with ſome well-affected Citizens; *viz.* his Draper and other Tradeſmen, in rank, three and three (on Foot) bare-headed. The manner of his proceeding to Parliament.

Next, a rich Coach, drawn by ſix Horſes, in the hinder end whereof he himſelf ſate; the Lord *Lambert* on his left ſide, and the Lord *Lawrence* Preſident of his Council, on the right; the Lord *Strickland* and Captain *Howard* (Captain of his Life-Guard) walking on Foot.

Then the Lord *Claypole* Maſter of his Horſe (on Horſe-back) leading the Horſe of State, with a Rich Saddle, curiouſly Embroydered with Gold and Pearl.

Next, a War-Horſe led, with Piſtols at the Saddle.

After this, another rich Coach, wherein ſate the Lord Keepers of the Great Seal, and two Serjeants at Arms, with their Maces.

Then another rich Coach, wherein rode the Secretaries of State.

Thus, with all his Guard of Gray-coats (having new Halberts) and twelve Footmen in like Liveries, they went to the Abby-Church at Weſtminſter, where Mr. *John Goodwyn* Preacht: and from thence, on Foot, to the *Painted Chamber*, the Lord *Lambert* carrying the Sword before him. Where, ſtanding by a rich Chair, ſet by the Wall, on that ſide the Room towards the Lord's Houſe, he made a long ſpeech to them. wherein (uſing many canting expreſſions) he told them, they came that day to ſettle, not only the Intereſt of three great Nations,

*An.* 1654. ons, but of all the Chriſtian-people in the World, he talkt likewiſe very much of *Healing*, and *Setling*; and of the danger by the *Levelling party*. Alſo of thoſe, who had only a *form of Godlineſs*, *but not the power thereof*. He likewiſe complain'd of an *Extremity*, that (as formerly he ſaid) none having a good Teſtimony, and who had received Gifts from Chriſt might Preach, *if not Ordained*. That then, on the other hand, many who were *Ordained*, had *Antichriſtianiſm* ſtampt upon their calling, ſo that he ought not to Preach, nor be heard. As alſo, that there was inveighing againſt ſuch, as denyed Liberty to thoſe, who had earned it with their Blood; who had gained civil liberty, and Religious alſo.

Next he toucht upon thoſe many *honeſt people* (as he call'd them) whoſe hearts were ſincere; many of them (as he ſaid) belonging to God; *viz.* the miſtaken notions of the *fifth-Monarchy men*; a thing pretending more to Spirituality, than any thing elſe: affirming that *Liberty* and *Property* were not the Badges of the Kingdom of Chriſt; who, inſtead of regulating Laws, would have Laws ſubverted, and bring in the Judaical Laws. He told them alſo of the advantages, which the common Enemy (*id eſt* the Royaliſts) did make by thoſe their diviſions. Likewiſe of the endeavours here by the Emiſſaries of the Jeſuits; of the decay in their Trade by the War with *Portugal*, *Dutch*, and *French*; and the remedy applyed was that Government, calculated for the Intereſt of the people; inſtancing what *Reformation* had been aimed at by it; that is to ſay, the *Reforming the Laws*, and putting the adminiſtration of them into the hands of juſt men. Alſo to put a ſtop to every man, who would make himſelf a *Preacher*; and that That work was committed to the truſt of perſons, both of the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* judgments, of as known ability and integrity, as any this Nation then had: Men (as he ſaid) who had put ſuch into that great imployment, *who had received Gifts from him, that aſcended on high, and had Gifts for the work of the Miniſtry, and for the edifying of the Body of Chriſt*. He told them alſo, that *That Government* had been inſtrumental to the calling of that *Parliament*, which they ſaw there that day: Saying it was *a free Parliament*. He told them likewiſe what *Peace* they had with Neigh-

Neighbour Princes; and of a people, which were brought out of *Ægypt*, towards the Land of *Canaan*; but, through unbelief, murmuring and repining; and other temptations and ſins, wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to go back again, and linger many years in the Wilderneſs. He alſo added, that they had cauſe to take notice, how that they were not brought into miſery, but that a door of Hope was open: And, that if the Lords bleſſing and his preſence, went along with the management of affairs, at that meeting, they would be enabled to put the top Stone to their work, and make the Nation happy. He likewiſe told them, that they were like to the people under *Circumciſion*, but raw, their Peace being but newly made: and that it was one of the great ends of calling that *Parliament*, that their Ship of the *Common-wealth* might be brought into ſafe Harbour: perſwading them therefore to a Sweet, Gracious, and holy underſtanding of one another. And concluded, that he had not ſpoke thoſe things to them, as one that aſſumed to himſelf Dominion over them; but as one that did reſolve to be a fellow-Servant with them, to the Intereſt of thoſe great affairs, and of the people of theſe Nations. *An.* 1654

And ſo diſmiſſing them, they went to the Houſe of Commons, and choſe *William Lenthall* their Speaker.

But, inſtead of falling to work, as the *Protector* had directed in his Speech; ſo great was the Ambition of thoſe, who had been Members of the late *long Parliament*, to get the ſole power into their hands again; that, after ſome private diſcourſes amongſt one another, they fell to clandeſtine plots, for the pulling down this their great Maſter, and ſetting up themſelves in their old Tyrannical Dominion again. To which end they fell to making Speeches in derogation of the Lord *Protector's* Authority; preſſing earneſtly, that thoſe Members of the *good old Parliament* (as they call'd it) which were then, by Gods providence (as they ſaid) ſo met together, ſhould forthwith declare for, and reaſſume their juſt and rightful Power.

Which motion, being backt with many plauſible Arguments, found at that time ſuch favourers in the Houſe, that the promoters of it hourly got ground, upon thoſe of the

An. 1654. contrary party. The debate therefore holding on with much eagerneſs, and drawing very near to a dangerous iſſue, did ſo awaken the *Protector*, (who diſcern'd his own certain ruine, if it ever came to the queſtion; his party in the Houſe, being then too weak for the other) that, having firſt ſent his Souldiers, to ſhut up the *Parliament* doors, and to ſignifie to the Members, that he would meet them again in the *Painted-Chamber*; he came thither accordingly; and with a ſtern, but troubled Countenance, ſaid; *that at his laſt being there, he did acquaint them with the Riſe of that Government, which had ſo call'd him thither, and with the Authority thereof, as alſo that he then acknowledg'd they were a free Parliament. And ſo you are* (quoth he) *whilſt you own the Government and Authority*, which call'd you hither. But, diſcerning what they drove at, which toucht him ſo near, he farther, plainly, told them, *that he now came to magnifie his Office, which before he had not been apt to do*; ſaying, that *if God would not bear it up, let it ſink.* Adding alſo, that *if a duty were incumbent on him, to bear his own teſtimony unto it* (*which in modeſty he had till then forborn*) *he was, in ſome meaſure neceſſitated thereunto.*

Then he went on, and affirmed, that *he called not himſelf to that place*; but that *his calling was from God, and the people of theſe Nations*; *and that his calling being ſuch, God and the people ſhould take it from him, elſe he would not part with it.*

To manifeſt therefore, that ſuch was his *Call*, he proceeded, and ſaid; that *being a Gentleman by birth, he had been called to ſeveral imployments in the Nation! Firſt in Parliament; then in the late Wars. Which being ended by that great Victory at* **Worceſter**; he ſaid, *he did hope to have got leave for retiring to a private life! and beg'd again and again, to be diſmiſſed of his charge*; *calling God above as witneſs thereto*: but expreſſing, *that he could not therein obtain, what his Soul long'd for.* And farther added, *that he preſſed the Parliament* (*as a Member*) *to put a period to themſelves, again and again*; *nay ten and twenty times over*: and ſaid, that *he told them, that the Nation loathed their ſitting*; *and, that, ſo far as he could diſcern, that when they were diſſolved*, there *was no viſible repining at it*; *no not ſo much as the Barking of a Dog*: Affirming, *that they aim'd to have perpetuated their ſitting to the Worlds end*; *and that under their arbitrary power, poor men were driven like flocks of ſheep to confiſcation of goods and eſtates. Alſo that the ſeeming*

*reme-*

1654.

remedy, which thoſe Members then offered, was to have had a ſucceſſion of Parliaments always ſitting, whereby the Liberties, Intereſts, and Lives of the People, ſhould ſtill have been judg'd by an arbitrary power. Likewiſe, that the remedy, by ſo diſſolving them (as they had been) was fitted to the diſeaſe: And, that thereupon, he deſiring to ſee, if a few called together, for ſome ſhort ſpace of time, might not put the Nation into ſome way of certain ſettlement; he therefore, called thoſe perſons † together, out of the ſeveral parts of the Nation; and this he did, that he might have had an opportunity, to lay down the Power, which was then in his hands; wherein he appealed to God (as he ſaid) before perſons, who knew God, and what Conſcience was; as alſo what it was to Lye before God. A deſire (he ſaid) ſinful enough, he was afraid, to be quit of that Power, which God had moſt providentially put into his hands, before he called for it again; and before thoſe honeſt ends of their fighting were attained, and ſetled (he being by Act of Parliament, General of all the Forces in **England, Scotland,** and **Ireland.**)

† Praiſe-God Bearbone and his Fellows.

But that meeting, not anſwering the hopes of it, and they bringing him an Inſtrument of Reſignation of that Authority, ſo placed upon them (whereof he profeſſed he knew nothing before it was brought, and tendred to him) he was then exceedingly to ſeek what to do, his Power then being (as General of all the Forces in the three Nations) as boundleſs as before.

At length therefore, (as he ſaid) divers Gentlemen, conſulting ſeriouſly together, did frame that model of the then preſent Government, he being not at all privy to their Councils; and, having ſo done, told him, that except he would undertake the ſame; Blood and Confuſion, for lack of a ſettlement, would break in upon them. Yet nevertheleſs, that notwithſtanding this their offer, he denyed it again, and again; till at length, weighing, that it did not put him into an higher capacity, than he was in before, being alſo bounded and limited, as appeared by the Inſtrument, he then accepted it; inſtancing the publick formality of that his acceptance, in the great Hall at **Weſtminſter**, and in the preſence of the then Lord Mayor of **London**, Aldermen, &c. and divers Perſons of quality.

Adding, that what he had then expreſſed, was a Narrative, diſcovering to them the ſeries of Providence and Tranſaction, which had led him into that condition.

Then he went on, and ſaid, that he did not bear witneſs to himſelf (being far from alluding to him that ſaid ſo) but that he had

An. 1654. *a cloud of witneſſes; inſtancing the Officers of the Armies in the three Nations, as appeared by their reſpective Remonſtrances; and the conſent of thoſe perſons, that had ſomewhat to do in the World, who had been inſtrumental, by God, to fight down the Enemies of God and his People, in the three Nations.*

*Likewiſe, that for farther witneſs, he had the City of* **London**, *manifeſted by their congratulatory Entertainment of him at* **Grocers-Hall**, *upon Aſhwedneſday* 1653. *And of the Grand-Juries, from ſeveral Counties. Alſo of the Judges, who received Commiſſions from him, and all the Juſtices of Peace in* **England**. *Nay all the People in* **England** (he ſaid) *were his Witneſſes, and many in* **Ireland**, *and* **Scotland**. *Moreover, all the Shireeves, and all that came in upon Proceſſes Iſſued out by the Shireeves, yea the return of Elections to the Clerk of the Crown, by the Inhabitants of all the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs: and laſtly, themſelves, as returned upon thoſe Elections; the* **Inſtrument of Government**, *being diſtinctly read at all places of ſuch Elections, wherein was that ſpecial proviſo;* viz. *that the perſons ſo choſen, ſhould not have power to alter the Government, as then ſetled in* **one ſingle Perſon**, *and a* **Parliament.**

Farther adding; *that he was then in poſſeſſion of the Government, by a good right from God and Men; and that he did not know, why he might not ballance that providence, as in the ſight of God, with any Hereditary-Int'reſt, as being leſs ſubject to thoſe cracks and flaws they are commonly incident to, and which had coſt ſo much Blood.*

He told them likewiſe, *what Liberty of Conſcience they had by that Government; and that all the Money of this Nation, would not have tempted men to fight, if they had not had hopes of Liberty, better than from* **Epiſcopacy**, *or* **Preſbytery.** *Concluding, that conſidering, that this Government was thus owned of God, approved by men, and teſtified to, as afore hath been ſaid; that in relation to the good of theſe Nations, and to poſterity, he ſhould ſooner be willing to be rolled to his Grave in blood, and buryed with Infamy, than to give conſent to the throwing it away. And therefore, that he had cauſed a ſtop to their entrance into the Houſe, till ſuch time as they ſhould ſubſcribe a* Recognition *thereof, and did ſubmit thereto. And, that if things were not ſatisfied, as were then reaſonably demanded, he for his part ſhould do that which becom'd him, ſeeking his Council from God.*

The

The truth is, that which principally emboldened him to be thus peremptory with them was the ſtrength of the Souldiery, which were generally of his ſide; and which the adverſe party knew full well. So that, of the whole number of thoſe Members, though there was not above ſixty, that did at firſt ſubſcribe the *Recognition*; yet the greateſt part of the reſt, after private conſultations together, being well aware; that by taking their beſt advantages, upon all occaſions within the Houſe, they might do him more miſchief, than they could any way do otherwiſe; came in by degrees, and formally ſigned the ſame. But, as thoſe, who were his chief Confidents, did ſtrive all they could to carry on affairs, for his peculiar Intereſt, according to the frame of that Government, whereby he was ſo advanced to that place and Title: ſure it is, that the reſt, by thoſe rubs and obſtructions, which they caſt in his way, did make all their endeavours totally fruitleſs. So that after well near five Months expectance, and nothing at all done, he was neceſſitated to diſſolve [m] that his firſt and once hopeful *Parliament*. *An.* 1654.

The *Recognition* ſubſcribed.

[m] 22. *Jan.* The Parliament diſſolved.

I ſhould here have concluded this years Tranſactions, but that I cannot omit to relate a very pregnant Inſtance, how timely our, now, gracious Soveraign *King Charles the ſecond*, did adhere to the Proteſtant Religion, profeſſed in the Church of **England**, even in thoſe days when there was ſo little hopes to ſee it ever reſtored; the Rebels in this Realm being then ſo proſperous, that the greateſt Potentates courted their alliance: but even then, ſo fervent was his Majeſties zeal thereto; that, by his great and effectual care, he prevented the perverting of his Brother, the Duke of *Glouceſter* to that of the Church of **Rome**.

In the relation of which, there are ſo many conſiderable circumſtances, whereof very little publick notice hath been taken; that, contrary to the deſigned brevity of this Hiſtory; I ſhall give a full account of the ſame; partly taken from a Relation Printed at *London* in *an.* 1655 and partly from the certain information of perſons of undoubted credit, yet living, who were preſent at the tranſacting thereof.

His

An. 1654. His Majeſty underſtanding, that there was a firm League very far advanced betwixt the French King and *Oliver Cromwell*, withdrew himſelf this year into **Germany** out of **France** (where, till then, he had ever reſided ſince his happy and miraculous eſcape from **Worceſter**) and deſigning to take the Duke of *Glouceſter* with him, was prevailed with by the Queen, his Mother, to leave him with her at **Paris**, upon promiſe ſhe would not permit any force to be put upon him, to change his Religion; but that he ſhould be attended by thoſe Proteſtant-Servants himſelf had placed about him, and have free liberty to reſort to the publick Service of the Church of **England**, at the King's Chappel in Sir *Richard Brown*'s Houſe, then his Majeſties Reſident at **Paris**.

But, about the beginning of *November*, in this year, the Duke (under pretence of weaning himſelf from the company of ſome young French Gallants, who being in the ſame Accademie, were grown into a more familiar converſation with him, than was thought convenient) was removed to *Abbot Mountague*'s Houſe, at his Abby near **Pontoiſe**: And, after a few days, *Mr. Lovel* his Tutor, going to **Paris**, for one day only, on buſineſs (deſignedly contrived, as was ſuſpected by *Abbot Mountagu*) during his abſence, was moſt vehemently preſſed by the Abbot to turn Roman-Catholick with all the motives ſpiritual or temporal he thought might prevail upon him, having at that time no Proteſtant near him, to adviſe with, but Mr. *Griffin* of his Bed-Chamber (a young Gentleman ſince dead; but his Fame for his fervent zeal to the Proteſtant Religion, and faithful ſervice to his Maſter, yet living) who deported himſelf with greater prudence, than could with reaſon have been expected, for one of ſo tender years (aſſiſted only by ſo young a ſecond; for both their ages did, but ſome few years exceed thirty) replying to their Arguments with great ingenuity, evidencing no little zeal for his Religion.

For he told the Abbot, he admired how he durſt make this attempt upon him, knowing how the Queen (his Mother) had engaged to the King his Brother, that no change in his Religion ſhould be endeavoured. Alſo, that for his own part he was reſoly'd not to incur the Kings diſpleaſure, by neglecting the obſervance of his command, which

was

was not to liſten to any Argument for change of his Religion. Likewiſe, that as to the ſpecious propoſals of making him a Cardinal, and promiſing to advance him to be King of **England**, he did with indignation and contempt deride and reject them: complaining withal, how diſingeniouſly he was dealt with, to be thus aſſaulted in the abſence of his Tutor, whom the King had placed over him; and who, he doubted not could eaſily refute all their Arguments: which in truth, at his return to **Pontoiſe**, he did ſo fully, that it was thought convenient to remove the Duke back thence to **Paris**, where he was permitted to reſort to the Kings Chappel, and enjoy the free exerciſe of his Religion, though not long. For after ſome little time, the Queen, his Mother, did own the attempt made on him, to have been done with her approbation; and declared ſhe could not but labour to have her Son ſhew'd the right way to Heaven: and though ſhe had promiſed he ſhould not be forced by her: yet to have that way propoſed to him ſhe thought requiſite. And that he might the eaſier be prevail'd upon, his Proteſtant Tutor was put from him, and he himſelf hurryed out of **Paris** in ſuch haſt, that he might be deprived of the Aſſiſtance and Advice of any Proteſtant, that he could not (though he earneſtly beg'd it) prevail to ſtay, till he might get ſome warmer Cloaths; and convey'd to Mr. *Crofts*, (afterwards Lord *Croft's*) his Houſe, but under the direction of *Abbot Mountagu*; none of his Servants but young *Mr. Gryffin* being permitted to attend him. *An.* 1654.

The News whereof did deeply afflict all the loyal-Proteſtant Exiles then in **Paris**, but no man was more paſſionately concern'd, than that Eminent ſufferer for his loyalty to the Royal Family, and Zeal to the Proteſtant Religion, the late *Lord Hatton*: Who, as ſoon as he underſtood how violently this young Prince was Perſecuted for his Religion, he conſulted with that famous Confeſſor for the Church of **England**, *Dr. John Coſens*, late Biſhop of **Durham** (but at that time Dean of **Peterborough**, and Chaplain to his Majeſty) then reſiding in **Paris**, and drew up what Arguments and Inſtructions he thought convenient to Fortifie the Duke, in this violent Aſſault: And, knowing how ſtrictly he was guarded from the acceſs of any Proteſtant, his Lordſhip being

An. 1654. ing by his Lady related to the Abbot, went to give him a Viſit: but his deſign was ſoon gueſſed at: and though he obtained acceſs to the Duke, he was ſo carefully watcht, that with great difficulty he did unperceived, convey to him the Inſtructions he had prepared for him; yet was forc'd to Vary his Stratagems to have farther advices from time to time delivered to him.

But ſo narrowly was the Duke eyed by the Popiſh Spies ſet over him; and the Prieſts were all the day long ſo inceſſantly torturing him, with their Preſſures to change his Religion, that he had no opportunity to peruſe any Papers ſent to him; ſo that he was conſtrained to deliver them to his faithful Servant *Gryffin*; who in the night time as he lay in his Bed-Chamber, acquainted him what the ſcope of them was. By the advantage of which, through the Aſſiſtance of Almighty God, he did ſo reſolutely withſtand all the violent ſhocks of his Perſecuters; that thereupon they reſolved, not only to remove *Mr. Gryffin* from him, but to Impriſon the Duke in the *Jeſuits Colledge*.

Whereof the King (his Brother) then in **Germany**, receiving adviſe, he did immediately uſe all poſſible endeavours for his relief, and ſent an Expoſtulary Letter to the Queen, his Mother, with Commands to all his moſt Eminent Proteſtant-Subjects in **Paris**, to be, to their utmoſt aiding and Aſſiſting to him, in this his diſtreſs.

Some dayes before he was to have been removed to the *Jeſuits-Colledge*, Sir *George Ratcliff* attempted the delivery of a Letter to him from the King (his Brother) but though he was admitted to his preſence, he could not with Privacy do it. Whereupon he was neceſſitated to leave it with *Mr. Gryffin* to be convey'd to him.

In which Letter his Majeſty minded him of the ſtrict Command he left with him at his parting, to continue firm in his Religion, as alſo of the Vanity of their Motives; the emptineſs of their Promiſes, the laſt Charge of their dead Father, which he ſolemnly gave him, with the entail of his Bleſſing annexed: withal telling him, if he ſuffered himſelf to be perverted in his Religion, by any inticements whatſoever; or put himſelf into the *Jeſuits-Colledge*, he had the laſt Letter he ſhould ever have from him, and muſt never look to ſee his Face again.

As

As ſoon as the Duke had, with an unexpreſſible joy, *An.* 1653.
received this Letter, with all haſt poſſible he tranſcribed a Copy of it, and forthwith ſent it to the Queen his Mother, begging her leave to come to Paris, both upon the account of thoſe commands of the King, and the News of his Brother, the Duke of *York's* being return'd from the French Army. But her Majeſty was pleaſed to ſend him word ſhe could not ceaſe wiſhing his ſo great and eternal good, as the change of his Religion; to which ſhe would not force him, but adviſed him to hearken to what *Abbot Mountagu* ſhould farther deliver to him; which was, that he ſhould howſoever be willing to go to the *Jeſuits-Colledge*, where he ſhould have liberty in all things he could deſire: To which it was ſtill deſigned to have forced him, had it not been prevented by the arrival of the then Marqueſs (but ſince Duke) of *Ormund*.

That great and loyal ſubject attending on his Majeſty in Germany, when the news of this attempt upon the Duke of *Glouceſter* came: perceiving how much his Majeſty was concern'd thereat, and how ſollicitous he was to reſcue him out of the hands of his Perſecutors, profered to go and fetch him to his Majeſty. But it was objected how great a hazard it would be to his Perſon in ſo ill a ſeaſon of weather, to take ſo long and dangerous a journey, juſt upon the withdrawing of the Armies into their Winter Quarters; the Souldiers having beſet all the ways, ſo that no perſon could paſs without much Peril. But that Noble Lord, who had loſt ſo vaſt an Eſtate, and ſo often moſt Eminently hazarded his Life in the Glorious Service he had done the King, and in defence of the Proteſtant Religion, was not to be affrighted from any attempt to do the like for the future: And therefore he the more earneſtly preſſed his Majeſty for his leave to go, and for his Letters and Inſtructions to carry with him.

Certainly the concern was of ſuch high conſequence, that he or none could accompliſh it: For, had any perſon of leſs Authority, Intereſt, and renown for his Ability in State-Affairs, or Zeal for the Service undertaken it, he had probably return'd *re infecta*: For had not his Lordſhip made all poſſible expedition, and ſtaid but four dayes longer before his Arrival at Paris, he had

*An.* 1654. come too late, the Duke had certainly been ſhut up in the *Jeſuits-Colledge*, from whence there had been no retriving him: For the French Court had ſo zealouſly eſpouſed this Affair, that his Lordſhip was neceſſitated to exert all his prudence that he might accompliſh the buſineſs he came about.

As ſoon as his Lordſhip was arrived at the *Pallace-Royal*, he did ſo effectually purſue his Inſtructions, that the Duke had liberty to return to **Paris**, and enjoy the free exerciſe of his Religion; but going ſometime after to the French-Court, both the Queen-Mother of **France**, and Cardinal *Mazarine*, preſſed him with all the allurements they thought might prevail upon him, to turn Roman-Catholick: Telling him, that they look't on him as a Child of **France**, that it was only for his advantage, and the opportunity they ſhould have thereby of highlyer doing him good, that induced them to move him thereto: Adding, that ſince his Father was dead, he ought to obey his Mother in all things ſhe commanded.

To which (obſerving the King, his Brother's Inſtructions,) not to engage in any diſpute; he replyed only, in general termes, *that he was reſolved to obey his Mother as much as any Son could, and ought to do*; and thereby diſengaged himſelf from any farther purſuit at that time.

But all the allurements of the French-Court, and the ſeverity uſed towards him by the Queen his Mother, could not in the leaſt ſhake his firmneſs in his Religion: which her Majeſty, with great Indignation perceiving; ſome few dayes after ſhe took him apart; and (as he afterwards diſcovered) beginning with all ſweetneſs Imaginable, ſhe declared to him how great and tender affection ſhe had for him, and how much it grieved her, that very love it ſelf ſhould compel her to proceed now with ſuch ſeeming ſeverity. She preſumed he was weary of it, and truly ſhe was ſo too; and for his eaſe ſake, ſhe would ſhorten his time of Tryal: And therefore, propoſing to him all the good ſhe aimed at in this deſign; the duty he owed her; and the diſability of the King (his Brother) to maintain him; ſhe commanded him to withdraw himſelf preſently into his Lodging, and there give one hearing more to *Abbot Moun-*

*Mountagu* : And then, ſequeſtring himſelf from any diverſion for a while, to ponder ſeriouſly what ſhe and he had ſaid to him; and that night, either ſend or bring her a full and final anſwer. *An.* 1654.

The Duke, upon the firſt appearance of this intended privacy of his Mother with him; in the little interim of clearing the Room, he took opportunity of ſending *Mr. Gryffin* to find out the *Marqueſs of Ormond*, and to deſire him to come to him as ſoon as he returned from the Queen, that he might be adviſed by him how to deport himſelf as occaſion ſhould ſerve: And as ſoon as he came from her, according to her command, retired to his Chamber. Whereunto the Abbot coming before the *Marqueſs of Ormond* could be found, after he had at large expatiated on what the Queen had but briefly hinted to him, he preſſed him for his final Anſwer. Which the Duke refuſed to give till he had firſt conſulted with the Marqueſs.

Whereupon the Abbot withdrew, deſiring to be ſent for when the Marqueſs ſhould come; which, if not in an hours time, he would return again. though not ſent for.

As ſoon as the Marqueſs came, the Duke quickly reſolved what anſwer to make; but having been ſo long haraſſed, was deſirous to take a little breath, ſo that he neglected ſending to the Abbot, and went out of his Lodging into the Court to divert himſelf. No ſooner was he gone but the Abbot came, and miſſing him ſought up and down. At laſt finding him, he ſeverely rebuk't him, for neglecting his Mothers Commands, and his Inſtructions which were ſeriouſly to Ponderate on what he had ſaid; and for having not ſent for him.

*Well Sir*, ſays the Duke, *I have ſeriouſly conſidered on all hath been ſaid to me; and my final anſwer is, I am reſolved to continue firm in my Religion.* Then replyed the Abbot; *I am Commanded from the Queen, your Mother, to tell you, that ſhe charges you to ſee her Face no more.* At which diſmal expreſſion, the Duke being not a little moved, with great earneſtneſs intreated, that he might, at leaſt beg her parting Bleſſing, till he could prevail for her Pardon, but could not obtain it, though he endeavoured it again the next Morning, (being Sunday, before her Majeſty

*An.* 1654. went to her Devotions) by the Interceſſion of his Brother, the Duke of *York*; who did, with great tenderneſs compaſſionate his condition, and with much earneſtneſs moved on his behalf.

But the Queen was inexorable to all that ſpoke in favour of him; nor would ſhe intimate her pleaſure to him by any Perſon but *Abbot Mountague*, who again ſollicited him; aggravating the Peril of his Mother's diſpleaſure; adviſing him at that inſtant, being the moſt proper time, as ſhe was going to Maſs at her Monaſtery, to apply himſelf to her: For ſhe had propoſals to make to him, which would ſet his heart at reſt, though he could not then name them.

To which the Duke replyed, *if ſo I can: For my heart can have no reſt but in the free exerciſe of my Religion; but I fear her Propoſitions will not: I am ſure yours never tended to give me any eaſe or quiet.*

At which Inſtant the Queen paſſed by in her Coach, going to her Nunnery. Whereupon the Duke approached towards her, attempting to beg her Bleſſing, but was with great Indignation rejected. Whereat, being much diſcompoſed, the Abbot came up to him, and askt him what it was her Majeſty had ſaid to him, which put him into ſo great diſorder. To which he briefly replyed; *what ſhe ſaid I may thank you for Sir; and it is but reaſon. What my Mother therefore ſaid to me, I ſhall ſay to you; Be ſure I ſee your Face no more*; and ſo turn'd away from him.

Whereupon the Abbot calling after him, ſaid; *Whither are you going good Sir.* To whom the Duke (looking over his ſhoulder) anſwered, *to Church*; and ſo went with a ſad and dejected Countenance, which did much abate the joy of the Congregation, who were much pleaſed to ſee him accompany his Brother, the Duke of *York* thither. But they partook with him in his ſorrow, when they underſtood, that after Sermon he was to ſeek where to get a Dinner; for which he muſt ſend to the Cooks, or Faſt; for there was a very ſtrict Prohibition given to all the Officers in his Mothers Court, that they ſhould not furniſh him with any Proviſions, or Neceſſaries.

That

That Night, after Evening Prayer, he had hopes to enjoy one moment of ſatisfaction, by converſing with his Siſter, the Princeſs *Henrietta* (afterwards Dutcheſs of *Orleans*) during his Mothers abſence. But, as ſoon as the young Princeſs heard the news of his deſigned Adventure; ſhe was ſo frighted into ſhrieks and tears, that ſhe cryed out *Oh God my Brother! Oh me my Mother! I am undone for ever; what ſhall I do?* *An.* 1654.

Which as ſoon as the Duke heard, he retyred, not being willing his dear Siſter ſhould by her kindneſs to him purchaſe her Mothers diſpleaſure. In this diſconſolate condition he went to his Lodging: Where at nine of the Clock at night, his Groom came to know what he ſhould do with his Horſes: For the Queens Comptroller was come to him with a charge to remove them inſtantly. Whereupon the Groom Pleaded it was then too late, and that on the morrow it would be time enough. But the Comptroller replyed, he ſhould then be put out of his place ere Morning.

The next day the Sheets were taken off his Bed. Finding therefore that he could not be permitted to ſtay at the *Pallace-Royal*, he thought until he could provide Neceſſaries for his Journey into Germany, to retire to the Houſe of *Mr. Crofts* (afterwards *Lord Crofts*) near Paris; whereof the Queen hearing, ſhe chekt *Mr. Crofts* for being willing to receive him; with which he acquainted the Duke; but ſubmits however to his pleaſure.

In this ſtraight the Duke betook himſelf to the adviſe of that faithful Servant to his Family, and zealous Proteſtant the *Lord Hatton*, by whoſe judicious Inſtructions he had received much ſatisfaction, in this his diſtreſſed Condition, who, ſo ſoon as the Duke had made known to him, that he was not only turn'd out of his Mothers Houſe, but that all perſons that had any dependency on her were forbidden to receive or aſſiſt him: His Lordſhip told him, if his Highneſs would pleaſe to honour his Houſe with his Preſence, he ſhould there be received with all the dutiful regard that could be payed to him, by ſo antient and faithfully devoted a Servant to his Royal Family; and with an entertainment as ſuitable to his Quality, as the remains of that Fortune he had ſpent in his Fathers Service would afford.

But

*An.* 1653. But this the Duke, out of great modeſty, ſeemed to decline? alledging the hazard his Lordſhip might run to, having his Eſtate again ſequeſtred in England; and likewiſe incurring the diſpleaſure of the French Court, as well as of the Queen his Mother; to be exiled that Realm for his Kindneſs to him, as he had been England for his Service to his Father; and perhaps be endangered in his perſon by the Rabble, animated by ſome enraged Papiſts for thus diſappointing them of making a Proſelite of him, as they boaſted they had done, and given publick thanks in divers Churches.

But his Lordſhip aſſured him; that, as he had ſpent the greateſt part of his life and fortune, in the Service of his Highneſſes Royal Family, and defence of the Proteſtant Religion, he would willingly Sacrifice the remainder of both on ſo honourable an occaſion as this. With which hearty invitation his Highneſs was ſo pleaſed, that he took no farther thoughts whither to go, but remained with his Lordſhip.

Being thus gone from the *Pallace-Royal*, the Queen Mother of France came immediately thither, to try again (as 'twas thought) if ſhe could prevail with him to change his Religion: And as ſoon as ſhe came, ſent her Son the Duke of *Anjou* (afterwards of *Orleans*) to viſit him; who return'd with the news, that he was not to be found. But as ſoon as it was known, that he was at the *Lord Hatton*'s Houſe, ſhe ſent the then Marqueſs (ſince Duke) of *Pleſſis* (a Perſon of ſuch famed parts and abilities, that, in conſideration thereof he was made Governour to the Duke of *Anjou*) to perſwade with him to comply with his Mothers adviſe: for effecting whereof he exerciſed all his parts and elocution with great earneſtneſs; urging, that ſince the Death of his Father, the Queen his Mother had the ſole Power and Authority over him: Diſputing whether (the King) his Brother, as his Sovereign, had equal Authority to diſpoſe of him.

And the diſcourſe growing ſomewhat publick, the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, and the *Lord Hatton* (then preſent) arguing in the Dukes defence; the French Marqueſs finding himſelf overmatch't, in great paſſion return'd without the ſucceſs expected at the *Pallace-Royal*, where the French Queen ſtaid very late till he came back. Whoſe report

port when both Queens heard, they were then fully satisfied in the Dukes firmneſs to his Religion; ſo that after that, no conſiderable attempt was made on him, though he continued for near two months very nobly entertained by the *Lord Hatton*, until through the Marqueſs of *Ormond*'s, and his Lordſhips Intereſt, Neceſſaries could be provided for his going into **Germany**. *An.* 1654.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XXXVIII.

IT is not to be doubted, but that the Convening of theſe perſons from all parts of the Nation (conſidering that divers of them being Members of the *Old Long Parliament*, and eagerly thirſted to obtain their wonted power again, having, to that end, corrupted a great part of the Army) did not a little endanger his new-raiſed Dominion.

But ſuch was his vigilancy, that their Plots took no effect. Seeing therefore, both how, and by whom his Authority had been thus affronted; leſt others, in time, by ſuch examples might be ſwayed; his next buſineſs was to gain ſome ſhadow of being owned by the generality of the people throughout the three Kingdoms: which by the help of his Emiſſaries in ſhort time he accompliſht; firſt from **Scotland** by Gratulatory Petitions; and next from the Counties and chief Places throughout **England** and **Ireland**.

Which being effected, he then put on the Mask of a moſt tender and zealous Patriot, earneſtly promoting the performance of Juſtice; encouraging Virtue, and diſcountenancing Vice. And to gain thoſe of the Clergy, who might be moſt ſerviceable to his purpoſe, he made no ſmall ſhews of his favours unto them; yet with a check to the inſolency of the *Presbyterian*, and depreſſing the *Epiſcopal* and Orthodox. To thoſe alſo of the *Romiſh* perſuaſion, though he ſeemed ſevere, 'tis certain enough, that he did ſomwhat favour them: there being not any ſort of men, to whom he carried not ſome ſhew of reſpect, having an excellent faculty of courting them with ſome appearance of kindneſs. But to captivate thoſe, who were ſeemingly Religious, he had a ſingular art of diſcourſing with them moſt Divinely; and not only ſo, but Praying, Sighing, Groaning, and ſomtimes ſhedding Tears in their preſence; yet having a ſpecial vigilancy upon all Parties and Intereſts, which poſſibly might diſturb his quiet: So that the Royaliſts, whoſe generous and

*An.* 1656. active Spirits were ever prompting them to endeavour the Kings Reſtauration, and to that purpoſe intended a Riſing in the Weſt, were ſoon diſcovered: whereupon ſome of them were brought to Tryal, * and ſuffered death for the ſame.

* At *Exeter.* 18. *April.*

But the lives of theſe Loyal perſons did not ſatisfie this ſubtle Tyrant: for he took advantage thereby, to cauſe the Eſtates of all others of that party, though they ſate quiet, to be decimated, except ſuch as by mony could free themſelves from that great exaction: And for the ſtrict Levying of that moſt oppreſſive Tax, he conſtituted † fourteen ſelect *Major-Generals*; each of which had ſeveral Counties under his Juriſdiction; who not only exerciſed their Authority, in an Arbitrary and unlimited manner; but at length grew ſo inſolent, that he thought it not fit to continue them in that power.

† 15. *Octob.* Major Generals.

*An.* 1656. And now looking upon himſelf as an abſolute Monarch, he exerciſed the Authority of conferring the Honour of Knighthood; firſt * upon the Lord Mayor of **London**. And having ſoon after concluded a League * with **France**, he went on and Knighted two of his Colonels; *Pride* † and *Barkſted* * (the one who had been a Dray-man, the other a ſeller of Thimbles and Bodkins of Silver.) And having throughout all parts of **England**, by underhand practices (thoſe of his Preaching-Clergy ſerving him therein to ſome purpoſe) made way for an Election of ſuch Members, for another *Parliament*, as might beſt advance his future ambitious deſigns, he ſent out Writs † of Summons for Convening of them accordingly. At which meeting, * none were permitted to enter the Houſe, which refuſed to acknowledg and ſubſcribe to his Authority. Whereupon ſome being excluded, went back to their Countries. But thoſe which ſate went ſtoutly on with the work, having made choice of Sir *Thomas Widdrington* to be their Speaker.

* 20. *Sept.*

† 17. *Jann.*

* 19. *Jann.*

† 10. *July.*

* 17. *Sept.*

*Cromwels* ſecond Parliament called.

That the chief end whereat this proud and ſubtle Tyrant, at that time drove, was by the help of this Convention, to be inveſted with the Title of **King**, few there were to whom it was not evident enough, though he cunningly ſeemed to look another way. That there might therefore be the leſs ſuſpicion thereof, the deſign

was

was ſo laid, that the work ſhould be brought about by degrees, and in a Collateral way. To which end, in the firſt place as a preparation thereto, they paſſed an Act, *whereby *the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes there aſſembled* (for ſo are the words) *did in the name of all the people of that Common-Wealth, fully, clearly, and abſolutely, and for ever diſclaim and renounce all Fealty, Homage, or Allegiance, pretended to be due unto* **Charles Stuart**, *Eldeſt Son of the late King* **Charles**; **James Stuart**, &c. *or any other Iſſue or Poſterity of the ſaid King; or any perſon or perſons pretending, or which ſhould pretend Title, by, from, or under them, or any of them.* *An.* 1656. * Scob. Coll. p. 371.

And ſoon after that another Act, † for ſecurity of the perſon of his Highneſs the Lord *Protector*, and continuance of the Nation in Peace and Safety; the preamble whereof beginneth thus; *foraſmuch as the Proſperity and Safety of this Nation, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, very much dependeth, under God, upon the ſecurity and preſervation of the perſon of his Highneſs*, &c. In which Act ſeveral offences were adjudged Treaſon; and certain Commiſſioners for **England** and **Wales** therein nominated, for the Tryal of Offenders againſt the ſaid Act. † Ib. p. 372.

Which foundation being ſo laid, it was by his Friends and Favourers, then thought high time to diſcover what they would be at; and accordingly moved, * that, whereas this Nation had for thirteen hundred years at the leaſt, been governed by *Kings*; and though ſome of them had offended the people; yet that Title had never been aboliſhed. Alſo, whereas the Government; by the ſaid Title, was interwoven with the Laws, and accommodated to the diſpoſitions of the people; that they ſhould humbly *Petition* and *Adviſe* his Highneſs to take upon him the ſame Title. * Alderman *Pack*, a great Exciſe-Commiſſioner, the firſt that moved it. 21. *Feb.*

Which motion took ſuch effect, that there was an Inſtrument ſoon drawn up by them, called *the Humble Petition and Advice*, whereby they beſought his Highneſs ſo to do. The humble Petition and Advice.

Whereunto (that he might not ſeem to have any knowledg of what they were about, much leſs any deſire thereof; but be ſtill more and more ſought to and importuned therein) he anſwered with all ſhew of modeſty; that (indeed) thoſe Arguments which they had uſed to him,

*An.* 1657. were perſuaſive, but not compulſive; and that the Title of *Protector* might be well accommodated to the Laws.

To which they replyed, that the Title ought to be ſuch, as was ſuitable to the Laws, and the Laws not be made ſuitable to the Title; urging the Statutes of 9. *Edw.* IV. and 3. *Henr.* VII. whereby it was provided, that no one ſhould ſuffer for bearing Arms on the behalf of him, that was *de facto* King, though he had no juſt right to the Crown. Which Argumenrs were made uſe of to him meerly for ſhew, the better to diſguiſe his ambitious aim; as though, without ſuch ſtrong motives, he could not have been won thereto.

But the plain truth is; that after this buſineſs came thus in queſtion, the Sectaries of all ſorts, nay a great part of the Souldiery, ſhewed a vehement diſlike thereof, being privately inſtigated by *Lambert*, and ſome other of the Principal Officers, who did themſelves, upon *Cromwels* death, expect to have ſucceeded him in the Place of *Protector*; it being Elective, as is manifeſt from the *Inſtrument of Government*, whereby that Tyrant was at firſt ſo Conſtituted (whereas had he been advanced to the Title of King, the caſe might have been otherwiſe.) So that this crafty Fox, diſcerning no ſmall peril to himſelf by ſuch diviſions, as might thereby ariſe; eſpecially in the Army, wherein lay his chief ſtrength and ſupport, thought it the ſafeſt way to decline * it, and to ſtick ſtill to † that of *Protector*; yet to have the Government ſetled in a kind of Monarchic manner. And ſo in imitation of that which had formerly been Regal, to have a *Houſe of Peers*.

* 8. *May.*
† 19. *May.*

But againſt that alſo, there were great and high oppoſitions: ſo that, though it was with much ado agreed, that there ſhould be *another Houſe*; yet it would not be allowed the Title of an *Houſe of Peers*. Whereupon the reſult was, that an Act Intituled *The Humble Petition and Advice*, ſhould paſs; whereby they ordained what Stile the chief Magiſtrate ſhould have; *id eſt*, Lord *Protector of the Common-Wealth* of **England, Scotland,** and **Ireland,** and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging.

Likewiſe, that *Parliaments* conſiſting of *two Houſes* ſhould be called once in three years, with qualifications of ſuch as ſhould ſerve therein. And that the number of ſuch,

ſuch, as ſhould ſit in *the other Houſe* ſhould be nominated by the *Lord Protector*, and approved by the Houſe of Commons. Moreover, that he ſhould have power to nominate his Succeſſor. And that a *Confeſſion of Faith* ſhould be agreed on by his Highneſs and the *Parliament*, according to the Rule and Warrant of the Scriptures. Which Act being preſented to him, accordingly, was aſſented to, and paſſed *. *An.* 1657.

* 25. *May.* Scob. Col'. *p.* 378. *c.* 2.

But that Act being in ſome ſort deficient; about a month following, they paſſed another, relating thereto, and called *The Explanatory Petition and Advice*. Wherein (*inter alia*) is this Clauſe; *viz.* — *Whereas in the Fourth Article Publick Miniſters, or Publick Preachers of the Goſpel, are diſabled to be Elected to ſerve in Parliament; it is hereby explained and declared, to ſuch Miniſters and Preachers only, as have maintenance for Preaching, or are Paſtors, or Teachers of Congregations.* In which Act is alſo contained the Oaths of the *Lord Protector*, and of his Privy-Council; as alſo the Oaths of the Members of that *Parliament*.

Soon after which, he was again, in **Weſtminſter**-Hall (ſtanding under a Rich State) ſolemnly inveſted into his Old Title of *Lord Protector*, and into the Government thus new modelled. Where in the preſence of the Members of that *Parliament*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington* their Speaker, delivered unto him, in the name of them all (and as Repreſentatives of all the people in the three Kingdoms) a *Purple Robe*, lyned with Ermine; as alſo a *Bible*, *Sword*, and *Scepter*, deſcanting upon each of them, as ſignificant, in ſome reſpect. All which being performed, the Inſtrument of that new Modelled Government, called *The Humble Petition and Advice*, was publickly read. Whereunto aſſenting, he was then and there Proclaimed *Protector* of **England**, **Scotland**, and **Ireland**, with ſound of Trumpets: and afterwards in † the City of **London**. So likewiſe at * **Dublin** in **Ireland**, and † **Edenburgh** in **Scotland**.

*Cromwel* a ſecond time Conſtituted *Protector*.

† 1. *July.*
* 9. *July.*
† 15. *July.*

Which new deviſed Government, ſo much reſembling Monarchy, though the Title did not ſute thereto, did ſo diſpleaſe the *Anabaptiſts* and *Fifth-Monarchy men*, that they Conſpired his ruin by a ſudden Inſurrection: but their Plot being timely diſcerned, came at length to nothing. Whereupon, for prevention of farther miſchief, he committed

*An.* 1657. mitted to Priſon, ſeveral perſons of no ſmall note, whoſe power with the Souldiery might otherwiſe have much endangered his ſafety; *viz. Lawſon*, one of his Admirals at Sea; *Harriſon*, *Rich*, *Danvers*, and ſome other Colonels. Nay, *Lambert* himſelf, being aware, that his hopes of ſucceeding him, were then, by that new framed Government fruſtrated, began to fall off from him, and to incline to the Fanaticks. Which ſo awakened the *Protector*, that he took from him his Commiſſion of Lieutenant General and gave it to *Fleetwood*, who by the Marriage of his Daughter, ſtood more nearly tyed to his Intereſt.

And that he might the better allure thoſe of the Army, and ſome other which were no great friends to him, to conform the more pliantly, to this his new ſetled Dominion, he tickled them with the ſpecious Title of *Lords*, by calling them to ſit in the *other Houſe*; obliging alſo many other deſperate and mean perſons, which were Officers of the Army, with the like ſhadows of Honour. The names of which perſons ſo called were as followeth; *viz.*

*Richard Cromwel*, his eldeſt Son.
*Henry Cromwel*, his other Son, *then Lord Deputy of* Ireland.
*Nathaniel Fienes*, } Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal.
*John Liſle*, }
*Henry Lawrence*, Lord Preſident of his Privy-Council.
*Charles Fleetwood* (his Son in Law.)
*Robert Earl of Warwick.*
*Edmund Earl of Mulgrave.*
*Edward Earl of Manchester.*
*William Viſcount Say and Sele.*
*John Cleypole* (his other Son in Law, and Maſter of his Horſe.)
*Philip Lord Liſle*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of Leiceſter.
*Charles Howard* of Waworth Caſtle.
*Philip Lord Wharton.*
*Thomas Lord Fauconbridg.*
*John Desborough*, } Admirals at Sea.
*Edw. Montagu.* }
*George Lord Eure.*
*Bulſtrod Whitlock.*
Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Kt.
Collonel *William Sydenham.*
Sir *Charles Wolfeſley*, Baronet.
*Major General Skippon.*
*Strickland.*
Collonel *Philip Jones.*
*Richard Hampden.*
Sir *William Strickland.*
*Francis Rous*, Eſq;

*John*

*John Fiennes*, Eſq;
Sir *Francis Ruſſell*, Baronet.
Sir *Thomas Honywood*, Kt.
Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg*, Baronet.
Sir *John Hobart*.
Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Kt.
Sir *Gilbert Gerard*.
Sir *William Roberts*, Kt.
*John Glyn*, his Chief Juſtice of the Upper-Bench.
*Oliver St. John*, his Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas.
*William Pierpont*, Eſq;
*John Jones*, Eſq;
*John Crew*, Eſq;
*Alexander Popham*, Eſq;
Sir *Chriſtoph. Pack*, Alderman. } Made Kts. by *Cromwel*.
Sir *Rob. Tichburne*, Alderman. } Made Kts. by *Cromwel*.
*Edward Whalley*, one of his Major Generals.
Sir *John Barkſted*, Kt. Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, Knighted by *Cromwel*; but formerly ſold Thimbles and Bodkins.
Sir *George Fleetwood* another of his Knights.
Sir *Thomas Pryde*, another of his Knights, formerly a Dray-man. *An.* 1658.
Collonel *Richard Ingoldesby*.
Sir *John Heuſon*, another of his Knights, formerly a Cobler.
*James Berrey*, one of his Major Generals, formerly Clerk to a Forge.
Collonel *William Goffe*.
*Thomas Cooper*.
*Edmund Thomas*.
*George Monke*, then Commander in Chief of his Forces in **Scotland**.
*David Earl of Caſſils* in **Scotland**.
Sir *William Lockart*, another of his Knights.
Sir *Archib. Johnſton*, a Scotchman.
*William Steele* his Lord Chancelour of **Ireland**.
The Lord *Broghil*, Brother to the Earl of *Corke* in **Ireland**.
Sir *Matthew Tomlinſon*, another of his Knights.

The Sitting * of which Houſe began upon the twentieth of *January*; at which time likewiſe thoſe of the Commons, who had formerly declined to ſign the *Recognition*, were freely admitted. * 20. *Jan.*

But ſo much were thoſe new Lords deſpiſed and ſcorned by the Houſe of Commons; that the *Protector*, finding no advantage by their Sitting, *Diſſolved that his Second Parliament*. The *Parliament* Diſſolved. 4. *Feb.*

Which was not more ſlow in complying with his advancement, than the Royalliſts were forward in their *An.* 1568.

contri-

*An.* 1658. contrivances for pulling him down. But ſo great was his vigilancy, and no leſs his coſt, whereby he had allured ſome Birds of that Feather; that the Conſultations of his Adverſaries, were no ſooner had, than apparently diſcovered: ſo that, when ever he pleaſed, he could take them in his Net, as he always did, when he thought that examples of ſeverity might be for his advantage.

Another High-Court of Juſtice.

It being therefore once more expedient to renew thoſe terrors to the people, he cauſed his bloody Theatre, called the *High-Court of Juſtice*, to be again erected in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; where for the more formalities ſake, the perſons whom he did deſign for deſtruction were brought; the one Dr. *John Hewit*, a Reverend Divine, the other Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Kt. a *Yorkſhire* Gentleman of great Loyalty and Valour; who being charged with High Treaſon againſt his *Protectorſhip*; and ſtoutly denying the Authority of that Tribunal, had Sentence of death ſoon paſſed upon them, which they did accordingly ſuffer, * with great magnanimity; though there was no little endeavour uſed for to ſave their lives: his Daughter *Claypole* (whoſe intereſt otherwiſe with him was beyond expreſſion) ſolliciting for the Doctor with all earneſtneſs that could be.

* 2. & 8. *Jun.*

*Dunkirk* having been beſieged by the *Engliſh* and *French*; and given up to the *French* upon Articles, was put into the hands of the *Engliſh*, 25. *June.*

But it concerning him at that time, ſo much in point of Policy, to ſacrifice ſome for a terror to others; neither her inceſſant Supplication nor Tears could prevail; which brought upon her ſuch exceſſive grief of mind; that falling into a ſharp fit of ſickneſs; wherein crying out againſt him, for Dr. *Hewits* blood; ſhe dyed with the moſt bitter torments imaginable.

Which death of hers was the fore-runner to that of this wicked Tyrant: for ſoon after a deep Melancholy ſeized cloſely upon him: in which the guilt of ſo much innocent blood, as he had ſpilt, might (perhaps) ſomewhat touch him. But without doubt that which ſtuck neareſt to him, was his real conſideration, that he could never aſcend unto ſuch an height of Sovereignty, as his ambitious deſires had long gaped after. For he plainly ſaw, that the *Anabaptiſts*, and *Fifth-Monarchy men*, whom in order to the deſtruction of his lawful Sovereign, he had ſo much cheriſht, then were, and were ever like to be, as thorns in his ſides, and blocks in his way thereto. And

which

which is more, that not only *Fleetwood* (his Son in Law) whom privately he had deſigned to be his Succeſſor in the Government, was an eſpecial friend and favourer of thoſe deſperate Fanatics; but that *Desborough*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Collonel *Sydenham*, and many other of his Council, were underhand well-wiſhers to *Lambert* and his party, who were known enemies to all Monarchick Rule; and conſequently to that, wherein he had ſo long aimed to be ſetled. *An.* 1658.

Which ſorrows and perplexities of his reſtleſs mind, meeting with ſome Natural infirmities of his Body, ſtruck him into a ſharp and Feaveriſh diſtemper: whereat his Phyſicians expreſſing their thoughts; he told them, *that if they ſuppoſed him in a dying condition, they were utterly miſtaken, foraſmuch as he had been comforted with Revelations to the contrary.* Nay he was farther ſo tranſported with thoſe vain Enthuſiaſms, and had ſuch brain-ſick perſons about him (even thoſe of his Chaplains) who were equally poſſeſt with ſuch giddy-headed conceipts; that they fooliſhly dreamed and fancyed as much: and told it in publick; *that having ſought God by Prayer, for the prolongation of his life, they received ſuch aſſurances of his grant to their Petitions; that they not only gave out, that he effectually recovered, but kept a ſolemn Thanksgiving for the ſame, at* **Hampton-Court**, *where he then lay.*

Which ſtrange and bold confidence, cauſed forthwith his removal from thence to **White-Hall**; where he had not been from that time, many days, but his Phyſician allarm'd them with his near approaching death. Which ſo awakened the beſt of his Friends, that they ſoon fell to enquiry, whom he intended for his Succeſſor. But ſo little ſenſe had he then of that queſtion, that he made them an anſwer no whit to the purpoſe. Whereupon they askt him, whether it was not his Son *Richard*; to which he made them ſome ſigns of aſſent. But farther enquiring of his laſt *Will* and *Teſtament*, whereby they preſumed that he had nominated his Succeſſor, he directed them to his Cloſet, and other places for ſearch; but all to no purpoſe, for nothing could be found.

In which diſcompoſure, departing * this life upon the third of *September*; to the end that the Government might not fall to the ground; ſome few of the Council giving * *Sept.* 3.

*An.* 1658. out, that *Richard*, was (according to the Inſtrument) the Perſon declared, they immediately cauſed him to be Proclaimed *Protector*.

Having thus traced this Monſter to his death, which happened on the ſame day of the month, whereon he had been twice wonderfully victorious (*viz.* at **Dunbar** and **Worceſter**) it will not be amiſs to take notice of ſomewhat concerning his Carcaſe, which was wholly preternatural; *viz.* that notwithſtanding it was Artificially Embowelled, and Embalmed with Aromatick Odours, wrapt alſo in ſix-fold Cerecloth, and put in a ſheet of Lead: with a ſtrong wooden Coffin over it; yet did it in a ſhort time ſo ſtrangely ferment, that it burſt all in pieces, and became ſo noyſom, that they were immediately neceſſitated to commit it to the Earth, and to celebrate his Funeral with an empty Coffin. Which ſolemnity was performed, from **Somerſet-Houſe** in the *Strand*, unto King *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel at **Weſtminſter**, with
* *Nov.* 23. that Grandeur and State, * upon the 23. of *November* following, that it did equalize the greateſt and moſt glorious of our Kings, amongſt which they laid the Corps of this infamous Regicide.

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## CHAP. XXXIX.

HEre ſhould I go on in the path of my Story; but becauſe that reports have been ſo various, and uncertain, touching his Parentage, and courſe of life, before he became an Actor in this unparallel'd Rebellion, it will not be improper to make a ſhort digreſſion; and as briefly as may be, to ſay ſomthing of both.

That his Extraction by the Fathers ſide, was from Sir *Richard Williams*, Kt. a Gentleman of eminent note, in the Court of King *Henry* the VIII. and ſon to *Morgan ap William* (a *Welchman*) by Siſter to *Thomas* Lord *Cromwel* Earl of *Eſſex*, (the chief Agent in thoſe days, for the diſſolution of the Monaſteries) is not to be doubted. Who being by his Uncle preferred to the ſervice

vice of King *Henry*, was for that cauſe (and no other) called *Cromwel*, as is apparent enough from Teſtimonies of credit, however ſome have fancyed otherwiſe, which Sir *Richard*, thereupon writing himſelf *Cromwel*, alias *Williams*, was then in ſuch Favour and Grace with the King; that having received the dignity of Knighthood * for his Heroick behaviour at a Tilting in 32. *Hen.* VIII. he had alſo the great Abby of **Ramſey**, the Nunnery of **Hinchinbroke**, with the Priories of **Sautrey**, and **Huntingtон**, given to him upon the diſpoſal of the Monaſtery Lands. All which he left unto Sir *Henry Cromwel*, Kt. his Son and Heir. Who, making **Hinchinbroke** his principal Seat (as more pleaſantly ſituate than **Ramſey** is) left Iſſue Sir *Oliver Cromwel*, made Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King *James*; and *Robert Cromwel* a younger Son (with ſome other Children.) Which *Robert*, though he was by the countenance of his elder Brother, made a Juſtice of Peace in *Huntingtonſhire*, had but a ſlender Eſtate; much of his ſupport being a Brew-Houſe in **Huntingtон**, chiefly managed by his Wife, who was Siſter to Sir *Robert Steward*, of the City of **Ely**, Knight, and by her had Iſſue this our famous *Oliver*, ſtiled *Protector* of **England**, **Scotland**, and **Ireland**, as hath been obſerved.

*An.* 1658.

* *Stows* Survey of *Lond.* p. 494. col. 1.

In his Youth he was for ſome time bred up in the Univerſity of *Cambridg*; where he made no great proficiency in any kind of Learning: but then and afterwards ſorting himſelf with Drinking-Companions, and the ruder ſort of people (being of a rough and bluſtering diſpoſition) he had the name of a Royſter amongſt moſt that knew him: and by his exorbitances ſo waſted his Patrimony; that, having attempted his Uncle *Steward* for a ſupply of his wants, and finding that by a ſmooth way of application to him, he could not prevail, he endeavoured by colour of Law to lay hold of his Eſtate, repreſenting him a perſon not able to govern it. But therein failing, for lack of better mantenance, his aim was for **New-England**, purpoſing there to fix, as is very well known.

Obſerving therefore, that moſt of thoſe unquiet Spirits, who were refractory to the *Church-Diſcipline* by Law Eſtabliſht here, were the principal perſons which had

*An.* 1658. ſtored that new Plantation; and that none but ſuch Schiſmaticks were welcome gueſts thither: for his better furtherance from thoſe of that gang, and the fairer acceptance upon his arrival there, through the recommendation of thoſe Godly Brethren; he forthwith quitted his old Companions, and betook himſelf to the acquaintance of the pretended Holy Tribe; moſt formally canting in their demure Language and affected tone, and frequenting the Sermons of the fierceſt Boutefeus. Amongſt which (as a bleſſed Convert, in whom they much gloried) he gained in ſhort time a very high Reputation. So that having better Natural parts than the moſt of that Sect, and confidence enough to put forth himſelf, upon any fit occaſion; he was eſpecially made choice of by thoſe, who ever endeavoured the undermining of Regal Authority, to be their Orator at **Huntington**, unto the late Kings Commiſſiones of Sewers there, in oppoſition to His Majeſties moſt commendable deſign, for the general drayning of that great and vaſt level of the adjacent Fenns. In which adventure, his boldneſs and Elocution gained him ſo much credit; as that, ſoon after, being neceſſitated through his low condition, to quit a Country Farm, which he held at St. **Ives**, and betake himſelf to mean Lodgings in **Cambridg**, the Schiſmatical party there, choſe him a Burgeſs for their Corporation, in that unhappy *Long-Parliament*, which began at **Weſtminſter** upon the third of *November*, 1640.

Wherein he beſtirred himſelf, with as much violence and heat, as any Schiſmatical Bankrupt did in that miſchievious Convention; being well aware, that a general imbroilment of the Kingdom, by an inteſtine War, might be of advantange to ſuch neceſſitous and deſperate people. Whereupon, in ſhort time, he did accordingly obtain his long deſired ends: for being one of the firſt of thoſe, who put themſelves in Arms againſt the King, he was made a Captain of Horſe in the Earle of *Eſſex's* Regiment, and afterward Lieutenant General to the late Earl of *Mancheſter*.

In which ſervice, his great ſtrength of Reaſon, accompanyed with no leſs Courage, ſoon gained him ſuch experience in the Diſcipline of War; as that taking ſtrict care for the well Arming of his men, and preventing their diſ-

order

order upon any hot purſuit; ſuch ſucceſs attended him upon all occaſions, as at length gained him the Reputation of a skilful Commander; by reaſon whereof he arrived to much higher advancements. Where ſoon diſcerning the general humour of the Souldiers, and that many of them were poſſeſſed with conceited Revelations; ſome expecting a perſonal Reign of Chriſt, here on Earth; fancying themſelves the men who were to make way for his coming; and to that purpoſe that they were to deſtroy the wicked and poſſeſs their Eſtates; he chiefly applyed himſelf to the humor of thoſe deſperate *Fanaticks*; and by his ſubtle arts in Praying, Preaching, Groaning, and Howling amongſt them, got himſelf no leſs Credit than *Mahomet*, of old, did with his Followers. And ſo by degrees, aſcending thoſe ſteps of Command and Power, whereof inſtance hath been given in the precedent Story, raiſed himſelf at laſt, to the higheſt pitch of Soveraignty, as hath already been obſerved. *An.* 1658.

## CHAP. XL.

I Now proceed to *Richard* his Son (Proclaimed *Protector* upon his death, as hath been ſaid.) Whoſe Title was for a while, upheld by ſome few, and much art uſed for perpetuating his Dominion; firſt by procure Congratulations * from all the Souldiery in **England, Scotland,** and **Ireland,** Secondly from all the *Independent* Congregational-Aſſemblies; Thirdly from the moſt eminent of the **London** Miniſters; as alſo from the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Italian* Churches; and laſtly from moſt of the Counties, Cities, and chief Towns in **England**; all of them engaging to live and dye with this youngſter. In many of which ſolemn Congratulatory Addreſſes, being highly magnified for his Wiſdom, nobleneſs of mind, and lovely Compoſition of Body; his Father *Oliver* was compared to *Moſes*, *Zerubabel*, *Joſhua*, *Gideon*, *Elijah*; to the Chariots and Horſemen of **Iſrael**; to *David*, *Solomon*, and *Hezekiah*. Likewiſe to *Conſtantine* the Great; and to whomſoever

* Hiſt of Indep. Part. 4. p. 32.

*An.* 1658. ſoever elſe that either the Sacred Scripture, or any other Hiſtory, had celebrated for their Piety, and Goodneſs. Inſomuch as it was then, by moſt men thought, that this their late framed Government might be durable enough, againſt the diſturbance of any oppoſers.

But ſo active and earneſt were the Fanaticks againſt it, that they ſpared not their utmoſt induſtry for the ſupplanting thereof: And diſcerning *Fleetwood* (then General of the Army) to be very much a friend unto all of their party; unto him they made addreſſes for furtherance of their deſign; ſpeciouſly ſuggeſting, that the Office of *Protector*, being at the diſpoſal of *Cromwel*, was to him alone intended, though *Richard* had been Proclaimed by ſome few of the Council.

And to the end that the Souldiers might likewiſe incline to their ſide, they put them on to require the auditing of their Arrears; two pence a week having been withheld of their pay: and not only ſo, but to inſiſt upon greater priviledges, as Souldiers, than they had enjoyed in *Olivers* time; *viz.* that no Souldier ſhould be diſplaced, without conſent of the Council of War: no nor queſtioned for Murther, Robbery, or any other Offence, otherwiſe than by the Law-Military; whereby they were ſure to have no little favour. Likewiſe, that it ſhould be in the power of the Army, upon all occaſions, to make choice of their General: of all which they had firſt diſputes with this *Richard*, and afterwards, by their *Remonſtrances* did inſiſt upon boldly.

*Rich. Cromwels* Parliament.

Theſe perrillous attempts, being therefore diſcerned by his Highneſs, he forthwith ſummoned a *Parliament* (according to the tenor of the old Inſtrument) which *Parliament*, was (for its greater honour) to conſiſt of *two Houſes*; thereby not doubting but to ſcatter theſe dangerous clouds; and

7. *Jan.* met accordingly at **Weſtminſter** upon the ſeventh of *January*. But conſulting together; inſtead of complying with his Highneſſes deſigns, they fell to queſtioning the Authority of the *Other Houſe*. Nor did they at all brook the *Iriſh* and *Scotch*, ſent thither as Repreſentatives from each of thoſe Realms. Nevertheleſs, after divers tedious

* Ibid. p. 36. and warm diſputes, they were at length content * to *tranſact* with thoſe, who Sate in that *Other Houſe*; not excluding ſuch Peers, who had been faithful to the Parliament,

ment, from their priviledges of being ſummoned as Members thereof, and that they would receive any Meſſage from them, but by ſome of thoſe, who were Members of their own Houſe. *An.* 1659.

And, to the end they might, by degrees, bring themſelves into power, they attempted the aſſerting of their Intereſt in the *Militia*, by a *ſalvo* in their Vote relating to the Fleet. Moreover, to captivate the people with ſpecious ſhews of alleviating their burthens, they made divers formal Speeches for the taking away of all *Exciſe*: as alſo of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* after the next three years. Likewiſe, to make ſhew how tender they were of the *peoples Liberties*; they did not only ſet at large Colonel *Overton* and others (which had been committed to Priſon by *Oliver*) without payment of Fees; but queſtioned the Lieutenant of the Tower for detaining thoſe perſons there. Appointing * alſo a Committee of Inſpection for Publick Accompts. Which Committee Reported the Yearly incomes of **England**, **Scotland** and **Ireland**, to be eighteen hundred ſixty eight thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſeventeen pounds: and the Iſſues to be no leſs than two Millions two hundred and one thouſand five hundred and forty pounds. By which they ſaw, that three hundred thirty two thouſand, eight hundred twenty three pounds of Debt, incurred Yearly upon them, by the ill management of that great Revenue; which was treble to what any King of **England** ever enjoyed. And further ſaw, that to maintain the Conqueſt of **Scotland**, they were at the Yearly charge of one hundred ſixty three thouſand, ſix hundred and nineteen pounds, more than the Revenue of that Kingdom did then yield unto them.

* Ibid.

Other particulars they then had likewiſe in hand, all tending to the publick benefit of the Nation; forbearing to give mony, beneficial Offices, or rewards (as formerly had been uſual) amongſt themſelves; by which means the world, might by degrees, be wrought into a diſlike of being Governed by that Military power, which for ſo long time had Ruled the Roaſt: and to reſtore the general ſway of the Realm to themſelves, as the *Repreſentative of the People*, in whom, according to the *Presbyterian Maxim* the whole Sovereign Power virtually was.

Which

An. 1659. Which deſign, ſo deſtructive to the Sword-mens Intereſt, did not only diſturb their minds, but by doubts and jealouſies, at length divided their ſtrength into Parties and Factions; ſome of them holding their Councils at **Wallingford**-*Houſe*, with the General: others at **White-Hall** with the *Protector* and his Confidents. But, in this Fraction, thoſe of **Wallingford**-*Houſe*, being much the more numerous, drew up a bold *Repreſentation*, * both to the *Protector* and the Houſe; which ſo ſtartled his Highneſs, that he forthwith ſtood † upon his Guard: and ſo allarmed the *Houſe of Commons*, that they thereupon Voted; * *That during the Sitting of the Parliament, there ſhould be no General Council, or meeting of the Officers of the Army, without direction, leave, and Authority of the Lord Protector, and both Houſes of Parliament.* And, *that no perſon ſhould have and continue any Command or Truſt, in any of the Armies or Navies of* **England, Scotland,** *or* **Ireland,** *or any the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe, that he would not diſturb, or interrupt the free meeting in Parliament, or their freedom in their Debates or Councils.*

* *April* 7.

† *April* 8.

* *April* 18. Hiſtory of Indep. part. 4. p. 37.

And to ſweeten the Common-Souldiers, leſt they ſhould joyn with their Officers in turning them out of Doors (as they had formerly done) added, † *that they would preſently take into conſideration, how to ſatisfie the Arrears of the Army, with preſent pay; and likewiſe to prepare an Act of Indempnity for them.*

† Ib. p. 38.

A great Task (indeed) had that *Parliament* then upon their Hands; *viz.* the pleaſing of the people, which could no otherwiſe be, than by alleviating their heavy burthens; and ſatisfying the Souldiery by feeding them with mony, whereon they fell ſeriouſly to conſider. But whilſt they were intentive on theſe neceſſary works, the Animoſities of the Army-Officers grew higher and higher againſt each other; ſtrict Guards being kept by thoſe at **White-Hall**, with the *Protector*, againſt thoſe at **Wallingford**-*Houſe*, with the General; the *Protector*, in purſuance of the *Parliament*-Votes, forbidding any further Convention of thoſe Officers at **Wallingford**-*Houſe*. Which prohibition ſignifyed little; for the **Wallingford**-*Houſe*-men, being much the more numerous and ſturdy; at length ſo awed and daunted his Highneſs, that they obtained his conſent * to a Commiſſion and Proclamation (ready penned to Diſſolve

* *April* 22.

Diſſolve the *Parliament*, though he had with great aſſurance to the Members, promiſed the contrary. Whereupon the Uſher with the *Black Rod*, was twice ſent * to the *Houſe of Commons*, by Mr. *Nathaniel Fienes* Speaker of the *Other Houſe*, requiring them to come up. Who being not ignorant upon what errand it was, not only ſcorned to ſtir; but ſome of them became ſo couragious, to move, † *that the Houſe ſhould declare it High Treaſon for any perſon whatſoever, to put force upon any Members of the Houſe; and that all Votes, Acts, and Reſolutions, paſſed by any Members of Parliament, when the reſt were detained from, or taken out of the Houſe by force, ſhould be null and void.* And finding themſelves ſo unanimous to their Reſolves, Adjourned the Houſe till next Monday Morning; attending their Speaker, all in fair Order, through **Weſtminſter-hall** to his Coach, in the face of the Souldiers, which had then beſet both the *Palace-Yards*.

*An.* 1659.

* *Ib. p.* 39.

† Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg.*

## CHAP. XLI.

BUT, on *Monday* * morning, all avenues to the Houſe being ſtopt up by the Souldiers, and entrance peremptorily denyed unto any of the Members; the **Walling-ford**-Houſe-Officers (unto whom moſt of thoſe at **White-hall**, were by that time joyned) caſting off *Whalley*, *Goffe*, and *Ingoldesby*, with ſome other of the *Protectors* chiefeſt Confidents; and taking in *Lambert*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg*, Colonel *Okey*, and ſome others, who had been ſet aſide by *Oliver*; conſidering with themſelves that though they muſt neceſſarily govern by a Military-power; yet the name and ſhadow of a *Parliament* would beſt captivate the people: foraſmuch therefore, as the Members of that *Parliament*, then ſo excluded, could not properly be readmitted, but with much hazard to the Souldiers Intereſt, they procured a private Conference † with ſome Members of the *Old Long Parliament* (formerly turned out by *Oliver*) *viz.* Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg*, Colonel *Ludlow*, Colonel *Jones*, *Thomas Scot*, *Thomas Chaloner*, Major General *Lambert* and

* 25. *April.*

The *Protector* ſet aſide, and the *Rump* of the Long Parliament reſtored.

† 5. *May.*

*An.* 1659. ſome others, to the number of about twenty. At which Conference, it being agreed that they ſhould take in *William Lenthal*, the Old Speaker, and meet * in the Houſe on *Saturday* the ſeventh of *May*; in order thereto, they ſet forth this following *Declaration*; *viz.*

* 7. *May.*

*The Publick concernment of this* Common-Wealth, *being, through a viciſſitude of dangers, deliverances, and back-ſlidings of many, brought into that ſtate and poſture, whereon they now ſtand; and our ſelves alſo contributing thereto, by wandring divers ways from Righteous and Equal Paths. And, although there hath been many Eſſays to obviate the dangers, and to ſettle theſe Nations in Peace and Proſperity; yet all have proved ineffectual; the only wiſe God, in the courſe of his providence diſappointing all endeavours therein. And alſo, obſerving to our great grief, that the good Spirit, which formerly appeared amongſt us, in the carrying on of this great work, did daily decline, ſo as the* Good Old Cauſe *it ſelf became a reproach; we have been led to look back, and examine the cauſe of the Lord's withdrawing his wonted preſence from us, and where we turned out of the way, that through mercy we might return, and give him the Glory. And, amongſt other things calling to mind, that the* Long Parliament, *conſiſting of the Members there Sitting until the* 20th. *of* April 1653. *were eminent aſſertors of the* Cauſe, *and had a ſpecial preſence of God with them, and were ſignally bleſſed in that work (the deſires of many good people concurring with ours therein) we judg it our duty to invite the aforeſaid Members, to return to the exerciſe and diſcharge of their Truſt, as before the ſaid* 20th. *of* April 1653. *And therefore we do hereby moſt earneſtly deſire the* Parliament, *conſiſting of thoſe Members, who continued to Sit from the year* 1648. *until the* 20th. *of* April 1653. *to return to the exerciſe and diſcharge of their Truſt: and we ſhall be ready in our places, to yield them, as becomes us, our utmoſt aſſurance to Sit in ſafety, for the improving preſent opportunity, for ſetling and ſecuring the Peace and Freedom of this* Common-Wealth; *praying for the preſence and bleſſing of God upon their endeavours.*

Which *Declaration* was ſigned † by General *Fleetwood*, and the Council of Officers of the Army.

† 6. *May.*

In order whereunto thoſe Members of the *Long-Parliament*, came the day following * to the Painted-Chamber: but finding of their deſigned number (which was forty and two) that there wanted a couple, they ſent † to the

* 7. *May.*

† *Ibid. p.* 40.

the Gaols for a preſent ſupply. Where, having the Lord *Munſon*, and *Henry Martin* ready at hand (who lay there upon Executions for Debt) with *Liſle* and *Whitlock* from the Chancery-Bench, they advanced * into the Houſe, with a Mace born before them, their names being as followeth; *An.* 1659.

* *Ib. & p.* 41.

The names of the *Rumpers*.

Lord *Munſon*.
*Henry Martin*.
*Bulſtrode Whitlock*.
Mr. *Liſle*.
*Thomas Chaloner*.
Alderman *Atkins*.
Alderman *Penington*.
*Thomas Scott*.
*Cornelius Holland*.
*Henry Vane*.
Mr. *Prideaux*.
Sir *James Harington*.
Lieutenant General *Ludlow*.
*Michael Oldſworth*.
Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg*.
Mr. *Jones*.
Colonel *Pureſoy*.
Colonel *White*.
*Henry Nevil*.
Mr. *Say*.
Mr. *Blagrave*.
Colonel *Bennet*.
Mr. *Breweſter*.
Sergeant *Wilde*.
*John Goodwyn*.
Mr. *Nicholas Lechmore*.
*Auguſtine Skynner*.
Mr. *Downes*.
Mr. *Dove*.
Mr. *John Lenthal*.
Mr. *John Saloway*.
Mr. *John Corbet*.
Mr. *Walton*.
*Gilbert Millington*.
Mr. *Gold*.
Colonel *Sydenham*.
Colonel *Bingham*.
Colonel *Ayre*.
Mr. *Smith*.
Colonel *Ingoldesby*.
Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*.

Upon notice of whoſe Sitting, there being many of the Members of that old Parliament then walking in **Weſtminſter-Hall**, and more about the City; thoſe in the Hall conſulting together, and thereupon being ſatisfied, that they had as good right to ſit there again, as thoſe who were gone in before, reſolved to follow them into the Houſe, or at leaſt to attempt it: Theſe being

The Secluded Members.

Mr. *Anneſley*.
Sir *George Booth*.
Mr. *James Herbert*.
Mr. *William Prynne*.
Mr. *George Montagu*.
Mr. *John Evelin*.
Mr. *John Herbert*.
Mr. *Gowen*.
Mr. *Evelyn*.
Mr. *Knightley*.

*An.* 1659. Mr. *Clive.* | Mr. *Harvey.*
Mr. *Hungerford.* | Mr. *Packe.*

Who being come to the Door, after much expoſtulation with the Guard for their Priviledges of Sitting, were denyed entrance. Whereupon, reſolving to wait a fitter
* 9. *May.* opportunity, ſome of them came again on *Monday* * following; *viz.* Mr. *Anneſley*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Mr. *Hungerford*, and went into the Houſe.

Which free admittance, cauſing Mr. *Anneſley* to preſume, that the reſt might alſo come in, he went out again into the Hall to give others notice thereof: but upon his return found it otherwiſe. For thoſe, who were met would not go on with any buſineſs, ſo long as Mr. *Prynne* did make his ſtay amongſt them, ſo that they ſoon adjour-
† *Ib. p.* 42. ned: and upon their next meeting ordered; † *That ſuch perſons, formerly Members of that Parliament, who had not ſate therein ſince the year* 1648. *and had not ſubſcribed the* Engagement, *in the Roll of that Houſe, ſhould not ſit there, till farther Order by the Parliament.* And by a general Vote
* 29. *May.* *Ib. p.* 43. declared, * *That all ſuch as were to be imployed in any place of Truſt or Power in the Common-Wealth, ſhould be able for the diſcharge of ſuch Truſt; and that they ſhould be perſons fearing God; and who had given teſtimony to all the people of God, of their faithfulneſs to that Common-Wealth, according to the Declaration of Parliament of* May *the* 7th. proceeding alſo in the
† *Ib. p.* 45. Election of theſe (whoſe names are here added) † for a Council of State.

Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg.*
Sir *Henry Vane.*
Colonel *Ludlow.*
Colonel *John Jones.*
Colonel *Sydenham.*
*Thomas Scott.*
Major *Saloway.*
General *Fleetwood.*
Sir *James Harrington.*
Colonel *Walton.*
Mr. *Henry Nevil.*
Mr. *Thomas Chaloner.*
Mr. *Downes.*
*Bulſtrod Whitlock.*
*Herbert Mortley.*
Mr. *Sidney.*
Colonel *Thompſon.*
Colonel *Dixwel.*
Mr. *Reynolds.*
*Oliver St. John.*
Mr. *Wallop.*
All theſe being Members of the *Old Long Parliament.*

Unto

Unto which were added

| | |
|---|---|
| *John Bradſhaw.* | Sir *Anthony Aſhley Couper.* |
| Colonel *Lambert.* | Sir *Horatio Townſend.* |
| Colonel *Desborow.* | Sir *Robert Honywood.* |
| *Fairfax.* | Sir *Archibald Johnſton.* |
| Colonel *Berry.* | *Joſias Berners.* |

As to the Actings of theſe old Members, it is not a little obſervable; that firſt they ordered * the ſale of all ſuch Houſes and Lands, of the late King, the Queen, the Prince, with Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, or other then unſold; and that they ſhould forthwith be expoſed to ſale. Alſo, that ſuch perſons on whom any Title of Honour had been conferred by the ſaid King, ſhould pay thoſe forfeitures for the ſame, as had been by their Acts and Ordinances in that caſe provided, and bring in their Patents. Amongſt which Houſes intended for Sale, **Somerſet-Houſe**, in the **Strand**, was one; the materials whereof to be pulled down and ſold, were valued † at 5545 *l.* 1 *s.* 3 *d.* * *Ib. June.* † *Ib. p.* 49.

And now, having ſome compaſſion on their late Lord Protector *Richard Cromwel*, ſo outed of his Sovereignty, as before is obſerved, they Voted * him an exemption from Arreſts, for ſix months. * *Ib. p.* 50.

Likewiſe, the more to ingratiate themſelves with the people, they paſſed an † *Act of Indempnity*; but without benefit to any, who ſhould boggle at ſubſcribing to a *new Engagement* againſt the Government by a ſingle Perſon, Kingſhip, or Houſe of Peers, ſeizing * upon divers perſons, in and about **London**, and upon Horſes and Arms; pretending Trayterous deſigns againſt them by the Royaliſts; the Preachers, in their Pulpits crying out in this manner; † *viz.* † *July.* * 2. *July.* † *Ib. p.* 53.

*The Lord ſtir up the hearts of his people to Prayer, and ſincere Humiliation, and fill them with Unanimity and Courage in this evil time: and make the people to ſee, whatever fair pretences may be made uſe of by the* Common Enemy, *to get power into their Hands: yet, ſhould they prevail, no man that hath been of a party againſt them heretofore; yea no man, that hath been a meer Neuter, but muſt expect, that his pri-*

*vate*

An. 1659. *vate Eſtate, as well as the Publick Liberty, ſhall become a prey to a deſperate crew of Ravenous, and Unreaſonable men.*

Certain it is, that throughout the whole Realm, the people were weary of their Oppreſſions; and ſaw, that notwithſtanding theſe ſhiftings of the Dominion from one hand to another, they were no whit eaſed of their Taxes and Burthens: and therefore not only the Royaliſts, but moſt of the *Presbyterians* (being then out of play) to rid themſelves of that lingring ſlavery, did privately engage to riſe: and accordingly began ſo to do in

* 1. *Auguſt.* *Cheſhire*; putting * themſelves under the command of Sir *George Boothe* Baronet, (a perſon of a fair Eſtate in thoſe parts.) Which ſo alarm'd the old *Junto* ſitting at **Weſtminſter**, commonly called the *Rump* (they being the fag-end or Tail of the *Long Parliament*) as that they ſpeedily ſent down into thoſe parts, what Forces could ſoon be got together, under the command of Major General

† *Ib. p.* 55. *Lambert*; publiſhing a *Proclamation* † againſt them, and their adherents, as Rebels and Traytors; Sir *George* in the mean time, cauſing a *Declaration* to be Printed, and ſpread abroad: Whereby manifeſting to the world, that this *Junto at* **Weſtminſter**, *had violated all Laws of God and men; did profeſs, that the defence of the Laws and Liberties was the chief thing, he and thoſe with him aimed at, which would never be ſetled by thoſe Self-Seekers at* **Weſtminſter**; *and therefore deſired a new and Free Parliament.*

But this good deſign was ſoon blaſted: for *Lambert* encountring them near to **North-wiche**, ſo over-powered them with numbers, and more experienced Souldiers,

* 19. *Aug.* that he utterly routed * and diſperſed all their ſtrength. Which ſucceſs ſo far elated this active General, that he then thought of nothing more than his own perſonal advancement. And to the end that he might the more endear the Souldiers to himſelf; not only magnified their merits, by Letters to the *Parliament*: but when he had a thouſand pounds ſent, to buy him a Jewel, in token of their high eſteem of that ſervice, he forthwith diſtributed it amongſt his Common Souldiers. And in farther order to that his deſign, under colour of ſeizing all Arms thereabouts, he ſubtilly got them into his own hands.

All which was no whit diſſatisfactory to the *Rumpers*, who then did not at all dream of *Lamberts* deſign: and therefore

therefore having received Letters * out of **Scotland**, which gave them much aſſurance of General *Monks* reality, they laid their Inſurrection in *Cheſhire*, wholly to the Royalliſts charge; and forthwith reſolved upon an Oath for abjuring the Kings Title, the formality whereof I have here added; *An.* 1659. * *Ib. p.* 57. *September.*

The Oath for abjuring the King.

*I* A. B. *do hereby declare, that I renounce the pretended Title of* Charles Stuart, *and the whole Line of the late King* James; *and of every other Perſon as a ſingle Perſon, pretending to the Government of theſe Nations of* **England, Scotland**, *and* **Ireland**, *and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging. And that I will, by the Grace and Aſſiſtance of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and conſtant to this* Common-Wealth, *againſt any King, ſingle Perſon, and Houſe of Peers, and every of them: and hereunto I ſubſcribe my name.*

And to ſhew how Zealous their Clergy, were generally therein, I ſhall only give inſtance of a precious pack of thoſe in *Leiceſterſhire*; which perſonally came out of that County to the Parliament, and preſented to them a Paper, Intituled *The humble Repreſentation of divers well-affected Miniſters of the Goſpel, in the County of* **Leiceſter**, *whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed.* Which was ſo well accepted of, that they being called in; one of them (as the mouth of the reſt) addreſſing himſelf to the Speaker, ſaid; *That, being all Miniſters of the Goſpel in the County of* **Leiceſter**, *faithful ſervants to the Parliament, and imbarqued in the ſame bottom with themſelves; that ſome of them marched along with their Forces to ſuppreſs the late Rebellion of Sir* George Boothe, *and others: and, that they well knowing how much it concerned them, with all the true Godly of the Land, to ſtrengthen the Parliaments hands, in the work of the Lord, were deſired by many of their Brethren, Miniſters of the Goſpel, in* Leiceſterſhire, *to tender that their humble Repreſentation, in their and their own names; with deſire that it might be communicated to the Houſe;* the Heads whereof were, as followeth. † 9. *Septem. Merc. Polit. N.* 586. *p.* 721.

1. That they did acknowledg it, as the product of Divine Love and Goodneſs towards the Nation; that, notwithſtanding the many changes of Perſons and Government, a Godly and *Preaching-Miniſtry*, had been, and ſtill was countenanced, protected and maintained by the *Parliament*: and that the Lord had been pleaſed, after ſo many years interruption, to reſtore them again to their places,

*An.* 1659. places, for the accompliſhing of all thoſe juſt and good things, which they formerly proſecuted, in order to an happy ſettlement.

2. That, as in duty bound, they deſired, with all thankfulneſs, to own the *Parliament*, under God, as eminent Inſtruments thereof; looking upon their Piety and Zeal for God therein; not only as a ſtrong obligation upon their Spirits, to a more faithful and chearful diſcharge of their duties, as Miniſters; but alſo to adhere to them.

3. That they were the more encouraged thereto, when they reflected upon the late Votes for encouragement and maintenance of a *Preaching-Miniſtry*, and alſo for the vindication of their juſt Rights, as men and Chriſtians.

4. That they doubted not, but the ſame Divine Hand, which had begun to lay the foundation of a Righteous ſettlement of *Peace* and *Truth* in this Nation, continually blaſting the counter-deſigns of the Common Adverſaries, would in due time rear the top corner-ſtone, to the comfort of all that did wiſh well to *Sion*.

5. That they could not but with ſhame, and bleeding of heart, bewail that Cloud of darkneſs, which had lately overſpread divers of their old profeſſed friends, who at firſt deeply engaged with them: yet, through that myſtery of Iniquity, which did ſtill work in the Nation, had been miſled and cauſed to ſtumble; not only to the hazard of their own Lives and Liberties; but to an involving this poor Iſland in confuſion and blood; yet the Ruin thereof, if God had not ſtept in for its relief, by bleſſing the *Parliaments* Counſels, and proſpering the endeavours of a faithful Army, againſt the enraged malice of the old Common Enemy, and the diſſatisfactions of ſuch as engaged with them, to hinder the deſigned work of eaſing their Loads, and of ſettling their Foundations in Peace, Truth, and Righteouſneſs.

6. That they took themſelves bound in duty to let the *Parliament* know; that (through mercy) their ſouls had not entred into the ſecret of the late Inſurrectors; but that they did profeſs an utter deteſtation thereof; and that, the Lord helping them, they would not ceaſe crying mightily to him, that he would ſtill pour out upon the *Parliament*, a Spirit of Wiſdom, and of the fear of the Lord, to carry them

them on in their work, againſt all diſcouragements and oppoſitions whatſoever; the names of the Subſcribers being theſe. *An.* 1659.

*John Yaxley, Miniſter of the Goſpel at* Kibworth.
*Samuel Blakeſley at* Langton.
*William Sheffeild at* Ibſtoke.
*Maurice Bohem at* Hallough-ton.
*William Grace at* Reavesby.
*Richard Muſton at* Langton.
*Matthew Clarke at* Harborow.
*Joſiah Whiſton at* Norton.
*Benjamin Southwood at* Kym-cote.
*Samuel Shaw at* Long-What-ton.
*Thomas Lawrey at* Harbo-row.
*Henry Pearce at* Claybroke.
*George Wright at* Congeſton.
*Y. Dixey at* Margarets *in* Lei-ceſter.
*Samuel Smith at* Glooreſton.
*George Greene at* Theding-worth.
*William Wilſon at* Foxton.
*John Bennet at* Winwick.
*Thomas Smith at* Caſtle-Dun-nington.
*William Barton at* Martins *in* Leiceſter.
*Nicholas Keſtyn at* Gumley.
*John St. Nicolas at* Lutter-worth.
*Thomas Langdel at* Bowdon Magna.
*Richard Drayton at* Shang-ton.
*Thomas Leadbeter at* Hink-ley.
*William Cotton at* Brough-ton.
*Henry Watts at* Swepſton.
*Ambroſe Bent at* Aſhby-Fol-vile.
*John Shuttlewood at* Raven-ſton.
*Emanuel Bourne at* Wal-tham.
*Chriſtopher Wright at* Eaſt-well.
*Thomas Jenkings at* New Kil-worth.
*John Pitts at* Burbage.
*John Hulls at* Stanton-Wi-vile.
*Paul Bulgay.*
*William Black at* Sudding-ton.
*Robert Reding at* Segrave.
*Samuel Olderſhaw at* Cole-Orton.

Which *Repreſentation* being read, they were all called into the Houſe again, the Speaker telling them; that, *upon due conſideration thereof, they found in it a Goſpel-Spirit, of Meekneſs, Sincerity and Holineſs; and that they had alſo conſidered the Seaſonableneſs of it; and that it expreſſed, not only an outward Letter, but an inward Spirit,* &c. and ſo gave them the *Thanks of the Houſe.*

*An.* 1659. Soon after this the Houſe appointed a Committee to prepare ſomthing in order to the ſetling of a Government: for the better ſupport whereof they Eſtabliſhed the laying a Tax of one hundred thouſand pounds by the month, beſides *Exciſe* and *Cuſtoms*, and the Sequeſtered Eſtates of new Delinquents. And, * that ſuch perſons as had been aſſeſſed to find Horſe and Arms, by virtue of the Act of *Parliament*, for ſetling the *Militia*; and had not brought in their Horſe and Arms; nor paid in lieu thereof, the ſum of money appointed by the ſaid Act: that every ſuch perſon and perſons, ſhould under the penalty in that Act mentioned, pay after the rate of Ten pounds for an Horſe and Arms, for ſuch number of Horſes and Arms reſpectively, as they had been charged to find. And that ſuch perſon and perſons, as had been aſſeſſed to find Arms for a Foot-Souldier, and had not ſent in the ſame, or mony in lieu thereof, ſhould under the penalty in that Act mentioned, pay reſpectively, for every ſuch Foot-Arms, ſuch ſum of money, as the Commiſſioners ſhould appoint; not exceeding twenty five ſhillings for every ſuch Foot-Arms.

* *Hiſtory of Indep.* part 4. p. 59.

So that it is plain, that mony was it they only aimed at, though Horſe and Arms were the pretence.

But amidſt theſe their devices for inriching themſelves, *Lamberts* ambition began to be ſuſpected; which was no leſs than to ſet up himſelf, through the intereſt he then had with the Souldiery (as his old friend *Oliver* had formerly done.) Wherefore for prevention of this danger, they reſolved to truſt him no longer, with any Command in the Army; but cunningly to withdraw him, that he might be ſevered from the Souldiers: and to that end, ſent a ſeeming courteous invitation, to allure him back to † *Ib. p.* 61. **London**: of which he accepted, † with as fair a ſhew of Thanks. But this ſtratagem of the *Rumpers* ſucceeded not: for ſoon after enſued a *Remonſtrance* * from the Army, directed thus,

* 5. *Octob.*

*To the Supream Authority of theſe Nations, the Parliament of the Common-Wealth of* **England**, *the humble Petition and Propoſals of the Officers, under the Command of the Right Honourable the* **Lord Lambert**, *in the late Northern Expedition.*

Which

Which *Remonſtrance* did ſo much tend to the advantage of the Souldiery, and aſſerting their unlimited power; as that the *Rumpers* forthwith declared, * *that to have any more General Officers in the Army, than were already ſetled by Parliament, was needleſs, chargeable, and dangerous to the Common-Wealth.* *An.* 1659. * *Ib. p.* 63.

Thus, and in this manner, began the firſt riſe of thoſe differences, and diſtractions, which at laſt ſo happily ſhattered theſe grand Hypocrites into pieces.

But the Army-Officers, having not ſufficiently ripened their main deſign, were then neceſſitated to diſſemble it for a while: and therefore ſeeming to lay aſide their overbold propoſals; repreſented to the Parliament, *that they would adhere to their Authority, in oppoſition to the Common Enemy; and that they would not at all fail to ſtand by them, in the ſettlement of the Common-Wealth, againſt all diſturbances whatſoever.*

Which fair expreſſions did lull the *Rumpers* into ſuch a ſeeming ſecurity, (the City alſo feaſting them, at a *Thankſgiving Dinner*, whereat the Officers of the Army, were alſo preſent) that being totally void of any fear from thoſe dangers, ſo lately obvious, they fell upon Sequeſtring ſuch new Delinquents, as had at that time appeared in Sir *George Booth's* Riſing: As alſo ſetled the *Exciſe*; Revived the Aſſeſment for the Army; neglecting no other means imaginable for gaining the whole wealth of the Nation into their Ravenous Clutches.

But the deſign of the Army, being ſhortly after ripened; the Officers, which for a while had cunningly ſhadowed their purpoſes, under a plauſible diſguiſe, began again to appear in their proper colours; and preſented the Houſe with ſuch another bold Addreſs, as they had formerly done. Which ſo ſtartled the *Rumpers*, that they gravely declared; † *That every Member of the Army, as freemen of* **England** *had a right of Petitioning the* **Parliament**; *but withal, thought fit to let them know, that the Petitioners ought to be very careful, both in the manner, and in the matter of what they deſired, that the way of promoting, and preſenting the ſame, may be peaceable; and the thing Petitioned for, not tending to the diſturbance of the* Common-Wealth, *nor to the diſhonour of the Parliament. And that it was the duty of Petitioners to ſubmit their deſires to* † *Ib. p.* 64.

*An.* 1659. *the Parliament, and acquieſce in the judgment thereof.*

Nevertheleſs, doubting (as they might do very well) that the Souldiers, which ſo often before, had made themſelves Maſters of the *Parliament*, would again follow the example of *Oliver*, either in turning them out of Doors, or making them Hackneys to their ambitious ends; being not ignorant, that, without mony thoſe Sword-men could no way ſubſiſt; and that none was like to be ſo plauſibly raiſed, as by the name of a *Parliament*; to the end therefore, that they might the more inſenſibly diminiſh their power, they paſſed an Act, * *That all Orders, Ordinances, and Acts made by any ſingle Perſon, and his Council, or both, or either of them, or otherwiſe; or by any Aſſembly, or Convention, pretending to have Authority of* **Parliament**, *from and after the nineteenth day of* April 1653. *and before the ſeventh of* May 1659. *and which had not been, or ſhould not be Enacted, Allowed or confirmed by that preſent* **Parliament**; *ſhould be and were thereby declared, deemed, taken, and adjudged to be of no force and effect, from and after the ſaid ſeventh day of* May 1659. *And that no perſon or perſons, ſhould after the eleventh of* October 1659. *Aſſeſs, Levy, Collect, Gather, or Receive any Cuſtom, Impoſt, Exciſe, Aſſeſment, Contribution, Tax, Tallage, or any ſum or ſums of mony, or other Impoſition whatſoever, upon the people of that Common-Wealth, without their conſent in* **Parliament**; *or as by Law might have been done before the third of* November 1640. *And that every perſon offending contrary to that Act, ſhould be, and was thereby adjudged to be guilty of High Treaſon, and ſhould forfeit and ſuffer as in caſe of High Treaſon.*

* *Ib. p.* 65. & 66.

And thinking then, that their whole work was in effect done, they lookt upon themſelves as men of ſuch might; that they Voted the Commiſſions of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, and ſome other eminent *Magnifico's* of the Army, null and void; and that they and every of them ſhould be diſcharged from their reſpective Military imployments: Likewiſe, that the Army ſhould be governed by ſeven Commiſſioners (the moſt confiding men, you may be ſure) *viz.* Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, General *Monke*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg* Baronet, Colonel *Valentine Walton*, Colonel *Herbert Morley*, and Colonel *Robert Overton*, or any three or more of them, who were to give notice unto *Lambert*, and the reſt, that they

† 12. *Octob.*

they were each of them discharged of their respective Military imployments. *An.* 1659.

Which was no sooner made known to those Swordmen; than that General *Lambert* and his party prepared for their defence: on the other side, the Commissioners for the *Rumpers*, issuing out Orders suitable to the exigency of their affairs. Of which *Lambert* and his followers being made aware, they drew down to **Westminster** in an Hostile equipage; where they possessed themselves of the *Palace-Yard*, and all avenues leading thereto; having before-hand given out, that they found it absolutely necessaray to Dissolve the *Parliament*, for the good of the Nation. * 12. *Octob.*

But for the support of that Convention, commonly called the *Rump*, another part of the Army, were no less earnest and active; and in opposition to *Lambert* did † at the same time, march thither also; placing themselves in *King's-street*, and other parts about **Westminster.** All which was done betimes in the morning; so that when *Lenthal* the Speaker, came in his Coach, according to the usual time, to sit in the House, though he found his way clear enough through the Souldiers in **King's-street**, when he came to the *Palace-Yard* he saw it otherwise, and therefore made his return. † 13. *Octob.*

The *Rumpers* Excluded.

It was then thought by some, that the Souldiers thus met, would not have departed so tamely: But *Lambert* having his ends by shutting out the *Rumpers*, both parties retreated quietly, closing again in a seeming friendly manner.

But that there might not be wanting, some shadow of a Civil Power, did wisely agree † upon a *Committee of Safety*, *viz.* * 26. *Octob.* *Ib. p.* 69.

General *Lambert.*
Major General *Desborow.*
*Bulstrode Whitlock.*
Colonel *Edward Ludlow.*
Colonel *Sydenham.*
Major *Saloway.*
Mr. *Strickland.*
Colonel *Berrey.*
Mr. *Lawrence.*
Sir *James Harrington.*
Alderman *Ireton.*
Sir *Archibald Johnston*, Lord Wareston.
Alderman *Tichburne.*
Mr. *Henry Brandreth.*
Mr. *Thompson.*
Colonel *Hewson.*
Colonel *Clarke*,
Colonel *Lilburne.*
Colonel *Bench.*
*Cornelius Holland.*

Giving

*An.* 1659. Giving them Authority to call Delinquents to account; to ſuppreſs all Inſurrections; to treat with Forein States and Princes; to raiſe the *Militia* in the ſeveral Counties; and to diſpoſe of all places of Truſt, with a farther large and unlimited power; ſetting alſo forth a *Declaration* * in Print; intituled *A Declaration of the General Council of the Officers of the Army*: whereby they publiſht, that they had lodged the Civil and executive Power of Government in the *Committee of Safety*, whom they had obliged to prepare ſuch a form of Government, as might beſt ſute with a free State, without a ſingle Perſon, Kingſhip, or Houſe of Peers.

* 27. *Octob. Ib. p.* 71.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XLII.

WHerewith whilſt they were in hand, came a Letter out of **Scotland** from General *Monke*; importing that himſelf, and ſome of the Officers there with him, were much diſſatisfied with their tranſactions here: and that he had not only ſecured divers ſtrong Holds in that Kingdom, but committed to ſafe cuſtody thoſe of his Officers, who were Diſſenters from him therein; as alſo Poſſeſſed himſelf of the Garriſon of **Barwick.** Which unexpected Alarm, did not a little diſturb them. Yet on they muſt, or be overwhelmed with Confuſion. They therefore ſoon ordered that their Forces in the North, together with ſome other Regiments from the Southern-parts of this Realm, ſhould forthwith march to the Borders of **Scotland**; and in the mean time ſent Colonel *Cobbet* to Treat with General *Monke*; expecting that he by fair words might cajole him.

But *Monke* then diſcerning an hopeful way open, to do that which his heart had long deſired to accompliſh, ſecured *Cobbet* from ſtirring abroad; being well aware, that by taking his Liberty, he might either have endangered the corrupting of his men; or carry back Intelligence of their whole ſtrength and poſture; and thereupon modeled his Army ſutable to his own mind; publickly declaring; *That he would aſſert the Authority of* **Parliament** *againſt all violence whatſoever.*

Which News arriving with the *Committee of Safety*; preſuming that they might pleaſe *Monke* with the Eſtabliſhing of a free State, though they diſowned the *Parliament* for whom he had declared, they culled out ſeven of their ableſt contrivers, to prepare a *Form of Government*, to be ſet up, throughout all the three Kingdoms, in the Nature of a *Common-Wealth*, or *Free-State*; and ſent away two Colonels, *Whalley* and *Goffe*; with *Carryl* and *Barker* (two of their *Aſſembly-men*) to Treat with him thereon, for avoiding farther difference; the Officers of the Army at **London**, ſeconding the ſame with Letters into **Scotland**; urging

An. 1659. urging moſt earneſtly a neceſſity of their Brotherly union.

*Monke* therefore foreſeeing, that delays would deſtroy them; their Forces not being able to ſubſiſt long without money, ordered Colonel *Talbot* and Dr. *Clarges* (who had been alſo ſent from England to him) to advertiſe General *Fleetwood*, that himſelf and his Officers had nominated Colonel *Wilkes*, Lieutenant Colonel *Clobury*, and Major *Knight*, to repair ſpeedily to London; and to Treat with the like number of Officers there, in order to the concluding of a firm and ſtedfaſt aimity betwixt them: and for the furtherance thereof ſent Letters from himſelf to that purpoſe; with promiſe that his Forces ſhould not advance any farther.

But the *Committee of Safety*, not knowing how to truſt him, iſſued out ſundry Commiſſions, for ſetling the *Militia*; which upon fit occaſion was to be ready in a moment. Whereof General *Monke*, being ſoon advertiſed, and that *Lambert* was on his march Northwards with thirteen thouſand ſtout men: he diſpatcheth away thoſe his three Meſſengers, to Treat for a ſpeedy Peace. Which Meſſengers being accordingly come * to London, the Treaty ſoon began, and ere long concluded † in theſe enſuing Articles; *viz.*

* 12. *Nov.* *Ib. p.* 73. & 74.

† 14. *Nov.*

1. *That the pretended Title of* Charles Stuart, *or any other claiming from that Family, ſhould be utterly renounced.*

2. *That the Government of theſe Nations, ſhould be by a Free-State, or Common-Wealth, and not by a ſingle Perſon, King, or Houſe of Lords.*

3. *Thirdly, That a Godly and Learned Miniſtry ſhould be maintained and encouraged.*

4. *That the Univerſities ſhould be Reformed, and Countenanced, ſo as that they might become Nurſeries of Piety and Learning.*

5. *That the Officers and Souldiers, and other perſons, on either ſide, ſhould be indempnified for what was paſt, touching their late differences, and all unkindneſs betwixt them, buried in perpetual oblivion.*

6. *That the Officers, who were made Priſoners in* Scotland *ſhould be forthwith ſet at liberty.*

7. *And that the Armies ſhould be preſently diſpoſed of into Quarters: as alſo a Committee of nineteen Conſtituted, whereof nine to make a* Quorum, *which ſhould conſider of qualifications for ſucceeding* Parliaments. Which

Which Articles, ſo by them agreed on, being returned to General *Monke*. who had reſerved to himſelf the power of ratifying whatever was to be Treated on; and that the ſame ſhould not be of force, till confirmed under his Seal; he forthwith commanded the coming back of the Commiſſioners: and to ſhew his diſlike of what they had done, clapt up Colonel *Wilkes* into Cuſtody, for exceeding his bounds; and immediately declaring the Treaty to be void, advanc'd towards **England**, having made theſe following Propoſals * to the Nobility and Gentry of **Scotland**. *An.* 1659. * *Ib.p.*76.

*Firſt, That they would, during his abſence (which would not be long) preſerve and ſecure the Peace of that Nation. Secondly, That they would ſupply him with ſome men for his undertaking (which he engaged upon his honour, ſhould be to their ſatisfaction) and if any troubles ſhould ariſe, to aſſiſt him in the ſuppreſſing thereof. Thirdly, That they would advance and raiſe what mony they could, before-hand.*

Unto which *propoſitions*, the Earl of *Gleucarne* (Chair-man of the Aſſembly) returned theſe modeſt anſwers. † † *Ib.p.*77.

*Firſt, That they could not engage to preſerve the Peace of the Country in his abſence, wanting Arms, and ſo in no condition to do it; but they ſhould, with all faithfulneſs (notwithſtanding) endeavour it. To the ſecond, that they were uncapable to anſwer his deſires, for the reaſons aforeſaid: neither did they think it prudent for them to engage in a war; which ſhould it prove unſuccesful on their part, would be a ruin to them: or, if ſucceſful, they did not underſtand, that it would be advantagious, in any meaſure. Thirdly, That they were content to levy monies, and to advance a years Tax before-hand.*

With which anſwer from that Earl, General *Monke* being well ſatisfied, he gave them power, * forthwith to Arm themſelves; and until all things were in better readineſs, delaying his march Southwards, made ſome ſeeming overtures, to the *Committee of Safety*, for a ſecond Treaty. * *Ib.p.* 78.

Whereunto the Committee replyed; *That they had already tranſmitted part of a form of Government, to be Eſtabliſht in theſe Nations, unto a certain Committee of the Officers in the Army, by them to be conſidered. Which Officers, having thereupon met, had gone through the moſt of it, with great ſatisfaction. And that they were very deſirous to have ſuch a Government, as might beſt preſerve the Liberties of the people, and ſecure the Cauſe, wherein they had contended, as well againſt* Charles Stuart,

*An.* 1659. *as any other, that might diſturb the Publick Peace; hoping in time, to make it appear, that their Enemies were liars, in rendring them to the people, to be meerly Self-Seekers.* And concluding ſaid, *they hoped that the Faith of Gods People, would hold out, and not make haſt: and that good men would help them in their Prayers, that God the Lord would bring forth Righteouſneſs and Truth; and diſcover and bring to nought the ſecret contrivances of all their Adverſaries.*

Petitions from all parts for a new and free Parliament. * ult. *Nov.*

About this time Petitions being in hand, in ſundry parts of the Nation, all tending to the deſire of a *New and Free Parliament*, gave ſuch high offence unto the *Committee of Safety*, that they iſſued out a ſolemn *Proclamation* * againſt them, calling them dangerous Papers, and prohibiting their Subſcriptions: alſo requiring, if offered, to ſuppreſs them; cauſing likewiſe the endeavourers of ſuch Subſcriptions to be apprehended, as diſturbers and Enemies to Peace. Which diſtaſtful reſtraint cauſed the peoples greater earneſtneſs; eſpecially the *Londoners*, whereupon † 5. *Dec.* Colonel *Hewſon* was ſent † with ſome forces into the City, to awe them: but with little effect, the Souldiers in all places, being ſcorn'd and affronted. Whereat *Hewſon* became ſo much enraged, that he murdered ſome of the Citizens in the ſtreets.

But that which toucht them in point of danger more * 4. *Dec.* nearly, was the revolt * of **Portſmouth**, whereof Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg*, Colonel *Walton*, and *Herbert Morley*, with the conſent of *Whetham* the Governour, had then poſſeſt themſelves: The news whereof coming to the Ears of the *Committee of Safety*, they ſpeedily ſent both Horſe and Foot, to reduce it. But the people in general, being impatient till a readmiſſion of the *Rump*, or to have ſomthing elſe bearing the name of a *Parliament*, neceſſitated the † 10. *Dec.* *Committee of Safety* to declare † that a *Parliament* ſhould be *Ib.* p. 80. called, and appointed to ſit down before *February* next enſuing: and, that the *Parliament*, ſo to be called, ſhould be according to ſuch qualifications, as then were, or ſhould be agreed upon, and might beſt ſecure the juſt Rights, Liberties, and Priviledges *of the people*. Taking care, that when met, there ſhould be no alteration of theſe Funda- * *Ib.* p. 81. mentals; *viz.* *

1. *That no Kingſhip ſhould be excerciſed in theſe Nations.*

2. *That no ſingle perſon ſhould exerciſe the Office of chief Magiſtrate therein.* 3. *That*

3. *That an Army ſhould be continued and maintained; and ſo conducted, that it might ſecure the Peace of theſe Nations: and not be disbanded, nor the Conduct thereof altered but by conſent of the Conſervators appointed.* An. 1659.

4. *That no impoſition might be upon the Conſciences of them that feared God.*

5. *That there ſhould be no Houſe of Peers.*

6. *That the Legiſlative and Executive power ſhould be diſtinct, and not in the ſame hands.*

7. *That the Aſſemblies of* **Parliament,** *ſhould be Elected by the people of the Common-Wealth duly qualified.*

But to nip theſe in the bud, came a *Declaration* from Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, and his fellows, in the Navy; giving ſeveral Reaſons of a neceſſity, for the *Old Long Parliament* to ſit again. And to ſecond this, came News, that thoſe Forces, which they had ſent to reduce **Portſmouth,** had forſaken their Commanders, and were gone in to the Revolters.

Nor were the generality of the people, about that time, leſs active every where: ſome labouring earneſtly, that the *Rump* might ſit again: others for joyning all the Secluded Members to them. But the greateſt part, and ſpecially the moſt ſober men, were in their deſires wholly for a *Full and Free Parliament*; yet could not be heard: for the *Rump* through the power of the Souldiery, was readmitted, * and ſolemnly owned by them, as the Supream Authority, both here, and in **Ireland.** Whereupon, beginning to ſit, † they diſpoſed of the Tower of **London** to the cuſtody of Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Couper*, Mr. *Weever* and Mr. *Berners*; and recalled *Lambert* from his Expedition againſt General *Monke*; (moſt of whoſe men were by that time gone in to *Monke*; or for want of pay very much diſperſed.) And well conſidering the tumultuouſneſs of the people, in many parts, and inſolency of the Souldiers, whereſoever they came, they haſtned up General *Monke*, as their chief ſhelter. Who having ſo prudently ſecured **Scotland,** and dealt privately with Sir *Charles Coot*, to take the like care of **Ireland,** advanced forwards, as faſt as he could.

*The* Rump *readmitted.* * 24. *Decem.*

† 26. *Decem.*

*General* Monke *haſtned from* Scotland.

But no ſooner were the *Rumpers* thus got into the Houſe, than that ſome old Secluded Members, required, alſo admittance. Which put them upon this following Vote; * *That upon the fifth of* January *enſuing, the Houſe would take into conſideration,*

* 27. *Decem.* *Ib. p.* 83.

*An.* 1659. *deration, the caſe of all abſent Members; as alſo how to ſupply the vacant places, in order to the filling it up. And that in the mean time it ſhould be referred to a Committee, to conſider of all proceedings, and all Orders and Caſes, touching abſent Members, and make their Report thereof, at the ſame time.*

Which Vote did not prove ſo ſatisfactory as they expected: for the City being diſcontented, made preparations for a *Poſture of Defence*: and in the Country the Caſhiered-Officers, and the depreſſed Nobility and Gentry courted General *Monke*, all along as he marcht, inceſſantly crying out for a *Full and Free Parliament*. Whoſe anſwer, in ſubſtance, was no more than this; viz. *that he would uſe his beſt endeavours to perſuade unto Reaſon and Juſtice*; wiſhing all perſons to acquieſce, in what ſhould be the iſſue.

Moſt certain it is, that though the *Rump* had fair hopes of *Monk's* firmneſs unto them; yet were they not without their jealouſies of him: and therefore, under colour of Congratulating his coming into **England**, they ſent *Thomas Scot*, and *Luke Robinſon*, to ſound him more nearly. But he deported himſelf with ſo much reſervedneſs and gravity, that they little diſcerned the real purpoſes of his Heart. And when the City of **London** ſent their Sword-bearer to Court him; he only ſaid; *that he was for the* **Parliament**: yet aſſured them, *that when he came thither, he would ſatisfie their deſires, and the hopes they had of him.* Promiſing nothing elſe; that *that he would firſt ſee all force removed from the* **Parliament.** Secondly, *That the Houſe ſhould be filled: and laſtly, That there ſhould be good proviſion for future* **Parliaments.** So keeping on a ſoft pace, he came at length to St. **Albans.**

Whatever apprehenſions and fancies others then had of his purpoſe, it is not to be doubted, but that the *Rumpers* made all Cockſure for themſelves; not only in the Legiſlative, but Executive power; and for diſpoſing all places of Benefit and Truſt, ſo that their ſitting without limit, might be perpetuated: in order thereto, paſſing this Vote; * *viz. Reſolved touching abſent Members, that the* **Parliament** *doth adjudg and declare, that the Members, who ſtand diſcharged from Voting or Sitting in year* 1648. *and* 1649. *do ſtand duly diſcharged by judgment of* **Parliament,** *from ſitting as Members of this* **Parliament,** *during this* **Parliament**; *and that Writs do iſſue forth, for electing of new Members in their places.*

* 5. *Januar. Ib. p.* 85.

Appoiting

Appointing that the Oath * for abjuring the King, and the whole Line of King *James*, ſhould be taken by every Member, thenceforth ſitting in *Parliament*: and thereupon grew ſo inſolent, that they impriſoned divers perſons, for Petitioning to have a *Free Parliament*. Which occaſioned General *Monke* to come the ſooner to **London**; and to take up his Lodging † at **White-Hall**. *An.* 1659.

* 2. *Januar. Oath for abjuring the King taken by Members of Parliament.*

† 3. *Februar.*

Where having reſted about two or three days, he attended the Houſe according to Order; and modeſtly giving them an account of his whole undertakings, added; * *That he deſerved not the Thanks, which the Houſe had then given him, having done no more than his duty therein: but wiſht them rather to praiſe God for his mercy, deſiring them to ſatisfie the expectations of the people, in the Eſtabliſhment of their Laws, Liberties, and Properties: God having reſtored them, not ſo much as that they ſhould ſeek their own, as the Publick Good. Deſiring them in particular, to take away the jealouſies men had of their perpetuity, by putting a period to that their own Seſſion, and providing orderly for future* **Parliaments.** *Wiſhing them to uſe the Nobility and Gentry civilly: and intimating, that it would be their wiſdom rather to enlarge than contract any whit of their Intereſt.* And farther told them, *that the fewer qualifications they did put upon ſucceeding* **Parliaments,** *it would be the better.* Deſiring them *to be tender in impoſing new Oaths* (for he had heard of the Oath of Abjuration) *alledging, that there was more reaſon to repent of thoſe already taken, than to take farther new ones. And ſo warning them to beware of Cavaliers and Fanaticks; commending* **Scotland** *to their care, and aſſuring them of* **Ireland,** *concluded, with ſome intimation of his thoughts for a Free-State.*

* *Ib. p.* 86. & 87.

Having thus taken his leave of the Houſe, he withdrew to his place in the Council of State. Where the firſt thing he found under conſideration, was; that the Citizens of **London,** being grown ſomwhat unruly, had ſtifly reſolved to own no power, but of a *Full and Free Parliament* (encouraged thereto, by ſundry *Petitions*, to that purpoſe, which they had ſeen from ſeveral Counties) refuſing to pay Taxes, but by conſent of ſuch a *Parliament*. Which put the *Rumpers* upon this deſperate exigent; *viz.* either to reduce them to obedience by a ſtrong hand, or themſelves to be reputed but the ſhadow of Authority.

In order whereunto, they commanded General *Monke*, to march thither with his Forces; and to compel them to pay the Aſſeſments. Whereupon he advanced with ſpeed

to

*An.* 1659. to **Guild-Hall**, and there made his demand of what the *Parliament* had required. Which much daſhing the hopes, that the Citizens had otherwiſe of him, they modeſtly anſwered; *that in* **Magna Charta**, *confirmed by the* **Petition of Right**, *and ratified by that preſent* **Parliament**, *the day before their forcible Diſſolution; they were to pay no Taxes, but by their conſent in* **Parliament**, *which at that preſent they had not.* Yet to avoid the giving him any juſt offence, deſired farther time to conſider thereof.

Which, though the General readily granted; yet he wrote to the Houſe for their farther direction. Whereupon anſwer was forthwith returned; that he ſhould in the firſt place impriſon Colonel *Bromefield*, Alderman *Bludworth*, Lieutenant Colonel *Jackſon*, Major *Cox*, Colonel *Vincent*, &c. (ſome of which number had attended him from the City, but a little before.) And ſecondly, that he ſhould remove their Chains, dig up their Poſts, and break down their
* 9. *Febru.* Gates. Which harſh and rough ſervice did at firſt not a little ſtartle him; conſidering it was done, partly to make tryal of his patient obedience to them: and partly to occaſion a certain enmity betwixt him and the City, and then to caſt him off, by diminiſhing his power, as he very well diſcerned. But, foreſeeing the event, he ſubmitted thereto; which was to enrage the Citizens throughly againſt the
† 10. *Febru.* *Rump*; and that upon the expiring † of his Commiſſion the next day after; his power would be diminiſhed by the conjunction of ſix others with him in equal Command.

Which, being made known by him to his Officers, who lookt for a better reward for their ſervice; concluding that the *Rump* would ſhortly lay them aſide alſo, and perpetuate their own ſitting. Having likewiſe made ſo ſure an experiment of the Cities temper, which he then knew was poſitive for their *Liberties* and *Rights*: and concluding thereupon, that he might ſafely put his confidence in them; after private diſcourſe had with ſome of the chief Citizens; he firſt wrote his Letters to the *Rumpers*, *wiſhing them, at laſt to put a period to their ſiting, and make ſome certain proviſion for future Parliaments.* And thereupon marching with his Forces into the City, immediately declared for *a Full and Free Parliament.* Which raiſed the hearts of all people ſo much, that they expreſſed their great joy by Bells, Bonefires, and all other teſtimonies of joy imaginable.

And having waited a while, for a return to his Letter, and receiving no manner of Anſwer thereunto, he procured

a Con-

a Conference with ſome of the old Secluded Members. *An.* 1659.
Finding alſo, that the ſettlement propoſed by the *Rumpers* was too weak and ſlender, to repair the breaches in Government, he reſolved to withdraw all force from the Houſe, and to admit thoſe to ſit there, whoſe tempers were more moderate; and therefore ſending for the Secluded Members to meet him at **White-hall**, he repreſented 20. *Febr.*
unto them, what he then thought beſt to be done, *viz. The meeting of a Full and Free Parliament*; ſaying *that the Houſe ſhould be open unto them, and wiſhing them all happy ſucceſs therein.*

Which old Members being by this means met † together † 21. *Febr.*
again; they began where they broke off in *Decemb.* 1648. *Ib.* p. 93, 94.
ratifying that Vote then made; *viz. That the Conceſſions of* The ſecluded *Members* readmitted.
*the late King, were a ſufficient ground to proceed on, for ſetling the Peace of the Kingdom.* Whereupon moſt men took courage, in hope of an happy deliverance from that miſerable ſlavery, they had ſo long endured: and in the next place Voted *Monke* to be Lord General of all the Forces in Gen. *Monk* voted Lord General.
**England, Scotland** and **Ireland.** By virtue whereof he ſoon, with much prudence, diſarmed the Fanaticks; the *Parliament*, in the mean time taking ſeaſonable care to ſecure the Peace of the Nation, by two wholſom Acts: the one for the *Militia*, whereby Gentlemen of worth and *Anno* 1660.
quality, had opportunity to put themſelves in Arms: The other, by raiſing mony, for the ſupport of ſuch Forces, as might be neceſſarily imployed for the Publick ſafety. And in order to an happy Eſtabliſhing of the Government upon the old Foundation, *did ordain*, * *that Writs ſhould iſſue out,* * 26. *Mar.*
*for the meeting of a* **Full and Free Parliament,** *upon the* *Ib.* p. 95.
25. *of* April, *then next following*: In the mean time conſtituting a Council of State of moderate men; and ſo at The Long Parliament diſſolved.
laſt put a period to that old and unhappy Convention.

But, notwithſtanding all this, the danger was not totally over: for the *Council of State*, diſcerning no little averſeneſs in ſome Officers of the Army, and ſome other turbulent Spirits, to this hopeful ſettlement; and thereupon requiring an Engagement from them, of their peaceable demeanor, were neceſſitated to impriſon ſome of the moſt obſtinate refuſers; amongſt which *Lambert* was one, and not the leaſt; who finding the Fanaticks moſt eager for another puſh, got † out of Priſon, and Headed that Party. † 11. *Apr.*
Which through the great vigilancy of the General, being ſeaſonably routed * near **Daventre**, in *Northamptonſhire*, * 22. *Apr.*
the chief of them were committed to ſeveral Priſons.

The

*An.* 1659. The new Parliament met 25. *Apr.* * 1. *May.* † 3. *May.*

The *Parliament*, therefore, meeting * upon the 25. of *April*, Sir *John Greenvile* preſented to both Houſes, a *Declaration* from the King (then at **Breda**) with certain Letters, bearing date *April* 4. Which, with great joy, being openly Read, they preſently Voted † His Majeſties ſpeedy return to His people; the whole Navy alſo, ſoon after, ſubmitting * to His obedience. So that, within very few days following, he was ſolemnly Proclaimed, † in the Cities of **London** and **Weſtminſter**; and his Arms ſet up in all publick places (thoſe formerly erected for the *Common-Wealth* and *Oliver*, being pulled * down and defaced.) And upon *May* 25. next following, landed † at **Dover.** Whence attended by moſt of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry of this Realm, he came * to **London** upon the 29th. of that Month (being the Anniverſary of his Birth) where, with ſtately Arches of Triumph, coſtly Pageants, Bells, various ſorts of excellent Muſick, Bonefires, and joy inexpreſſible, he was received; and proceeded in State, through that great City, to his Royal Palace at **White-Hall**: the chief and happy Inſtrument of this, His Majeſties moſt miraculous Reſtauration, without blood-ſhed, being the abovementioned Colonel *George Monke*, a *Devonſhire* Gentleman of an Antient and Worthy Family (lineally deſcended from King *Edward* the IV, by the Lady *Frances*, Daughter and Coheir to *Arthur Plantagenet*, Vicount *Liſle*, his Natural Son.) Who having put himſelf in Arms for the King, at the Commencement of this grand defection; and ſo continuing till, by a ſecond Invaſion of the Scots, the Rebels prevailed in ſundry parts, by taking divers Garriſons, and many of His Majeſties Loyal Subjects Priſoners, amongſt which, it was his hap to be one; he thought it better to gain his Liberty, by receiving entertainment in their Army, until he could diſcern a proper opportunity to do His Majeſty ſervice than by ſo ſuffering. Which at laſt, with no leſs Prudence than Courage, he moſt faithfully performed (as hath been obſerved) and for which he hath ſince that time been deſervedly remunerated, not only with ſeveral great and honourable Titles; (viz. *Baron Monke* of **Potheridge**, Earl of **Torrington**, Duke of **Albemarle**, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter:) as alſo made Captain General of all his Forces, Horſe and Foot, throughout his whole Dominions; but with ample Poſſeſſions for the better ſupport of thoſe high Dignities.

* 8. *May.* † *Charles* the Second Proclaimed.

* 9. *May.* † 25. *May.* He Landed at *Dover.* * 29. *May.* He came into *London.*

CHAP.

# A SHORT VIEVV OF THE LATE TROUBLES IN ENGLAND.

## CHAP. XLIII.

HAving now finiſhed this Narrative, with as much brevity as I well could do: whereby it hath been fully made evident, by what Artifices this ſeeming-Godly Generation did at firſt get power into their cruel hands; that is to ſay, their many ſpecious *Declarations*, and ſolemn promiſes, for *the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion*; *the Laws of the Land*; *the Liberties of the Subject, and Priviledges of Parliament*. I ſhall now crave leave to make ſome ſhort Obſervations thereon; *Anno* 1641.

*Anno* 1621. thereon; and give moſt ample inſtances of their contrary Actings in every of theſe; even in thoſe very times, in which their Dagon of *Presbytery* was viſibly Triumphant.

Their Actings againſt the Proteſtant Religion. And firſt as to the *Proteſtant Religion.*

[a] 3. May. After they had, under pretence of great danger by a Jeſuitical-party, of deſtroying the *Proteſtant Religion*, fram'd a *proteſtation* (*a*) for preſerving the ſame, *as it was expreſt in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of* **England.** Which *proteſtation* (the farther to ſatisfy the People of their own integrity) was ſolemnly taken by all the

[b] 4. May. Members, and Ordered (*b*) to be Printed, and ſent down into the ſeveral Counties: within few days after, they

[c] 12. May. made an Explanation (*c*) thereof; *viz.* That *by the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, was meant ſo far as it was oppoſite to Popery: and that the ſaid words were not to be extended to the maintenance of any Form, Diſcipline, or Government; nor of any Rules, or Ceremonies of the ſaid Church of* **England.** And, having given themſelves ſuch Latitude, by that their After-explanation (*viz.* not to defend the *Proteſtant Religion*, as it ſtood eſtabliſht by Law, and was expreſt in the XXXIX Articles, but as it was repugnant to Popery, and taught perhaps by all *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Familiſts* and other Sectaries, which made way for all that brood to joyn with them.) They then Ordered

[d] 21. May. (*d*) *that no Miniſter ſhould take any Oath at his Induction, but what ſhould be warranted by Scripture.* And ſoon after fell

[e] 25. May. into debate (*e*) for the Extirpation of Epiſcopacie. Then

[f] 3. May. Ordered, (*f*) *that no Service ſhould be Read, nor Pſalm ſung, in going proceſſion.*

[g] 11. May. Next Voted, (*g*) *that the Government of the Church of* **England** *by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. had been found by long experience, to be a great impediment to the perfect reformation, and growth of Religion, and very prejudical to the civil Government of this Kingdom.* As alſo *that*

[h] 15. July. (*h*) *Archiepiſcopal and Epiſcopal Juriſdiction ſhould be exerciſed by themſelves*: And brought in a Bill, *for aboliſhing the Croſs in Baptiſm, Surpliſs, Bowing at the name of Jeſus, ſtanding up at the Goſpel*, &c. Nevertheleſs, to *ſet up Lectures.*

[i] 30. July. Likewiſe, *that* (*i*) *whoſoever ſhould refuſe to take the* **Proteſtation**, *ſhould be held unfit to bear Office in the Church or Common-wealth; conceiving it to be a true teſtimony* (for that was their expreſſion) *to diſtinguiſh the* **Ephramites** *from the* **Gileadites.**

And

And within four days after, Voted (*k*) Thirteen Biſhops *Delinquents*, *with deſire that they might be impeached, as Authors of Sedition, for having a hand in the late Canons.* *Anno* 1641. [k] 3. Auguſt.

What private Conferences they had, about this time, in order to the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy (whereby, for want of Government in the Church, they might the ſooner bring all to confuſion) take their own Teſtimony.

(*l*) *At an aſſembly of about an hundred Prieſts, at Mr.* Calamie's *a* London Prieſt, *about a Petition againſt the Biſhops; it being inſiſted on, that Hereſies would farther ſpread, if Biſhops were put down, the Prieſts thereupon ſent for Mr.* Green *and Mr.* Spenſer, *of the ſeperate Congregations, to deſire them, for a time, they would ſuſpend their open meetings, and be more private in their practiſe; in regard that their publique meeting was an obſtacle to the ſuppreſſion of the Biſhops; but afterwards they might have free libertie of their practiſe. The words were uttered by Mr.* Calamie *who was afterwards ſo violent againſt their toleration.* [l] Sacred Synodical Decretal, &c. for the apprehenſion of young *Martin Mar Prieſt.* p. 12. *A Felt-maker.

And to haſten this univerſal Confuſion, they appointed (*m*) the pulling down of Rayles about Communion Tables, and the removing of ſuch Tables: giving liberty by a ſpecial Order to the Inhabitants any where, throughout the Kingdom, to erect *Lectures*; whereby Mechanicks and Illiterate-men were ſet up, to the infinite ſcandal of Religion, and increaſe of Schiſme. [m] 8. Sept.

And, when the Houſe of Lords, diſcerning theſe licentious and irreverent courſes, made a publique Order, (*n*) injoying the due obſervation of the Book of *Common Prayer* in all Churches, without alteration; the Houſe of Commons, by means of the prevalent Partie therein, in oppoſition thereto, and extenuation thereof, declared, that but Eleven of the Lords aſſented to that Order; and that Nine refuſed, ordering (*o*) that their *Declaration* therein, ſhould be diſperſed and Read, throughout all the Churches in **England.** [n] 9. Sep. [o] 28. Sept.

It can hardly be imagined what ſtrange effects theſe their practiſes in the Houſe of Commons, did in a ſhort time produce; one of their own partie then acknowledging in Print: (*p*) *That all Government, and Diſcipline of the Church was lay'd in her Grave; and all the putredinous Vermine of bold Schiſmaticks and frantick Sectaries, glory in her Aſhes, making the fall thereof their own riſing, to mount the Pulpits, &c.* [p] *Martins Echo.* p. 6. Where the *Preſbyterian* is ſet forth, complaining againſt the *Independent* in a *Sermon* of D. *Burges*, Novemb. 5. 1641. p. 60.

*Anno* 1641. And another of them crying out, in theſe words (*q*) — *Alas your poor Church is oppreſſed, and who layeth hand to help; the Plague of hereſie is amongſt you; and you have no power to keep the ſick from the whole. The Wolves that were wont to lie in the Woods are come into your Sheep-fold, and roare in the Holy Congregation. O thou Shepherd of Iſrael, why haſt thou broken down the Hedge of this thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted: the Boare of the Wood, and the Wilde-beaſt of the foreſt do devour.*

(q) Ephraim Paget *Hereſig.* p. 41.

Whereupon many good People beginning to whiſper their Fears of that which ſhortly after hapned; theſe ſubtile Foxes, to drive their great work with the leſs ſuſpition, in their *grand Remonſtrance* (*r*) of the 15th of *December*, cryed out againſt certain Malignants (as they term'd them) *who had infuſed into the People, that they meant to aboliſh all Church-Government, and leave every Man to his own fancie for the Service and Worſhip of God; abſolving them of that obedience, which they owe, under God, unto His Majeſty; acknowledging him to be intruſted with the Eccleſiaſtical Law, as well as with the Temporal, to Regulate all the Members of the Church of* **England**, *by ſuch Rules of Order and Diſcipline as are eſtabliſhed by Parliament.* And in the ſame *Remonſtrance* declared, *That it was far from their purpoſe, or deſire, to let looſe the golden Reynes of Diſcipline and Government in the Church, and leave private Perſons, or particular Congregations, to take up what forme of Divine-ſervice they pleaſed; holding it requiſite, that there ſhould be, through the whole Realm, a conformity to that Order, which the Law enjoyns.*

(r) 15. Decem. Exact. Coll. p. 19.

But to the end they might bring the work to paſs by others, in which they did not then think fit to ſhew themſelves openly (as their Brethren of *Scotland* had done) the Tumultuous rabble of Sectaries were (by their contrivance) brought (*s*) to **Weſtminſter**, and there violently aſſaulted the great Church, threatning to pull down the Organs, and Popiſh Reliques; for ſo they called thoſe ſtately Monuments of the Kings and others.

(s) 28. Dec.

*Anno* 1642. And, after His Majeſty was driven from **London**, and that they had got his Navy, Forts, Magazine, *&c.* into their hands; they ordered, (*t*) that an *Aſſembly* of *Divines ſhould meet, with whom they might conſult, for ſetling of the Church-Government and Liturgy.* Shortly after which a Petition (pretended to have been brought from **Cornwall**) was

(t) 9. April. Exact. Coll. p. 135.

Read

Read (*u*) in the Houſe of Commons; amongſt other things deſiring, *that the Ceremonies and Service of the Church might be aboliſhed.* *Anno* 1642. [u] 22. April.

But, notwithſtanding all this, leſt any jealouſy of their intentions ſhould ſo far prevail, as to ſtagger the People (whom they had hitherto deluded with their ſpecious pretences) eſpecially being then about to raiſe their Rebellious Forces; they declared, (*x*) *That their preparations of Arms was for ſecurity of Religion, the ſafety of His Majeſties Perſon,* &c. [x] 26. July.

And having thus form'd an Army, the firſt work wherewith they began, was to (*y*) Deface the moſt Antient and Chief Cathedral of this Kingdom. [y] The Cathedral of *Canterbury* Defaced by Col. *Edwyn Sandys.* 26. Auguſt.

Soon after which, ſome of their Forces, in their firſt march from **London** towards **Worceſter**, broke open the Church at **Acton**, (four miles from **London**) defaced whatſoever was decent therein; tore the Bible and Book of Common-Prayer; ſticking the leaves of them upon the walls with their Excrements.

And when their whole Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, came to (*z*) **Worceſter**, the firſt thing they there did, was the Prophanation of the Cathedral; deſtroying the Organ; breaking in pieces divers beautiful Windows, wherein the Foundation of that Church was lively Hiſtorified with Painted Glaſs, and barbarouſly Defacing divers fair Monuments of the Dead. And as if this were not enough, they brought their Horſes into the body of the Church, keeping fires and Courts of Guard therein, making the Quire and ſide-iſles, with the Font, the common places, wherein they did their eaſements of Nature. Alſo, to make their wickedneſs the more compleat, they rifled the Library, with the Records and Evidences of the Church; tore in pieces the Bibles and Service-books pertaining to the Quire; putting the Surplices and other Veſtments upon their Dragooners, who rode about the ſtreets with them. [z] 24. Sept.

Which ſhameful outrages done by the Souldiers thus early, being much taken notice of; and obſervation made of the liberty given to their ſeditious Preachers, cauſed thereupon a general murmur by moſt People. To caſt a miſt, therefore, before their Eyes for a while,

*Anno* 1642. the Members ſitting at **Weſtminſter** publiſht a *Declaration*, (*a*) wherein they expreſt, *that though they had Voted the utter eradication of Epiſcopacy; yet they intended not to extirpate the Liturgy and Common Prayer; but ſo far to Regulate the ſame, as might agree with the Truth of Gods Word.*

[a] 30. Sept.

To which purpoſe, and that it might bear a fair ſemblance of Reformation, they brought in a Bill (*b*) for an *Aſſembly of Divines*; wherein they ſay; *that the Parliament doth not intend wholly to abrogate the Book of Common-Prayer and Liturgy.*

[b] 6. Oct.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe fine ſhews, they gave daily Countenance to divers libellous Pamphlets; and to all ſuch Schiſmatical Preachers, as endeavoured to deprave the ſame; commanding Dr. *Duck*, by an Order of the Houſe (dated *Aug.* 3.) *that he ſhould not put by a Miniſter from Inſtitution and Induction, though he had ſcandalized the Liturgy of the Church*; calling the Book of Common-Prayer *a great Idol.* After which it was not long, e're they went on towards the ſuppreſſing thereof; ſhutting up the Cathedral of St. *Paul*, in **London**, upon Sundays. Yet, that they might not be ſuſpected in their well-wiſhes to the *Proteſtant Religion*, they Voted, (*c*) that it was the deſign of the King's Army, to deſtroy the *Proteſtant Religion*, and to bring in Popery.

See their Declaration 7. of *Jan.* 1642. aſperſing His Majeſty with endeavouring to deſtroy the *Proteſtant Religion.*

See their Declaration 20 of *July* 1643. wherein they charge His Majeſty with diſſembled pretences and proteſtations, for maintaining the true reformed *Proteſtant Religion.* And that, without any touch of Conſcience, in defiance of God, he had rais'd an Army of Papiſts.

[c] 16. Dec.

All which fair pretences, and Votes were made by the Members at **Weſtminſter**, whilſt their Forces in divers parts went on with ſuch horrid practiſes, as the like hath not been ſeen in this Realm, ſince the Pagan-Danes, upon their Invaſions, exerciſed their Heatheniſh Cruelties here; Sr. *William Waller* (their Weſtern-General, about this time) entring (*d*) **Wincheſter**; where his Souldiers Committed the like barbarous outrages, in that Cathedral as was done by the E. of *Eſſex*'s Men at **Worceſter**; tearing likewiſe in pieces thoſe Cheſts of Lead, wherein were enſhrin'd the Bones of divers Saxon Kings, Queens; devout Biſhops and Confeſſors: with which they broke in pieces the Coſtly Hiſtorical Windows there. Beſides this, they battered and Defaced the Brazen Statua's of the King, and that of His Royal Father K. *James* (which

[d] 16. Dec.

His

His Majeſty, as a pledge of his Princely favour had given to that Church) hack't and hew'd the Crown on his Head, ſwearing that they would bring him back to the *Parliament*. And, having ſo done, ſeized upon the Rich Hangings, Cuſheons, Pulpit-Clothes, and Communion-Plate: ſpoiling or carrying away whatſoever elſe was of Ornament or worth. The like, for the moſt part, they did ſoon (*e*) after, in the Cathedral at **Chicheſter.** *Anno* 1642. [e] 29. Dec.

Nor was there any place they came to, where they made not the like devaſtation. At **Sudeley**, in *Glouceſterſhire*, (the Seat of the Antient and Noble Familes of the Lords *Sudley* and *Chandos*,) they broke (*f*) down the Monuments; made the Body of the Church a Stable for their Horſes, and the Chancel their Slaughter-Houſe. To the Pulpit they faſtned Pegs, on which they hang'd the Carcaſſes of Sheep. Of the Communion-Table they made a Dreſſer or Chopping-board to cut their Meat. Into the Vault, where lay the Bodies of thoſe Noble Perſons, they caſt the Guts and Garbage of the Sheep; leaving in every Corner of the Church their own loathſom Excrements. [f] 28. Jan.

At **Elvaſton**, in *Derby-ſhire*, (about this time) Sir *John Gell*'s Souldiers (after their Plunder of the Lady *Stanhope*'s Houſe) demoliſhed a Coſtly Monument, newly made for Sir *John Stanhope*; entred the Vault, wherein many of his Anceſtors lay Interred; and Triumphing over the Dead, thruſt their Swords into the Coffins.

About the beginning of *March*, another of their Armies entred **Lichfield**, under the Conduct of the Lord *Brooke*. Where the Souldiers (notwithſtanding that Lord loſt his life in the Aſſaulting that Cathedral upon St. *Chad*'s Day, to which Saint it was Dedicated) exerciſed the like Barbariſms, as were done at *Worceſter*, in demoliſhing all the Monuments, pulling down the curious Carved work; battering in pieces the Coſtly Windows; and deſtroying the Evidences and Records belonging to that Church: which being done, they ſtabled their Horſes in the Body of it, kept Courts of Guard in the Croſs-Iſles; broke up the Pavement, poluted the Quire with their Excrements; every Day hunted a Cat with Hounds through-

Anno 1642. throughout the Church, delighting themſelves in the Eccho from the goodly Vaulted Roof: and to add to their wickedneſs, brought a Calf into it, wrapt in Linnen; carried it to the Font; Sprinkled it with water; and gave it a Name in ſcorn and deriſion of that Holy Sacrament of Baptiſm. And when Prince *Rupert* recovered that Church by force; *Ruſſel* the Governour carried away the Communion Plate, and Linnen, with whatſoever elſe was of value.

About the ſame time alſo, the like ſpoile and prophanation was done by *Oliver Cromwell* and his followers in **Lincoln**=*Minſter*: tearing up all that beautiful Pavement in the upper part of the Quire; watering their Horſes at the Font. And at the ſame time pull'd down two of the Pariſh-Churches of that Antient City, for the better oportunity of their Fortifications.

1 Aug. 1644 At **Leſtithiell** (*g*) alſo in **Cornwall**, when the Earl of *Eſſex* was there with his Army, one of his Souldiers brought a Horſe into the Church, led him up to the Font; and made another hold him, whilſt he Sprinkled water on his Head, and ſaid; *I ſigne thee with the ſigne of the Croſs, in token thou ſhalt not be aſhamed to fight againſt the Round-Heads at* **London**, with a deale more of ſuch Blaſphemous ſtuff; blowing up that Church, with Gunpowder, at their departure.

I paſs by the mention of **Exeter**, **Peterborough**, **Salisbury**, **Glouceſter**, and divers other fair Cathedrals, beſides divers goodly Collegiate-Churches, with many of the Chappels in the Univerſity of **Cambridge**, which taſted of their outrages, about that time; being ſo much Defaced, as that they will remain to poſterity for infamous badges of their barbarous impieties.

And that it may appear that their great Maſters the *Londoners*, did very well approve of theſe their doings; they did, by a publique Act of Common Council, Order the pulling down to the ground of that goodly Monument of Chriſtianity, the *Croſs* in **Weſt=Chepe**. Whereupon, to make the Fact the more notorious, it
3. May. was accordingly demoliſhed (*h*) *in die Inventionis S. Crucis*, with ſound of Trumpets and noiſe of ſeveral Inſtruments; as if they had obtain'd ſome notable Victory againſt the Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith. So that, if we may

Credit

Credit *Ingulphus*, (*i*) one of our moſt Antient Hiſtoriographers; and other Authentick Writers, touching the Daniſh-outrages, towards the Chriſtians in this Nation, about the Year of Chriſt *DCCCLX.* who ſpeaking of their Barbariſms at **Medeſhampſted** (now called **Peterborough**) ſaith, —*Altaria omnia ſuffoſſa; Monumenta omnia confracta; Sanctorum Librorum Bibliothecæ combuſta*, &c. And at **Crouland**, —*Omnia Sanctorum ſepulchra confracta, & Monumenta omnia, ſacraq; volumina ſua, cum corporibus Sanctorum combuſta, ineſtimabili dolore omnes conſternati ſunt; planctuſque & pleatus diutiſſimè ſuctus eſt*; theſe wicked Men have come nothing ſhort of the Example.

*Anno* 1642.

(*i*) Ingulphi Hiſt. f. 493.

*Ex Epiſtolâ* Alcuini Higbaldo Lindiſſarnenſi *Epiſcopo.* Antiq. Brit. p. 66. & 67.

—*Veſtræ Charitatis familiaritas me multum letificare ſolebat: ſed verſa vice tribulationis calamitas (licet abſentem) me contriſtuit; quod pagani contaminaverunt Sanctuaria Dei, & fuderunt ſanguinem Sanctorum in circuitu Altaris; Calcaverunt corpora Sanctorum in Templo quaſi ſterquilinium in plateâ*, &c. *Ecce loca ſancta à paganis vaſtata, Altaria perjuriis fadata, Monaſteria adulteriis violata; Terra ſanguine Dominorum & principum maculata*, &c.

But to theſe pure Reformers, Barnes and Stables are of equal eſteem with Churches and Holy-Oratories; and a Ditch or a Dunghill thought as fit for Burial, as any Sepulcher, or other place Conſecrated for that purpoſe, for Teſtimony whereof, take Sir *William Waller's* Lieutenant General's word: who, having received a Meſſage from Sir *John Boys*, Governour of **Dunnington**-Caſtle for His Majeſty; whereby it was ſignified to him, that the number of the Rebels Bodies, which were ſlain in the aſſault of that Caſtle, were ſo many, that he could not give them Chriſtian-Burial; and therefore out of a Charitable Reſpect tendred liberty to take them off, and do it elſewhere; returned anſwer, (*k*) in theſe words —*That he conceived no Holineſs to be in any place, or Burial; and that all Earth was fit for that uſe.*

(*k*) 31. July. 1644.

Againſt which Hetheniſh Principle, I ſhall tell you what their own Mr. *William Prynne* hath ſaid, in his Book, (*l*) Intituled, *The Antipathy of Engliſh Lordly-prelacy.* Wherein complaining of *Pandulphus* Biſhop of **Norwich**, who perſwaded K. *John* (as he ſaith) to ſubmit himſelf to *Stephen Langton* Arch-biſhop of **Canterbury**, and others that had interdicted the Realm, he cryeth in theſe very words —*Let me inform you, that during the time of this Interdict, all Eccleſiaſtical Sacraments ceaſed in England, except* **Confeſſion** *and the* Viaticum, *in extream neceſſity, and the Baptiſme of Infants; ſo as the Bodies of Dead-men, were carried*

(*l*) p. 248. & 249.

Anno 1642. *out of Towns and Villages, and Buried like Dogs in High-ways and Ditches, without Prayers, and the Miniſtry of Prieſts.* Whereby it is plain, in Mr. *Prynns* opinion, that *Burial without Prayers, and the Miniſtry of Prieſts, is like the Burial of Dogs.* And therefore what Burial this of Sir *William Waller's Lieutenant General*, or that which the *new Directory*, lately eſtabliſht (*m*) by *Ordinance of Parliament* (as they call it) directeth, is like, *whereat* (*n*) *no Ceremony ſhall be uſed, or any Prayers, or Reading*, I leave to any indifferent judgment.

[m] 3. Jan. 1644.
[n] New Directory. p. 73

But to return to our precious Reformers, who were ſo hardned by the daily exerciſe of new out-rages; that the Members at **Weſtminſter** at length, for their credit, though fit to have a total devaſtation of whatſoever was comely in the Church, or decent for the ſervice of God: and this to be done by *an Ordinance for aboliſhing of ſuperſtition*, (for that was the Title of it) viz. *that all repreſentations or ſculptures in any Cathedral, Collegiate, or Pariſh-Church, or Chappel, or any other place within this Kingdom, ſhall be defaced, and utterly demoliſhed: and that all Organs; the frames or caſes wherein they ſtand in all Churches, and Chappels, ſhall be utterly defaced: And that the Chancel-ground of every Church, or Chappel, raiſed for any Communion-Table to ſtand on, ſhall be levelled with the ground: And that no Surpliſſes, Hoods, or other ſuperſtitious Veſtments, ſhall be any more uſed within the Realm*, &c.

In accompliſhment of which Ordinance, Sir *Robert Harley* (who ſate in the chair of their Committee for *Reformation*) pull'd down (*o*) that curious and Rich Sereen of Copper gilt, belonging to that incomparable Monument of K. *Henry* the Seventh, at **Weſtminſter**, and ſold it to Braſiers and Mettal-men: entred the King's Chappel at **White-Hall**, daſht in pieces the Windows, broke down the Communion-Table, pull'd up the Rails, *&c.*

[o] June 1644

And to prevent the future coſt on God's Houſe; about that time, ſix thouſand pounds which had been Collected for the Rebuilding of St. *Andrews* Church in **Holborn**, was ſeized on by theſe great Reformers: and four hundred pounds taken out of the Hoſpital at **Guilford** in *Surrey* (which was the whole ſtock of their Treaſure) and imploy'd to promote the Rebellion.

After all which to ingratiate themſelves with their

*Brethren*

*Brethren the Scots*, they entred into a moſt ſtrict combination, which they call'd *the National League and Covenant*, deviſed, and ſent from **Edenborough** (though abſolutely repugnant to their own *Declarations* (*p*) and *Votes*) (*q*) to extirpate and overthrow the Religion, and Diſcipline by Law eſtabliſht in the Church of **England**; which was done (*r*) with the greateſt formality and outward ſhew of ſanctity, that could be deviſed, by the Members at **Weſtminſter**, in the Church of St *Margaret* at **Weſtminſter**; that is to ſay, with groaning, ſighing, ſinging of Pſalms, &c. Mr. *White* of **Dorcheſter**, Mr. *Nye*, *Alexander Henderſon*, and others of that ſeditious Tribe, then exerciſing their gifts, in extemporary Prayers, and Preaching.

*Anno* 1642.

[p] 16. Dec. 1641.
[q] 30. Sept. 6. Oct. 1642.
[r] 25. Sep. 1643.

And, that there might be nothing wanting, to make odious the Orthodox Clergy of the Realm, and to enrage the People againſt them (as heretofore the Enemies of the Goſpel did thoſe holy Martyrs, whom they clothed in the Skins of Wild-beaſts, to animate Dogs to worry them) they cauſed a moſt Libellous Pamphlet, * againſt divers Divines, which endeavoured to oppoſe their wicked practiſes, to be Printed and Publiſhed, by ſpecial Order; (*s*) Intituled *the firſt Century of ſcandalous malignant Prieſts*, having, in Order thereto, ſhortly after the beginning of that *Parliament*, founded a Committee, to enquire after ſcandalous Miniſters: under which Title few of the reverend and Orthodox Clergy did eſcape. Which Committee made ſo ſpeedy a Progreſs in their work; that, in ſhort time (as their Chairman Mr. *Corbet* reported) (*t*) they had got in nine hundred Petitions againſt ſuch Miniſters.

* The Author M. *John White*, a Member of the Long Parliament.

[s] 17. Nov. 1643.

[t] 17. May. 1641.

I do here omit to make mention of the particular Impriſonments, Plundrings, and other oppreſſions, exerciſed by them, towards moſt of our greateſt and moſt able Divines, it being ſo notorious to the World: by reaſon whereof they being conſtrain'd to fly from place to place to ſave themſelves, the ſervice of God, in moſt Churches of this Kingdom was totally neglected: And ſhall now deſcend to a ſhort view of the *Doctrine* and Practiſe of their own Levites, notorious Schiſmaticks, and of ſo many different Sects (almoſt) as Congregations; but patronized by theſe Men, to advance their *Cauſe*;

Their Doctrine and Practiſe.

*Anno* 1642. as was acknowledged (*u*) by the Lords, *Say* and *Brooke*; and juſtified by the Committee of **Northampton**, *Jan.* 16. 1643. who ſtuck not to declare; *That if the Country would not make better diſcharge of their Duty, in the defence of Religion, Laws, and Liberties* (for ſo they term'd this unparallell'd Rebellion) *the* Parliament *would call in foreign Nations to aſſiſt them.*

[u] That they would diſpence with all ſorts of Religion, ſo that they might freely exerciſe their own.

In Teſtimony whereof, certain Troopers, of Popiſh *Walloons*, lying about **Putney** and **Kingſton**, and entertain'd in the Rebels ſervice; being asked the reaſon, why they would ſerve againſt the King: anſwered, *that it was all one for Point of Religion: but only if they ſerved the King, they could not be permitted an open excerciſe of their devotions, according to the Church of* **Rome**, *which the two Houſes gave them leave to do.*

But, as to this Point of aſſiſtance from thoſe *Walloons*, and others of the *Romiſh*-Religion, let us hearken to a witneſs without exception; *viz. Robert Mentet de Salmonet*, by Birth a Scotchman, of good extraction; and a ſecular Prieſt of the Church of *Rome*; who hath, in French, written a well eſteem'd Hiſtory * of our late civil Wars, and Intituled *L'Hiſtorie des troubles de la grand Bretagne.* Where, in pag. 165. after he hath given an Accompt of **Edge-Hill**-Fight, he ſaith thus:

* Printed at *Paris* in Fol. 1661.

*Ce qui ſurprit le plus tout le monde, ce fut qu' on trouua quelques preſtres par my les morts, du coſte des Eſtats. Car encore que dans lours Manifeſtes ils appellaſſent l' Armée du Roy le Armée des Papiſtes, pour la vendre odieuſe au peuple; ils avoient neantmoins deux Compaynies de* Walloons, *& d' autres Catholiques dans leur Armée, outre qu' ils n' avoient rien oublie pour taſcher d' engager en leur party le chevalier* Arthur Aſton, *Colonel-Catholique de grand reputation.*

That which did the moſt ſurprize every body, was; that they found amongſt the dead, of thoſe which were ſlain on the Parliament ſide, ſeveral Popiſh-Prieſts. For, although in their Declarations, they called the King's Army a Popiſh-Army, thereby to render it odious to the People, yet they had in their Army two Companies of *Walloons* and other Roman-Catholicks. Beſides, they omitted no endeavours to engage to their party Sr. *Ar. Aſton* K^t, an eminent Roman Catholick Commander.

*Il*

*Il eſt vray que le Roy avoit auſſi ſouffret dans ſon Armée quelques officiers Catholiques, hommes de grande ſuffiſance, & tres bien intentionnez, pour le bien de l'eſtat, ainſi les appellat il dans la Declaration qu'il fit publier apres la Bataille.*

True it is, that the King had permitted to ſerve him in his Army, ſome Roman Catholick Officers, Perſons of great Abilities, and not factiouſly inclined, as His Majeſty expreſſeth in that *Manifeſto*, which he publiſhed after the Battail. *An.* 1642.

So far this French Author, whoſe Abſtract I ſhall not farther follow, but rather go on, in the very words of the Declaration * it ſelf. Where his Majeſty anſwering the Parliaments urging and preſſing that falſe and groundleſs imputation of his favouring, and imploying many of that Religion in his Army, ſaith thus:

* Exact Col pag. 647. Printed at *Lond.* 1643.

*For our affection to that Religion, our continual practiſe, our conſtant profeſſion, and ſeveral proteſtations will ſatisfy all the World; againſt which Malice and Treaſon it ſelf cannot find the leaſt probable objection. We wiſh from our heart the Zeal and affection of theſe Men to the true* Proteſtant Religion *were as apparent as ours. For the imploying Men of that Religion, in our preſent ſervice in the Army, whoſoever conſiders the hardneſs and ſtraights, the malice and fury of theſe Men have driven us to; their ſtopping all paſſages, and ways, that neither Men or Money might come to us; their declaring all ſuch to be Traytors, who ſhall aſſiſt us; their entertaining Men of all Countries, all Religions to ſerve againſt us, would not wonder if we had been very well contented to have received the Service and Aſſiſtance of any of our good Subjects, who had Loyalty enough, (whatſoever their Religion is) to bring them to our ſuccour.*

*All Men know the great number of Papiſts which ſerve in their Army, Commanders and others: the great induſtry they have uſed to corrupt the loyalty and affection of all our Subjects of that Religion: the private promiſes and undertakings they have made to them; that if they would aſſiſt them againſt us, all the Laws made in their prejudice ſhould be repealed. Yet, neither the weakneſs of our own condition, nor the other Arts uſed againſt us, could prevail with us to invite thoſe of that Religion to come to our ſuccour, or to recal our Proclamation which forbad them ſo to do: and we are confident tho we know of ſome few, whoſe eminent Abilities in Command and Conduct, and moderate and unfactious diſpoſitions, hath moved us, in this*

*great*

*An.* 1642. *great neceſſity, to imploy them in this ſervice) that a far greater number of that Religion, is in the Army of the Rebels, than in our own; and we do aſſure our good Subjects, tho as we ſhall always remember the particular Services which particular Men have or ſhall, in this exigent of ours perform to us, with that grace and bounty, which becomes a juſt Prince: Yet we ſhall be ſo far from ever giving the leaſt countenance or encouragement to that Religion, that we ſhall always uſe our utmoſt endeavour to ſuppreſs it by the execution of thoſe good and wholſome Laws, already in force againſt Papiſts, and concurring in ſuch farther remedies, as the Care and Wiſdom of us, and both Houſes of Parliament ſhall think moſt neceſſary for the advancement of God's Service.*

But I proceed to the practiſe of their Preachers, one
x Mr. *Caſe.* of theſe *Boutefeus*, (x) to encourage his Auditors to bring in liberally upon the *Propoſitions*, for *Money*, *Horſe*, *and Plate*; upon his adminiſtration of the Sacrament, began thus; *All you that have contributed to the* Parliament, *come and take this Sacrament to your comfort.*

Another (y) brought in a guard of Souldiers (with their
y Dr. *Layton.* Arms) into Lambeth-Church, in the time of Divine Service, tore the Book of Common-Prayer in pieces; pull'd the Surpliſs from the Miniſters back; and ſcoffing at the good People, who were at their Devotions; ſaid, *make an end of your pottage*: the Souldiers following him to the Communion-Table, with Tobacco-Pipes in their Mouths, and committing divers out-rages, to the great terror of the Congregation.

Mr. *Simeon Aſhe*, Miniſter at St. *Maries* in Aldermanbury (London) in his Sermon Preacht before the Houſe of Commons, *March* 30. *Anno* 1642. that being one of their ſolemn Faſt-days; after large invectives againſt the Governours of the Church, Ceremonies, and the Divine Service by Law eſtabliſht; charg'd the whole Miniſtry of the Church of England, with being blind Seers; Dumb Dogs, which could not bark; idle drones; miſguiding Guides; Schiſmatical and Heretical Men, and ſcandalous. Adding, * *and I humbly commend this to your conſideration, whether the Prelatical-party hath not been the Root of all; or at leaſt of almoſt all theſe oppreſſions: and for my part I cannot expect a complete Deliverance from theſe and other like oppreſſions, but by the extirpation of that frame.*

* Impr. *Lond* pag. 61.

*Right*

*Right Honourable you have done much, yea very much for our ease already. We are ſenſible that many heavy Burthens are taken off our backs*, which cruſhed us grivouſly heretofore: *and for that relief, which we have received, we bleſs God, we honour you: and I now heartily intreat and encourage, the proſecting of that, you have ſo worthily begun. When* **Sion** *is ſet up in beauty adorn'd, and ſet up with her Watch Tower, and Officers, then God will be known in our Palaces for refuge.* Anno 1642.

And that they might have ſome colour of Authority for their ſedicious Doctrine, there came out a Paper (*z*) in Print; ſigned by *Iſaac Pennington* (their new Lord Mayor, who firſt entred upon his Office, with a ſet ſpeech againſt the Book of Common-Prayer) for a direction to the Miniſters, in and about the City of **London**, both what to Pray and what to Preach, in theſe words; *You are required to commend to God in your Prayers, the Lord General, the whole Army imploy'd in the Parliaments ſervice, and the deſign* * *undertaken by them: as alſo in your Sermons effectually to ſtir up the People, to appear in Perſon, and to joyn with the Army to ſtand up for our Religion, and Liberties, as is deſired and expected by the Army, and the Committee for the* Militia *in this City.* [z] April 1643

* To extirpate Monarchy.

According to which direction, one of them likened the King to *Rehoboam* (in forſaking his old Council) and then inferred, *It was but Juſtice, that the two Houſes ſhould proceed to a new Choice.* Another, * on their Faſt-day at **Southampton**, uſed theſe words in his Prayer, *Oh Lord, thine Honour is now at ſtake; for now (O Lord) Antichriſt hath drawn his Sword againſt thy Chriſt; and if our Enemies prevail, thou wilt loſe thine Honour.* And Mr. *Croſſe* (a zealous Lecturer) told (*a*) his Auditory in the Pulpit at St. *Mildreds* in the *Poultry*; *that if God did not finiſh the good work*, which he had begun, in the *Reformation of the Church, he would ſhew himſelf to be the God of confuſion, and ſuch a one, as by cunning Stratagems had contrived the deſtruction of his own Children.* Which Blaſphemous expreſſion was but few days before Sir *William Waller*'s defeat (*b*) at **Roundway-down.**

* Mr. *Strickland*, 9. June 1643.

[a] 6. July.

[b] 13. July.

And now, whilſt I mention this overthrow, I cannot omit the notice of a paſſage ſomewhat remarkable: which was, that the day of that great and abſolute defeat, the Rebels in **Glouceſter**, held one of their ſolemn coun-

*Anno* 1642. counterfait Thanksgivings, for a feigned Victory, which they pretended (to abuſe the People) that Sir *William Waller* had at **Landſdowne** upon the fifth day of the ſame Month.

Another of their Lectures in **Southampton**, pray'd thus; (c) *Bleſs the King, O Lord, mollify his hard heart, that delighteth in blood: Open his Eyes, that he may ſee, that the blood of the Saints is dear in thy ſight. He is fallen from faith in thee, and become an enemy to thy Church. Is it not He, that hath ſinned and done evil indeed? but as for theſe ſheep, what have they done? Let thine hand, We pray thee, O Lord our God, be on him, and on his Father's Houſe; but not on thy People, that they ſhould be plagued.* And another blaſphemous fellow, (d) in his Prayer there, on their Faſt-day, ſaid thus: *O God, O God, many are the hands lift up againſt us, but there is one God; it is thou thy ſelf, O Father, who doeſt us more miſchief then they all.*

[c] Aug.

[d] *Robinſon* 25. Aug.

And for *Preaching*, obſerve the Doctrine of one *Kendal* (ſometime a Coach-man, but afterwards Preacher at **Hamſted**, in *Hartfordſhire*) upon the 1 *Cor.* 6 9. *know ye not, that the unrighteous ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God?* Firſt, that by Kingdom of God, in this place was meant *the Kingdom of Chriſt upon Earth.* Secondly, *that* **England** *was no true Church.* Thirdly, *that all the Members of the Church of* **England**, *were Children of Wrath.* Fourthly, *that at the day of Judgment, Chriſt would give up all power to his Father; and would himſelf become a Subject.*

And, ſuch as did not *Pray* and *Preach* after this faſhion, were cavill'd withall, expell'd, or committed to Priſon: as one was by *Iſaac Pennington* (ſent to *Newgate*) for ſinging a *Malignant Pſalm.* Another committed to that Priſon which they made of the Lord *Peter's* Houſe in **Aldersgate** Street; *becauſe*, ſays his *Mittimus*, *he daily Read moſt Malignant Chapters.*

But to proceed with ſome other particulars of their *Prayers* and *Sermons*: Mr. *Evans* Preacher of St. *Clements* without *Temple-Barr*, expoſtulated thus with God; *O Lord, When wilt thou take a Chair and ſit amongſt the Houſe of Peers?* And *When, O God, When, I ſay, Wilt thou Vote amongſt the Honourable Commons? thine own Commons, who are ſo zealous for thine Honour?* And in his Sermon before the Earl of *Eſſex* (then their General) on the Faſt-day, (e) he thus

[e] 29. Sept. 1643.

ex-

exhorted the People, *Beloved, can you forget the Souldiers?* Anno 1643.
*I say the Souldiers, who have spent their blood for Christ, as Christ did for them; even their own precious blood in God's cause at* **Newbery.**

And Mr. *Colman*, in his Exhortation-Sermon to the Army, for taking the *Covenant*, told them, *That the* **Covenant** *was the Parliament's Sword and Buckler. For when* (said he) *the Cavaliers shall see you come Armed with a* Covenant, *they will run, run, run from the presence of the Lord of Hosts.*

In the behalf of which **Covenant** Mr. *Nye*, in a set Speech told the People, *that as God did swear for the Salvation of Men, and of Kingdoms: So Kingdoms must now swear for the preservation, and salvation of Kingdoms, to establish, a Saviour Jesus Christ in* **England.** For this it was, that one of the Lord *Say*'s Tenants (a Lay-Preacher at **Brouton** near **Banbury**) cryed out in his Prayer, *We know O Lord, that* Abraham *made a Covenant, and* Moses *and* David *made a* **Covenant**, *and our Saviour made a Covenant; but thy Parliaments Covenant is the greatest of all Covenants.*

This it was that ushered in the *Scots*, for whose Invasions these their Preachers so much laboured; Mr. *Bond* at the **Savoy**, telling them in the Pulpit; *that they ought to contribute and Pray, and to do all that they were able, to bring in their Brethren of* **Scotland**, for the setling of God's cause. *I say* (quoth he) *this is God's cause: and if our God had any cause, this is it. And if this be not God's cause then God is no God for me; but the Devil is got up into Heaven.*

Another Preacht, (*f*) *that Christmas day was a superstitious day; and would (if observed) bring in Idolatrous Worship.* Whereupon the People were commanded to open their Shops that day.

(*f*) Mr. *Pearne* at St. *Dunstans* in the West. 24. Decemb.

One *Isaac Massy* a Lecturer at **Uppingham** in **Rutland**, when he was to administer the Communion at Easter *Anno* 1644. and had Consecrated the Wine, after his fashion, smote himself on the Breast, and said to the People, *As I am a faithful sinner Neighbours, this is my Morning's draught*, and turning himself round to them, said *here's to you all*, and so drank up the whole Cup full.

Which celebration of the Communion, in this manner, puts me in mind of Mr. *Redman*, about that time Minister of **Castle-Donnington** in *Leicestershire*; who, to thwart

Anno 1643. the Order therein preſcribed by the Laws; adminiſtred it to his Pariſhioners in the *After-noon*; and inſtead of *Wine*, made uſe of *Ale*.

6 July 1644 Mr. *Corbet* alſo a Lecturer in **Glouceſter**, told (*g*) his Auditory, *that nothing had ſo much deceived the World, as the name of King; which* (he ſaid) *was the ground of all miſchiefs to the Church of Chriſt.*

And Mr. *Vines* (Collonel *Pureſoy's* Chaplain) ſaid in his Prayer, at St. *Clements* without **Temple-Bar**, *O Lord thou haſt given us never a Victory this long while, for all our frequent Faſting. What doſt thou mean O Lord, to fling us in the Ditch and there leave us?* And *Lorkyn*, a ſeditious Lecturer at **Greenwich**, in his Prayer, expreſſing great wonder, that God uſed to bleſs his People by Kings and Princes; concluded with theſe words; (*h*) *O Lord, if thou wilt not bleſs us with a King, bleſs us without one.*

31. June. 1644.

By which Teachers we may gheſs at the Flocks: for inſtance,

At *Great Allhallows* in **Thames-ſtreet**; when the Pa-

1 Jan. 1644. riſhioners were in the Chancel receiving (*i*) the holy Sacrament; an herd of new Brethren came into the Church, and brought along with them Bief, Mutton, and other Proviſion for Dinner: and when the Clarke deſired them to be gone, they told him, *that the Church was as free for them to eat in, as others*, and refus'd to depart, ſaying, *they would ſtay till the Communion, and their own Dinner, was ended.*

In a *Thanksgiving*-Sermon Preacht before the Members of Parliament 2. *Apr. Anno* 1646. by *Joſeph Carril*, one of their Aſſembly of Divines, upon this Text; *Judges Cap.* 10. *Verſ.* 11, 12. *Did not I deliver you from the Egyptians?* He told his Auditory; *Here is nothing but the bare name of Deliverances, and ſeven in number; ſo many have you received from me ſaith the Lord.* As if we ſhould write now; the Battel of **Kineton**, one; the Battel of **Newbery**, two; the Battel of **Chereton-down**, three; at **Marſton-Moze**, four; at **Naſeby**, five; at **Langport**, ſix; at **Torington**, ſeven; and the Disbanding of the late Army in the Weſt, which may go for many Victories.

Mr. *Cradock*, Vicar of **Nun-Eaton**, in *Warwickſhire*,

1 Sunday 1. Aug. 1647. uſed this expreſſion (*k*) in his Prayer; *O Lord do not thou ſtand a Newter; but take one ſide, that we may ſee which it is,*

that

*that is thy cauſe.* And, at a Faſt (*l*) kept by both Houſes of Parliament, at St. *Margarets* **Weſtminſter**, *Hugh Peters*, Preaching of bringing the Children out of Egyptian Bondage, to which he parallell'd the ſtate of this Kingdom; to ſhew how they ſhould be brought out of this Bondage, he put his hands before his Eyes, and laid down his Head for a ſpace on the Cuſheon; and then pretended a *Revelation*; that it muſt be by extirpating of Monarchy, hear, and in all other places. *Anno* 1642. 22. Dec. 1648.

And now, to cloſe up all, let us here ſome of Mr. *Feake*'s expreſſions, Preaching at **Black-Fryers**, in *Anno* 1653. when our late great Maſters were at Wars with the Dutch.

— *But you'l ſay, the Dutch will recruit again, and the Princes of the World will aſſiſt them: for my part I do not ſee one Prince or State that offers to help them: but if they ſhould all joyn, and lay their Crowns and Scepters together, it is that Chriſt may cut off their Heads at a blow, and get himſelf the more Honour. All the Angels in heaven cannot make peace between Chriſt and the World. If the Devil, the Turk, and the People, ſhould think to compound with Chriſt, and ſay, Thou Chriſt, thou ſhalt have ſo many Kingdoms, and let us enjoy the reſt quietly: Chriſt will never do it; he will have all or none; he will either kill or be kill'd.* Aug. 8.

— Again; *I profeſs Saints we muſt go lay our heads together, and conſult what we ſhall ask God next, for he will give us whatſoever we ask, and ſo he hath done theſe ſeven years.*

And at **Chriſt-Church**, *Aug.* 11. ---- *I will never believe* (ſaid he) *that this Navy was made purpoſely for the breaking of our Neighbours in pieces, and there an end: we ſhall at laſt joyn together, and do ſuch work for God, as was never done in the World. We ſhall carry the Goſpel with our Navy up and down to the* Gentiles; *and afterwards we ſhall gather home the* Jews; *out of the Iſles firſt; for thoſe of them ſhall firſt be called, and the Ships of* **Tharſis** *ſhall do it. Beloved what this* **Tharſis** *is, I have made a little ſearch; but I ſhall enquire farther. They it ſeems ſhall be the firſt Active; and I am ſure there is none in ſuch forwardneſs as ours at preſent. The late Parliament, they ſet their hands to the work, then they job'd on again; did a little and then ſtood ſtill again. Now we have got a company of Men together, which are indeed Godly Men; but they are Men of too narrow and low Spirits to do*

Anno 1642. *Gods work. You ſee they have all this while been lifting at Tythes, and cannot pluck them up for their lives: God himſelf muſt be fain to put to his Hand.*

*— We muſt agree together, to ask ſomething new for Jeſus Chriſt; for we have enough for our ſelves already: We have Peace enough; Proſperity enough, and enough of every thing.*

Alſo at **Black-Friers**, *Aug.* 29. — *Divers of our Friends will ſay, come let us ſit ſtill now, and we may have a great deal of quiet, and calm: We ſhall enjoy our pleaſant Orchards, live upon our purchaſed revenues, and ſit under our Vines, and Fig-trees; only let us be content and ſtir no farther. Beloved, do not let us liſten to them; but tell them, if they can go no farther, ſo 'tis: for our parts we have a farther Word of God, which burns within us like fire, and bids us go on ſtill. We did not at firſt believe for King's Lands; nor for a Mannour of Deans and Chapters; but we believ'd that Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be ſet up in his Kingdom.*

Again at **Black-Friers**, *Sept.* 5. — *O Lord, when ſhall we hear the ſound of Chriſt's Horſe-heels?*

And at **Black-Friers**, *Sept.* 11. — *Thou gaveſt a Cup into the hand of* **England**; *and we drank of it. Then thou carried'ſt it to* **Scotland**, *and* **Ireland**, *and they dronk of it. Now thou haſt carried it to* **Holland**, *and they are drinking of it: Lord carry it alſo to* **France**, *to* **Spain**, *and to* **Rome**; *and let it never be out of one or other of their hands, till they drink, and be drunk, and ſpue; and fall, and never riſe any more:*

*— Let us be Active againſt the Kings and Princes of the Earth, thoſe Limbs and Claws of the cruel Beaſt.*

In Order to the trayning up of more ſuch Bouteſeus; ſoon after His Majeſties Garriſon of **Oxford** was delivered up to the Parliaments General, divers of their chief Pulpitmen were ſent * down to that Univerſity, to inſtill the Principles of Presbytery into the Students there; as alſo to initiate them in ſuch long winded Prayers before Sermon, with the like Canting Terms, as are uſually practiſed by their own preciſe Gang. And, after theſe ſeaſonable Preparations, imployed * a number of confiding Perſons (part Clergy, part Lay) as Viſitors of the ſeveral Colleges and Halls there; with Authority to any five of them to expell all thoſe Maſters and Fellows, which either refuſed to take the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and *Negative Oath*,

* Menſe Julii *An.* 1646 Hiſt. & Ant. Univer. *Oxon* p. 367. b.

* Ib. p. 370. 371. &c.

*Oath*, or to ſubmit to that holy *Diſcipline* contained in their new *Directory* for Worſhip: by which means they made a clear riddance of a Multitude of *Orthodox* Men, whoſe Learning and Piety had worthily rendred them of high eſteem both here and in Foreign Parts. *Anno* 1642. Ib. p. 379. *An.* 1648.

The like did they in **Cambridge**, Committing ſome to ſtrict Impriſonment.

Of theſe Famous Preachers, it is not unworthy Obſervation, that divers of them were of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, whom *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax* (the Parliament's General) ſtiled *the Chariots and Horſe-Men of* Iſrael.

With the like Countenance alſo, their Preachers did *Preach* and *Pray*, thus they did Write and Print; Witneſs their Pamphlets juſtifying the *Mortality of the Soul*, and *Doctrine of Divorce*, with many others of the like ſtrain: inſomuch that the very *Scots* themſelves began to cry out, as is manifeſt from thoſe Papers (*m*) exhibited by their Commiſſioners to the two Houſes at **Weſtminſter**:

[m] Publiſhed by Authority *Oct.* 1643. pag. 20.

—*No Man* (ſaid they) *can be ſo deſtitute of Senſe and Reaſon, as to think ſuch an Anarchy and Confuſion, as now prevails over the Churches of this Kingdom, to be the Ordinance of God. No Chriſtian can be ſo void of knowledge and Faith, as to imagine ſuch a monſtrous deformity to be the beauty and glory of the Kingdom of Chriſt on Earth.*

Whereunto I ſhall add the Report of Mr. *Thomas Edwards*; one of their own Miniſters of the Goſpel (as he ſtiles himſelf) in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the two Houſes of Parliament then ſitting at **Weſtminſter**, prefixed before his *book* Intituled *the Gangrena*; containing a Catalogue of many of the Errors, Hereſies, Blaſphemies, and pernicious practiſes of the Sectaries of that time, vented and acted in **England**, within the compaſs of 4 years; *viz.* from 1642. till 1646.

*I am one* (ſaith he) *who, out of choice and judgment have imbarked my ſelf, with Wife, Children, Eſtate, and all that's dear to me, in the ſame Ship with you, to ſink and periſh, or to come ſafe to Land with you; and that in the moſt doubtful and difficult times: not only early, in the firſt beginning of the War and Troubles, in a Malignant place; among Courtiers, and thoſe who were Servants, and had Relation to the King, Queen and their Children; pleading your Cauſe, juſtifying your Wars; ſatisfying many that ſcrupled. But, when your affairs were at loweſt, and the chance of War againſt you; and ſome of the Grandees and Favourites of theſe times, were packing up and ready to be gone; I was then higheſt*

and

Anno 1642. *and moſt zealous for you; Preaching, Praying ſtirring up the People to ſtand for you, by going out in Perſon, lending of Money: in the latter, going before them by Example. And as I have been your Honours moſt devoted Servant, ſo am I ſtill yours, and you cannot eaſily loſe me.*

Having given thus fair a Character of himſelf; let us now hear him tell what a Bleſſed Reformation they had in ſo ſhort a time as four Years produced:

*—Things every day* (ſaith he) *grow worſe and worſe, you can hardly conceive or imagin them ſo bad as they are. No kind of Blaſphemy, Hereſie, Diſorder, and Confuſion, but it is found among us, or coming in upon us. For we, inſtead of Reformation, are grown from one extreme to another; fallen from* Scylla *to* Charibdis; *from Popiſh Innovations, Superſtitions, and prelatical Tyranny, to damnable Hereſies, horrid Blaſphemies, Libertiniſme, and fearful Anarchy. Our evils are not removed and cured, but only changed. One diſeaſe and Devil hath left us, and another as bad is come in the room. Yea, this laſt extremity into which we are fallen, is far more high, violent and dangerous in many reſpects, &c.—Have we not a deformation and worſe things come in upon us, than ever we had before? were any of thoſe Monſters heard of heretofore, which are now Common among us, and denying the Scriptures, &c.—You have broken down the Images of the* Trinity, *Virgin* Mary, *Apoſtles; and we have thoſe, who overthrow the Doctrine of the Trinity; oppoſe the Divinity of Chriſt; ſpeak evil of the Virgin* Mary, *and ſlight the Apoſtles—You have caſt out the Biſhops and their Officers; and we have many that caſt down to the ground all Miniſters, in all the Reformed Churches. You have caſt out Ceremonies in the Sacraments, as the Croſs, kneeling at the Lords Supper: And we have many, who caſt out the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lords Supper. You have put down Saints Days; and we have many, who make nothing at all of the Lords Day, and Faſt-days.*

*You have taken away the ſuperfluous exceſſive maintenance of Biſhops and Deans; and we have many that take away, and cry down the neceſſary maintenance of Miniſters. In the Biſhops Days we had ſinging of Pſalms taken away in ſome places, conceived Prayer, and Preaching; and, in their room, Anthems, ſtinted forms, and Reading brought in. And now we have ſinging of Pſalms ſpoken againſt, and caſt out of ſome Churches. Yea, all publick Prayer queſtioned, and all Miniſterial Preaching denied. In the Biſhops time, Popiſh Innovations were introduced, as bowing at Altars, &c. And now we have Anointing the Sick with Oyl. Then we had Biſhopping of Children, now we have*

Biſhop-

*Biſhopping of Men and Women, by ſtrange laying on of Hands.* Anno 1644.
*— In the Biſhops days we had many unlearned Miniſters; and have we not now a company of* Jerobam's *Prieſts. In the Biſhops days we had the fourth Commandement taken away: but now we have all the Ten Commandements at once by the* Antinomians; *yea all Faith and the Goſpel denyed — The worſt of the Prelates, in the midſt of many Popiſh, Arminian-Tenets, and Popiſh Innovations, held many ſound Doctrines, and had many commendable practiſes: yea the very Papiſts hold and keep to many Articles of faith, and truths of God; have ſome order amongſt them, entourage Learning; have certain fixed principles of truth, with practiſes of Devotion, and good Works: but many of the Sect and Sectaries in our days, deny all Principles of Religion, are enemies to all holy-duties, Order, Learning, overthrowing all: being* vertiginoſi Spiritus, *Whirligigg-Spirits. And the great opinion of an univerſal Toleration, tends to the laying all waſt, and diſſolution of all Religion, and good manners,* &c. *— What ſwarms are there of all ſorts of illiterate mechanick Preachers; yea of Women, and Boy-Preachers? — What liberty of Preaching, Printing of all Errors, or for a Toleration of all; and againſt the* Directory, Covenant, *Monthly-faſt,* Presbyterial Goverment, *and all Ordinances of Parliament in reference to* Religion? *— Theſe Sectaries have been growing upon us, ever ſince the firſt year of our ſitting; and have every year increaſed more and more.*

And in his Book, from pag. 18. to pag. 36. he inſtances no leſs than one hundred ſeventy ſix Heretical and Blaſphemous Tenets, broacht by the Sectaries (the Off-ſpring of the *Preſbyterian*) within the compaſs of the four years, next and immediately inſuing the Convention of that *Long-Parliament.*

But, to draw towards the end of this point, touching their Preſervation and Defence of the *Proteſtant Religion, expreſt in the Doctrine and Diſcipline Eſtabliſht by Law in the Church of* England, ſo much proteſted, declared, and voted for, at the firſt. I ſhall be bold to obſerve, after all theſe Barbarous and Blaſphemous Practiſes: That, having by their Malitious and Cauſleſs Impeachment of that worthy Pillar of our Church, the late Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*, kept him a Priſoner for above four Years; and had nothing againſt him, by the Law of the Land, worthy of Impriſonment, much leſs of Death; theſe Blood-thirſty Harpyes,

*Anno* 1644. Harpyes, by their own uſurped Legiſlative Power, Condemn'd (*n*) him to Death: And the very ſame day (to accompany that Horrid Fact) damn'd the Reverend *Liturgy* of the Church of **England**, Eſtabliſhing a thing called a *Directory* inſtead thereof; and within ſix days following, Executed (*o*) that Bloudy Sentence upon that worthy Prelate; whole Memory and Martyrdom for the *Proteſtant Religion* (as it ſtood here Eſtabliſh't by Law) will be precious with the beſt of Men, to all Succeeding Ages.

[n] 4 Jan. 1644.

[o] 10. Jan.

And having done this, they ſent Commiſſioners, (*Scottiſh and Engliſh*) to treat at *Uxbridge*, with others from his Majeſty, concerning Peace. Where, the very firſt day of their Meeting, (*p*) they countenanced a Bold and Scandalous Perſon, (*q*) to Preach to the People —— *that they had no Enemy but the King*; adding, *that if they had no truth with their Peace, they ſhould have God to be their Enemy: Bidding them not dote upon that Treaty?* ſaying, *that there was as much diſtance between that Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell:* And *How can ye hope for truth, ſince there are ſo many Prophane Lords; ſuch an Un-preaching and un-gifted Clergy; ſo many Erroneous* Papiſts, *perverſe Biſhops; ſo many* Iriſh *Rebels, who are the chief Aſſiſtants at* **Oxford**: *I tell you, theſe Lords come hither with Hearts full of Bloud.*

[p] 30. Jan.

[q] *Mr. Love*, who was not puniſh't by their Commiſſioners, though complain'd of.

Towards which Bleſſed Peace (as they call'd it) amongſt other things, to the abſolute Ruine of Monarchy, they there demanded no leſs than the utter Extirpation of the *Proteſtant Religion*, as it ſtood Eſtabliſh't by Law; with the Patrimony of the Church to boot, as a Prey to themſelves and the *Scotts*, who would ſerve God (if I may fitly call it a Service) in Barnes or Stables, at a cheaper Rate; which makes me call to mind, that Expreſſion of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his Hiſtory (*r*) of the World: Where, making mention of the Care which *Moſes* had of all things that concern'd the Worſhip and Service of God; which Care of his all Ages have in ſome Degrees imitated: Says thus; *it is now ſo forgotten, and caſt away, in this Superfine Age, by thoſe of the Family; by the* Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, *and other Sectaries, as all Coſt and Care beſtowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be Served and Worſhipped, is accounted a kind of* Popery, *and as proceeding from an Idolatrous Diſpoſition, in ſo much as time would ſoon bring to paſs (if it were not reſiſted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes,*

[r] Lib. 2. Cap. 5. § 1.

*and*

*and from thence again into the Fields and Mountains, and under the Hedges; and the Offices of the Miniſtery (Rob'd of all Dignity and Reſpect) be as contemptible as thoſe places: All order, Diſcipline and Church Government left to newneſs of Opinion,* and Mens Fancies: *Yea, and ſoon after, as many kinds of Religion would ſpring up, as there are Pariſh-Churches within* England; *every Contentious and Ignorant Perſon, Cloathing his Fancy with the Spirit of God, and his Imagination with the Gift of Revelation: In ſo much, as when the truth, which is but one, ſhall appear to the ſimple Multitude, no leſs variable than contrary to it ſelf, the Faith of Men will ſoon after dye away by degrees, and all Religion be held in Scorn and Contempt.* An. 1642.

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## CHAP. XLIV.

FOR the *Laws of the Land*, with the *Liberty and Property of the Subject*, becauſe the firſt ought to be a Defence to the latter; let us ſee what theſe great pretended Champions for both, did for their Preſervation: Or rather how manifeſtly they violated them all, by their unjuſt Practiſes. Their Actings againſt the *Laws* of the Land, and Liberty of the Subjects.

Was it not for Execution of his Majeſties Legal Writ; grounded upon the Statute, for Suppreſſing of Tumults, that Juſtice *Long* was Committed (*a*) to the Tower? [a] 11. Dec. 1641.

And were not Commands laid upon the Judges of the King's Bench, that they ſhould not grant any *Habeas Corpus* (the Antient Remedy for the Peoples Security) for ſuch as the Members had Committed to Priſon, by their own Authority? And, did not Mr. *Rigby* (a beloved Member) move twice, *that thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which were Priſoners* (for no cauſe but being Malignants, as they term'd them) *ſhould be ſold as Slaves to* Argiere, *or ſent to the new Plantations in the* Weſt-Indies, becauſe he had Contracted with two Merchants for that purpoſe? Though Mr. *Pym* himſelf had (in a Speech in that Parliament) acknowledged *it againſt the Rules of Juſtice, that any Man ſhould be Impriſon'd, upon a General Charge, when no Particulars were proved againſt him.*

An. 1642. As theſe things were moſt evident, ſo was their Order
[b] 4. July. 1642. (*b*) againſt Publiſhing the King's Proclamation, contrary to Acts of Parliament then in Force. Likewiſe their Barbarous murther of his Majeſties Meſſenger, (*c*) for bringing a Legal Writ to the Sheriffs of **London**, to that purpoſe: As alſo Collonel *Nathaniel Fienes* his cauſing (*d*) the King's *Proclamation*, concerning Marriners, to be burnt in the open Market-place at **Briſtol**, by the Common Hangman (he being then Governour there) and Impriſoning the Earl of *Briſtol* and Juſtice *Malet*, for having an hand in the *Kentiſh-Petition*.

[c] *Daniel Kniveton.*

[d] 4. Mar. 1642.

And, notwithſtanding the Statute in force againſt Loanes and Benevolences, grounded upon the *Petition of Right* (and that on *Magna Charta*) which the *Lord Say*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Hampden*, once held ſo Sacred, that, being asked (upon occaſion) in King *James* his time; *why they would not then Contribute to the King's Neceſſities by way of Loan?* They Anſwered, *that they could be content to lend, as well as others, but, that they feared to draw upon themſelves, that Curſe in* **Magna-Charta**, *which ſhould be read twice every Year againſt the Infringers thereof*: Nevertheleſs, did not theſe men
[e] 12. Oct. 1642. Commit (*e*) Mr. *Fountain* the Lawyer, and divers others which refuſed to lend Money for advancement of their Rebellion? And by a ſpecial Order, (*f*) ſent thoſe Loyal Citizens, Sir *George Whitmore*, Alderman *Gurney*, Mr. *Gardner*, and others, to ſeveral Remote Priſons (*viz.* **Yarmouth**, **Colcheſter**, **Norwich**, &c.) for not ſubmitting to their Lawleſs and Rigorous Tax of the twentieth part, for the ſupport of their Rebellious Forces? And give
[f] 23. Jan. 1642.
[g] 3. Febr. power (*g*) to their Officers, to break open Trunks, to
[h] 8. Febr. ſearch for Money and Plate, and to ſeize (*h*) the ſame for that purpoſe; Mr. *Strode* (one of the five Members) in Juſtification of theſe heavy Oppreſſions, ſaying; *that it was no*
[i] ... Jan. 1643. *more than they had right to do: And, that every Man in* **England** *had truſted his whole Eſtate to be diſpoſed of, as the Members of both Houſes* ſhould think convenient: For *if the Members of both Houſes* (quoth he) *think fitting to ſeize the Eſtate of every Man in* **England**, *all the whole Kingdom is bound to ſubmit to them.*

And was not their Licentious Boldneſs ſuch; that Mr. *Pym* (a ſingle Member) during a receſs of both Houſes, by an Order under his own hand, did diſpence with the

Act

Act of Parliament, 1. *Eliz.* for Uniformity of Common-Prayer! *Anno* 1642.

And when, upon a motion of the House, that certain Gaolers should be tryed by Marshal Law, by reason of some Prisoners escape; and that it was opposed by divers Lawyers as an illegal course, the Gaolers being answerable by the Law, for the same; was it not Replyed; (*k*) *that they were not to be tyed to any Forms of Law; those being to be laid by at such times as this, when* **Necessity** *is the Rule, by which they must guide their Actions?* [k] March. 1642.

What Misery have many Reverend and Orthodox Divines, and others suffered by long Imprisonment; some sent on Ship-board, and kept under the Deck, lying many days upon the hard Boards, for no other Offence than their firm Loyalty to the King, and Constancy in the true *Protestant Religion*, Establish't by Law: His Majesties Servant, (*l*) coming only to them on a Message for Peace, being likewise so long Imprisoned, that he dyed therein with hard Usage. How partially Indulgent have they been to those of their own Rebellious Tribe, is evident from sundry Instances; as that of Mr. *Gryffith* (one of their Members) who was made a Captain of Horse, with Silver Trumpets, and extraordinary Bravery, though he had Ravish't the Lady *Sidley*, and was by her Accused for so doing: Mr. *Lenthall* their Speaker, having also six Thousand Pounds given him, of that Money which had been raised by Act of Parliament for publick Service. [l] Mr. *Alex.* *Hampden.*

Having therefore thus trampled down the Laws, and made seizure of the Kings Forts, Towns, Navy, and Magazine, whereby he was devested of all Power, to protect his good Subjects; no marvel that they deprived him of all other Authority; declaring (*m*) his nomination of Sheriffs Illegal; and authorizing his Deputy Lieutenants and Trained-Bands, to Suppress and Apprehend such Sheriffs, Levying Money for Horse and Plate; as also the twentieth part, and a vast Weekly Tax by Distresses and Imprisonment; to say nothing of Sequestrations and Plunders. Add hereunto the Hanging of those Loyal Persons, (*n*) Mr. *Yeomans*, and Mr. *Bourchier*, at **Bristol**; Likewise (*o*) Mr. *Tompkins*, and Mr. *Chaloner*, at **London**. [m] 29. Nov. 1642. [n] 30. May. 1643. [o] 5. July. 1643.

*Anno* 1643.

[p] 10 July. 1643. And that the Oppreſſed People might take no benefit of the Law, an *Order* and *Declaration* (*p*) was ſet forth by Authority of both Houſes, that the Judges of Aſſize ſhould forbear to go their Circuits, as they would anſwer their Contempt to the Parliament. Moreover to let

[q] 15. Sept. 1643. the Reins of all Government looſe, they diſcharged (*q*) all Apprentices from their Maſters Service, as would ſerve in their Rebellious Armies; Compelling divers againſt their Parents good will.

Nor is it leſs obſervable; that though by their own Fundamentals; they had declared; *that the Subject was not to be forced unto the Wars, againſt his will, except it were by the conſent of the King and the Eſtates in Parliament*; there being an Act in that Parliament paſſed alſo to that purpoſe: Nevertheleſs, they frequently preſſed great numbers of Men, to ſerve them in their Rebellious Armies: And by

[r] ... March. 1644. a ſpecial *Ordinance*, (*r*) gave Power to any three of the Militia of **London**, to raiſe and ſend out Men, as alſo to Fine, Impriſon, and Execute Martial-Law.

[s] 24. Mart. 1641. Exact Coll. p. 121. By the like Authority it was, that they raiſed (*s*) vaſt Sums upon Merchandize, under the name of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, contrary to an expreſs Act made alſo that very Parliament. So likewiſe a new Impoſition, called *Exciſe*, upon Victuals and all other Commodities, againſt

[t] Exact Coll. p. 638. which they themſelves had much declaimed. (*t*) And to countenance theſe grand Oppreſſions, voted, (*u*) *that an*

[u] 3. May. 1643. *Ordinance of Parliament was as binding to the Subject as an*

[x] 6. May. *Act of Parliament*: Thereupon ordaining; (*x*) *that ſuch Perſons, as ought to pay any Rents, Debts, &c. due to thoſe, who are aſſeſſed, and refuſed ſo to do, ſhould be Diſcharged againſt the Landlord or Creditor.*

And at length became ſo bold, as that their new Lord Mayor (*Iſaac Pennington*)) chalenging a Sturgeon, which was taken above **London**-Bridge; and it being anſwered, that it belonged to the King, or Lord Admiral; Re-

[y] .. June. 1643. plyed (*y*) *you Malignant Rogue, I would have you to know, that there is neither King nor Admiral, that hath any Power in* **London** *but my ſelf.*

[z] 21. Oct. 1643. Add thereunto their *Ordinance* (*z*) for keeping *Michaelmas* Terme at **Weſtminſter**, notwithſtanding his Ma-

[a] Nov. 3. jeſties *Proclamation*. And another, Conſtituting (*a*) the Earl of *Warwick* Governour; and Lord Admiral of all the I-

ſlands

lands in **America**, Inhabited or Planted by the King's Subjects. Another, (*b*) declaring the King's Broad-Seal Invalid, and Commanding Obedience to all Writs, &c. to be iſſued under a new great Seal, made by themſelves: And Sequeſtring (*c*) all Offices of thoſe Clerks in **Weſtminſter**-Hall, which were with the King: The authority given to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, by another Ordinance, (*d*) to deprive and diſplace all Maſters and Fellows of Colledges and Halls in **Cambridge**; and all other Clergy-Men within the Aſſociation, as he ſhould think convenient: The Ordinances (*e*) for ſeizing the Kings, Queens, and Princes Revenew; for cutting (*f*) down their Woods: For *Commanding* (*g*) *all Men to pay nothing to his Majeſty, the Queen, and Prince, which was due and ought to have been paid to them* (for thoſe are the words) alſo the Commitment of *Laughern* and *Vivian* to **Colcheſter**-Goal, for denying to pay two Thouſand Pounds, which was due to the Prince from them, though the Receiver was Plundred of the Money.

*Anno* 1643.
[b] 11. Nov.
[c] 25. Dec.
[d] ... 20. Jan.
[e] 21. Sept. 1643.
[f] 2. Oct. 1643.
[g] 28. Dec. 1643.

And, when it was told Mr. *Strode*, Chair-Man to the Committee for raiſing Money, that no more Money could be advanced (their Purſes having been ſo drain'd already) he Replyed, (*h*) *that they muſt have no denial; for their Money was demanded by the Supream Court of Judicature*; adding, *that thoſe were times of neceſſity*. Another of the Members, ſticking not to ſay (ſhortly after) *that if it would advantage their Cauſe, he thought it lawful to unvote, whatſoever had paſſed ſince the beginning of that Parliament*.

[h] Feb. 1643.
[i] ... Apr. 1644.

Beſides which grievous Impoſitions upon the Subjects Eſtates, they ſtuck not at the like to their **Perſons**; upon pain of Death, reſtraining (*k*) all Perſons, for going from **London** to the King or Queen. And for a farther Teſtimony of their dealing with the People, in point of their Proprietie, take their Governour of *Abington's* Anſwer (*l*) (*viz.* Coll. *Browne*) to no leſs than Seven-ſcore poor People which came thither to him, at one time, wringing their hands, and begging for ſome ſmall Pittance, of what he had cauſed to be taken from them, in the Villages thereabours (which was no leſs than all their Goods, even to part of their wearing Apparel) which was thus (with Tears in his Eyes) — *Alas good People, it*

[k] 16. Aug.
[l] ... Oct. 1644.

*is*

Anno 1642. *is not in my Power to help you: For if this were done by meer Rudeneſs of my Souldiers, I could ſay ſomething; but you have not loſt a Pin, but according to the Command of both Houſes of Parliament, who injoin'd us to ſpare nothing: Therefore* (ſaid he, whiſpering to one or two of them) *if you have any thing left, 'tis your beſt courſe to Convey it away quickly; for the Parliament hath Commanded me to take all I can carry, and burn up the reſt, before the King comes.*

Theſe and the like, as by many Inſtances might be made apparent, have been their Practiſes, in violating the *Laws of the Land*, with the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the Subject, however Fair and Specious, their Promiſes were otherwiſe, until they had got Power into their hands, being at length not aſhamed to diſcover their full Intentions, by thoſe *Propoſitions*, which they tendred to His Majeſty at **Oxford**, upon the 23d. of *November*, 1644. And whereupon a *Treaty* was had at **Uxbridge**. Where it was judiciouſly obſerv'd (*m*) by his Majeſties Commiſſioners; *That, after a War of near three Years, for which the Defence of the* Proteſtant Religion, the Liberty, and Property of the Subject, and the Priviledges of Parliament, *were made the cauſe and Grounds; in a Treaty of full twenty days; nor indeed in the whole Propoſitions, upon which the Treaty ſhould be; there was nothing offered to be treated on, concerning the Breach of any Law; or of the Liberty, or Property of the Subject, or Priviledge of Parliament: but only Propoſitions for the altering a Government Eſtabliſhed by Law; and for the making of new Laws; by which all the old were or might be Cancelled; there being nothing inſiſted upon, on the part of his Majeſties Commiſſioners, which was not Law; or denied by them, that the other demanded as due by Law.*

(m) A full Relation of the Paſſages concerning the Treaty. p. 153.

Their Violating the Priviledges of Parliament.

The next and laſt particular, for which they made ſuch great Pretences, is the *Priviledge of Parliaments*. Having therefore under that colour juſtified moſt of their pernicious Actions; let us take notice how conſonant to Juſtice, Reaſon, or common Honeſty, their Practices upon this point have been.

Did they not, ſoon after the beginning of that Unhappy Parliament (without any preſident) found (*n*) a *Cloſe-Committee*, conſiſting of eight perſons, whereof no leſs than ſeven were principal Contrivers of the enſuing Rebellion? And in the buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford*, was

(n) 11. Nov. 1640. Anno. 1641.

not

not their Bill for his attainder, twice (*o*) read and voted in one day? and fifty-five of the Members Posted, (*p*) for not assenting thereto, whose Names (to their lasting Honour) I have here added. *Anno* 1642. [o] 19. Apr. [p] 21. Apr.

1. *George Lord Digby.*
2. *James Lord Compton.*
3. *Richard Lord Buckhurst.*
4. *Sr. Robert Hatton.*
5. *Sr. Thomas Fanshaw.*
6. *Sr. Edward Alford.*
7. *Sr. Nicholas Slanyng.*
8. *Sr. Thomas Danby.*
9. *Sr. George Wentworth.*
10. *Sr. Peter Wentworth.*
11. *Sr. Frederick Cornwallis.*
12. *Sr. William Carnaby.*
13. *Sr. Richard Wynn.*
14. *Sr. Gervace Clifton.*
15. *Sr. William Widdrington.*
16. *Sr. William Pennyman.*
17. *Sr. Patricius Curwen.*
18. *Sr. Richard Lee.*
19. *Sr. Henry Slingesby.*
20. *Sr. William Portman.*
21. *Mr. Gervase Hollies.*
22. *Mr. Sidney Godolphin.*
23. *Mr. Cooke.*
24. *Mr. Coventrey.*
25. *Mr. Benjamin Weston.*
26. *Mr. William Weston.*
27. *Mr. Selden.*
28. *Mr. Alford.*
29. *Mr. Lhoyd.*
30. *Mr. Herbert.*
31. *Captain Digby.*
32. *Serjeant Hyde.*
33. *Mr. Tailor.*
34. *Mr. Gryffith.*
35. *Mr. Scowen.*
36. *Mr. Bridgman.*
37. *Mr. Fettiplace.*
38. *Dr. Turner.*
39. *Capt. Charles Price.*
40. *Dr. Parry, a Civilian.*
41. *Mr. Arundell.*
42. *Mr. Newport.*
43. *Mr. Holburne.*
44. *Mr. Noell.*
45. *Mr. Kirton.*
46. *Mr. Pollard.*
47. *Mr. Price.*
48. *Mr. Trevanion.*
49. *Mr. Jane.*
50. *Mr. Edgcombe.*
51. *Mr. Chichley.*
52. *Mr. Mallorey.*
53. *Mr. Porter.*
54. *Mr. White* (Secretary to the Earl of *Dorset*)
55. *Mr. Philip Warwick.*

Likewise, after the Lords had passed their Votes therein; was not their House called, (*q*) to find out which of them had not given their Votes thereunto? And was not *Mr. Gervase Hollies* (Burgess for Grymesby in *Lincoln-shire*) expelled (*r*) the House, for his free Speech against the Scots propositions, for the altering of our Church-Government? [q] 29. Apr. [r] 25. Apr.

Also

*Anno* 1642.

Alſo the Lord *Digby's* Speech againſt the Bill, for the Earl of *Strafford's* Attainder, Voted (*s*) to be burnt by the common Hangman; Mr. *Taylor* (Burgeſs of *Windſore*) Expell'd (*t*) for ſpeaking his mind againſt the ſame; and Mr. *Geffrey Palmer* (Burgeſs of **Stamford**) Committed, (*u*) for ſpeaking againſt the Printing of that Scandalous *Declaration*, called *the Grand-Remonſtrance*.

[s] 7. May.

[t] 26. May.

[u] 34. Nov.

Were not Multitudes brought down to **Weſtminſter**, even to the Doors of the Parliament, (many of them Weaponed) by the Inſtigation of Captain *Venn* (then a Member of the Houſe of Commons) who, by Notes under his hand Sollicited them, in theſe expreſſions; *That the better ſort, were like to be over-powred by the worſer?* And did not thoſe tumultuous People cry loud (*x*) for *Juſtice*, againſt the *Earl of Strafford*; ſaying, (*y*) *down with the Biſhops*; aſperſing, (*z*) alſo, divers of the Peers, by name, for evil and Rotten-hearted Lords?

[x] 3. May.

[y] 29. Nov.

[z] 15. 27, 28, 29, Dec.

And, notwithſtanding that the Lords by ſeveral Meſſages deſired the Houſe of Commons, to join with them in a *Declaration* againſt thoſe Tumults; did not they refuſe or neglect to do it; Mr. *Pym* plainly ſaying (*a*) in the Houſe; *God forbid we ſhould diſhearten our Friends, who came to aſſiſt us?*

[a] 10. Dec.

And when his Majeſty by a Legal Writ, upon the Statute, for Suppreſſing of Tumults, ſetled a Guard at **Weſtminſter**; was it not Voted a *Breach of their Priviledges!*

Moreover, was not there a Petition (*b*) Exhibited to the Houſe of Commons, in the Name of many Thouſands of poor People, in and about the City of **London**, *taking notice of a Malignant Faction, which made Abortive all their good Motions: Deſiring that thoſe Noble Worthies of the Houſe of Peers, who concurred with them, in their happy Votes, might be earneſtly deſired to join with that Honourable Houſe, and to ſit and Vote together, as one entire Body?* And profeſſing, *that unleſs ſome ſpeedy Remedy were taken, for the removing of all ſuch Obſtacles, as hindred the happy Progreſs of their great endeavour, the Petitioners ſhould not reſt in quietneſs; but ſhould be forc'd to lay hold on the next Remedy, at hand, to remove the Diſturbers of their Peace. And (Want and Neceſſity, breaking the Bounds of Modeſty) not to leave any means uneſſayed for their Relief:* Adding; *that the cry of the Poor*

[b] 31. Jan.

*and*

*and Needy, was, that ſuch perſons who were the Obſtacles of their peace, and the hinderers of the happy proceedings of that Parliament, might be forthwith publickly declared, whoſe removal would put a period to thoſe Diſtractions.* Anno 1644.

Which Petition, being brought up by the Houſe of Commons, unto the Lords at a conference; a Member of the Commons, (by a Meſſage) preſſed the Lords at their Barr, to joyn with them in their deſire about the *Militia*, expreſſing; *That if their deſire were not aſſented to; thoſe Lords, who were willing to concur, would find ſome means to make themſelves known; that it might be ſeen who were againſt them, to the end they might notifie it unto thoſe which ſent them.*

To proceed: Was not the Duke of *Richmond*, Voted (*c*) by the Commons, *an evil Councellor to his Majeſty, one of the Malignant-Party, and not fit to bear Office or place of Truſt; and that conſideration ſhould be had of drawing up a Charge againſt him*; and all this for no other, than moving in the Houſe of Lords, that the Parliament might be Adjorn'd for ſix Months. And Mr. *Gamull* (Burgeſs for the City of **Cheſter**) told him, *that if he left not the Town ſpeedily, he ſhould be Committed to the Tower, or knockt on the head by the Souldiers?* And when an Order was reported, to be confirm'd by the Houſe, hath it not been, only, put to the *Queſtion*, without any debate thereon; and publickly ſaid, in the Houſe, to thoſe who have taken Exceptions thereat; *that they were only to Vote, and not to Diſpute?* [c] 27. Jan.

Was not Sir *Ralph Hopton* Committed (*d*) to the Tower, for ſpeaking againſt that *Declaration* of *March* the Second. [d] 4. Martij.

Alſo Serjeant *Hide* Voted (*e*) to be Expelled, and Committed to the Tower, for not Publiſhing the Order of the Houſe, as Recorder of **Salisbury**: And Sir *Sidney Montague* Expelled (*f*) the Houſe, for *refuſing to take the Proteſtation to Live and Dye with the Earl of* Eſſex. [e] 4. Aug. 1642. [f] 3. Dec. 1642.

Did they not Impeach, and Commit divers Lords to the Tower, for not Concurring with them in theſe their Irrational and moſt Unjuſt Doings? And, when it was moved that they might be Bailed; was it not anſwered; (*g*) *That there would be no Sitting for them if thoſe Lords were Releaſed, and Reſtored to the freedom of their Votes again.* [g] .. Aug. 1643.

And when the Members of the Houſe of Commons, had upon a ſolemn Debate, (*h*) agreed to join with the Lords, in ſending *Propoſitions for Peace* to his Majeſty; [h] 5. Aug. 1643.

*Anno* 1644. were there not Printed Papers, the next day, ſcattered in the Streets, and fixed upon Poſts in publick places, in the City and Suburbs; *requiring all Well-Affected perſons to riſe as one Man, and to come to the Houſe of Commons next Morning, for that Twenty thouſand* Iriſh-*Rebels were Landed?* And was not Direction and Information given in the Pulpits, by their Seditious-Preachers; and in ſome of thoſe Papers, Expreſt; *that the Malignant Party had over-Voted the good; and if not prevented there would be Peace?* The *Propoſitions* (*i*) for Peace, (the Day before) being carried by twenty nine Voices. Whereupon multitudes, by the Inſtigation of Alderman *Pemington*, came, in a moſt tumultuous manner, with Threats and Menaces to divers of the Members of both Houſes; and ſaid, *that their Petition tooke notice of Propoſitions, paſſed by the Lords for Peace; which, if allowed, would be deſtructive to Religion, Laws, and Liberties*: many of them telling the Members, *that if they had not a good Anſwer, they would be there the next Day with double the Number.*

[i] 7. Aug.

[k] 2. Martij. Again, when it was moved, (*k*) that the two Sir *John Evelins* ſhould be Diſcharg'd from Priſon (being Members of the Houſe) and thereupon the Houſe dividing LXXI. ſtanding for their Enlargement, and LXV. againſt it; were not divers called out of the Committee-Chamber, who neither heard the Debate nor Vote; and becauſe the LXXI. Oppoſed their entrance; did not the LXV. prohibit the Speaker to pronounce any Order therein. Laſtly, did not the Commons Vote (*l*) *that the Committee of both Kingdoms ſhould proceed as they did, for three Months longer; though the Lords refuſed to conſent thereto?*

[l] 1. May 1644.

Many more Inſtances of this nature might be given, but I ſhall for brevities ſake paſs them by, and deſcend to ſome; where the Lords, after they had freely paſſed their Votes, were, by the prevalent Party in the Houſe of Commons (contrary to all courſe and uſage in Parliament) conſtrain'd to yield unto what they had, upon free and ſerious Debate, reſolv'd againſt.

[m] 7. Junij. 1641. In the Caſe of the *Biſhops*, the Lords firſt Voted, (*m*) *that they ſhould retain their Voices in Parliament.*

[n] 30. July. 1641. For taking the *Proteſtation* throughout the Kingdom, the Lords firſt caſt (*n*) out the Order. And notwithſtanding their *Order* and *Declaration*, (*o*) for the due Obſervance

[o] 9. Sept. 1641.

of

of the Book of *Common-Prayer*; the Commons made and ſet forth a contrary Order (*p*) thereto; appointing it to be diſperſed and publiſhed in all the Churches throughout the Kingdom. Likewiſe, though the Lords refuſed (*q*) to joyn with the Commons for Petitioning his Majeſty that the *Cinque-Ports* might be ſecured: Yet (*r*) were they afterwards by terror conſtrain'd thereto. So Likewiſe, though they refuſed to join with them in their conſent for removing the King's Magazine from *Hull*; yet, afterwards, through over-awing, did it. And though they concurr'd not with them in that caſe of the *Militia*; the Houſe of Commons Voted (*s*) that they did agree therein.

*Anno* 1642.

(*p*) 28. Sept. 1641.

(*q*) 25. Jan. 1641.

(*r*) 2. Apr. 1642.

(*s*) 15. Martij. 1641. Exact Coll. p. 112.

Thus we plainly ſee, that the Breach of thoſe antient Priviledges, for *Freedom of Debate*, and Vote in Parliament, was not made without ſome difficulty: But theſe ſubtile Men, having by the help of thoſe Tumults from the *Londoners*, opened the gap, went afterwards ſmoothly through, with all their unjuſtifiable Practiſes, which in the end brought Confuſion, both of Parliament and Kingdome. So that, by theſe Devices, having effected whatſoever they had a mind to; they ſtuck not to deliver (*t*) it, *for a Breach of Priviledge, that the Lords ſhould diſſent to any thing they had Voted*; as is manifeſt, from that of the *New great Seal*; wherein the Lords had the ſame meaſure put upon themſelves, as they had offered to the King, in joyning with the Commons, to Vote his Majeſties Diſſent to the Bills they tendred to him, a Breach of their Priviledges.

(*t*) .. July. 1643.

Anno 1642.

## CHAP. XLV.

Their Averſneſs to Peace.

BY what hath been already ſaid, I doubt not, but it is apparent enough, that theſe great pretended Champions for the *Proteſtant-Religion, the Laws of the Land; the Liberty of the Subject, and Priviledges of Parliament*, made uſe of thoſe ſpecious pretences, for no other end, than, to Captivate the People, and by that means get the Power of the Sword into their Mercyleſs Hands.

Now foraſmuch as they were not aſham'd in the midſt
[u] Exact. coll. p. 587. of all their Vile Practiſes, to cry (*u*) out, that they ſought nothing, but that *Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdom* ſhould be preſerved: Having already ſhewed, how well they regarded *Religion*, and *the Peoples Liberties*; let us ſee how much they endeavoured that generally wiſhed for *Peace*.

[x] 1. Nov. 1642. Did they not order, (*x*) that the King's *Proclamation* of Pardon, to all that would lay down Arms, and return to their Obedience, ſhould not be Proclaim'd in **London** and **Weſtminſter**? And, when divers Cittizens met at **Guild-hall**, to frame a Petition to preſent to the Members at **Weſtminſter**, for *Peace*; was not there a Troop
[y] 8. Dec. of Horſe ſent (*y*) amongſt them; which, with their Swords drawn, and terrible Menaces, cauſed them to Diſperſe, for ſafeguard of their Lives; And afterwards, when a Committee of the Petitioners, were, by appoint-
[z] 12. Dec. ment, attending (*z*) the Court of Aldermen and Common Council at **Guild-hall**; did not more than Twenty Souldiers ruſh in amongſt them with drawn Swords; Crying, *On, on, ſtrike now or never: Let us deſtroy theſe Malignant Doggs, that would have Peace: Let us cut the Throats of theſe* Popiſh *Rogues*: And, accordingly fell upon the Petitioners in a cruel manner, beating and wounding divers of them. And, when the Petitioners (being many) diſarm'd thoſe Souldiers, and ſhut up the Hall Doors, was not there then a Troop of Horſe which Diſcharg'd their Piſtols in, at them; threatning to kill any that iſſued out?

And

And, did they not preſently bring two great Guns and plant them againſt the Doors; ſo that the Petitioners were conſtrain'd to fly up to the Common-Council Chamber for Protection, and beg for their Lives, to be diſmiſſed with ſafety. Which being granted, and they let out; did not many lye in wait for them, with drawn Swords; who purſued them with bitter Execrations; the Multitude kicking and ſtriking at them, in their Paſſage; crying, *Hang them, cut their Throats.* Whereupon divers of them were ſore hurt, and ſome drag'd to Priſon. *Anno* 1642.

Did not their Houſe of Lords refuſe (*a*) a Petition for Peace, from the Inhabitants of **Weſtminſter** and the Suburbs? And was not there a Conſtable (*b*) in **Weſtminſter** Committed for having a hand in that Petition? [a] 17. Dec. [b] Mr. *Carr* a Barbour.

And when His Majeſties Commiſſioners of *Array*, in *Cheſhire*, and the Parliaments Committee, in that County, for Exerciſing the *Militia*; out of an earneſt regard, to prevent the Miſeries of War in thoſe parts, had made an Agreement againſt any farther Hoſtility, and to preſerve the Peace of the Country; did not they at **Weſtminſter** *make a publick Declaration* (*c*) *againſt the ſame, whereby they Renounced that Agreement, as prejudicial and dangerous to the whole Kingdom, and declared it void?* And was not Sir *William Brereton* thereupon ſent down, in all haſt, with a Troop of Horſe, a Regiment of Dragoons, and four Field Pieces, for raiſing new Forces in that County, to ſerve the Parliament? [c] 7. Jan.

And was not the like Revocation and Diſclaymer (*d*) made by thoſe Members at **Weſtminſter**, againſt the Agreement in *York-ſhire*, by the Earl of *Cumberland* and others the Commiſſioners of Array there, for His Majeſty; and the Lord *Fairfax* and others for the *Militia*? [d] 4. Oct.

Was not Mr. *Nicholls* and *Prideaux* (two of their Members) ordered (*e*) to go down, to break the like Pacification, made by the Gentry and others, in the Counties of *Devon* and **Cornwall**; notwithſtanding that the Commiſſioners had taken a Solemn Proteſtation, and received the Sacrament for Obſervation thereof? [e] 11. March.

And,

*Anno* 1642.

And, when His Majeſty had ſent (*f*) a Gracious *Letter* and *Declaration* to the Sheriffs and City of **London**, with Direction that it ſhould be read in their Common Hall; was not there an Order, (*g*) in the Name of both Houſes, to forbid their meeting, for to hear it Read? And divers Diſcharg'd by Order (*h*) of the Houſes, who met accordingly?

[f] 17. Jan. Exact coll. p. 893.

[g] 26. Jan.

[h] 27. Jan.

Likewiſe, when His Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to them *for a Treaty, with free Trade*; did not the Members in the Houſe of Commons ſignify to the Lords, at a Conference, (*i*) *that it would prove deſtructive to the Liberty of the Subject and to the Kingdom?* And when the Women came (*k*) in great Numbers to **Weſtminſter**, to cry for Peace; were they not beaten and abuſed, and three of them killed?

[i] 13. Martij.

[k] 8. Aug. 1643.

Were not there certain *Propoſitions* read in their Houſe of Commons, which were found in Mr. *Saltmarſh* his Trunk near **Hull**; Firſt, *that all means ſhould be uſed to keep the King, and his People from a ſuddain Union.* Secondly *to cheriſh the War, under the notion of Popery, as the ſureſt means to engage the People.* Thirdly, *if the King would not grant their demands, then to root him out of the Royal Line, and collate the Crown upon ſome body elſe?*

How hard a matter it was like to be, to obtain Peace from theſe Men, therefore, let *Stephen Marſhall* tell you (whom Mr. *Caſe* ſtiled a great Teacher in *Iſrael*:) who, being in private conference (*l*) with *Obediah Sedgwick*, and one *Alliſton*, and askt by *Alliſton* whether it were poſſible to end the War by a Treaty?

[l] .. March. 1643.

*No*, (ſaid he) *we will never Treat, unleſs we may have all granted, which we formerly demanded. Nay, if the King ſhould grant that now, we ſhould not agree. For, if the King had put down Biſhops and Cathedrals at firſt, we would have given him all their Lands: But ſhould he do it now, we would not give him any of their Revenues. For we muſt have both Church-Lands and Delinquents Eſtates alſo; and all little enough to pay the Parliaments Debts, and Recompence thoſe, who have Suffered for us, and reward ſuch as have laboured in our Cauſe.*

Merc. Aulic. p. 869.

Whoſoever, therefore, obſerves their Demands, by thoſe *Propoſitions*, preſented (*m*) to His Majeſty at **Oxford**, and the Paſſages of the *Treaty* at **Uxbridge** thereupon;

[m] 27. Nov. 1644.

thereupon; will find, that their Commiſſioners did not much ſwerve from Mr. *Marſhals* Principles. And now I mention this *Treaty for Peace* at **Uxbridge**; I cannot but take notice of a Memorable Accident; Firſt, That, whereas the *Buckinghamſhire*-men, were the firſt of all the Counties in this Kingdom, that came in a Tumultuous manner to **Weſtminſter**, 11 *Jan.* 1641. with a Petition, on the behalf of the Lord *Kimbolton* and the five Members, (which gave Countenance to the many Exorbitant Practiſes, that after enſued) and had *Thanks* returned them by the two Houſes. So were they the firſt County, that Attempted to *Petition for Peace*: But coming (*n*) towards **Uxbridge**, in great Numbers, for that purpoſe; were by Authority of the Commiſſioners there, from thoſe at **Weſtminſter**, met by a Regiment of Horſe, and Forced to return home with their Petition. Sir *John Lawrence*, one of the Principal of them, with others, being ſent up to **Weſtminſter**, and Commitſted to Priſon, for going about to Exhibite ſuch a *Malignant Petition*, as they call'd it.

(*n*) 13. Febr. 1644.

CHAP.

*Anno* 1642.

# CHAP. XLVI.

The Practiſes of the Rebellious Barons. *temp.* H. 3.

HAVING now done with theſe Obſervations; let us ſee what Reſemblance that great *Rebellion of the Barons*, above four hundred Years ſince, had with this. Touching which I ſhall chiefly make uſe of what that Learned Antiquary, Sir *Robert Cotton* Kt. and Barronet (who died many Years ſince) hath written thereof, in that brief diſcourſe of his, Intituled, *A ſhort view of the long Reign of* K. Henry *the third.*

[a] Impr. *Lond.* 1642. 8°.

[b] Ib. p. 3. ——*No* (*b*) *other diſquiet did the State then feel, but ſuch as is Incident in all,* Malice to Authority. —*The* Commons *greedy of Liberty, the Nobility of Rule*: —*The* (*d*) *greateſt in truſt for publick Affairs being ſtill ſhot at, by the aſpiring of thoſe, that doom themſelves leſs in Imployment, than they are in Merit.* ——*That the Surfeit of a long Peace, perchance having let in ſome abuſes, from whence the Commons* (*to whom days preſent, ſeem ever worſt*) *commend the foregon Ages they never remembred, and condemn the preſent, though they know neither the Diſeaſe thereof, nor the Remedy.*

[c] Ib. p. 2.

[d] Ib. p. 4.

[e] Ib. p. 5. ——*To* (*e*) *theſe Idle and uſual Humours, fell in ſome of the Young and Noble Spirits; who* (*being as truely ignorant as the reſt*) *firſt, by ſullying the Wiſdome of the preſent, and greateſt Rulers* (*making each caſual miſhap their Errors*) *ſeem to decipher each Blemiſh in Government; and then, by holding certain imaginary and phantaſtick Forms of Common Wealths, flatter their own Belief and Ability, that they can mould any State to theſe general Rules, which, in particular Applications, would prove Idle and Groſs Abſurdities.* —— *Amongſt* (*f*) *this Unequal Medley, there were of the Nobility,* Richard *Earl of* Pembroke, Glouceſter, *and* Hartford, *Darlings of the Multitude: Some for the merit of their Fathers, whoſe Memories they held Sacred, as Pillars of publick Liberty, and Oppoſers of encroaching Monarchy.* —— *Theſe* (*g*) *by force would effect, what the other did effect by Cunning.*

[f] p. 6.

[g] Ib. p. 7.

[h] Ib. p. 11. ——*The* (*h*) *Lords ſtill fruſtrate of their Malicious ends, began to ſow on theſe late grounds of the Peoples Diſcontents,* quærelas & ambiguos de principe ſermones, & quoque alia

alia turbamenta Vulgi, *and* (*i*) *took it up a faſhion to endeare and glorify themſelves, with the ſenſleſs Multitude, by depraving the King's Diſcretion and Government.* Anno 1642.

(i) Ib p. 12.

*Neither* (*k*) *was the Church without a buſy part in this Tragick Work:* For Walter *Biſhop of* Worceſter, *and* Robert (*l*) *of* Lincoln, *to whom* Mountfort *and his Faction* præcordialiter adhærebant, *were far engaged. In ſuch Deſigns Churchmen are never wanting, and the diſtaſt of the preſent Government* (*as well in the Church as Common-Wealth*) *will ever be a knot of Strength for ſuch Unquiet Spirits; who as well frame to themſelues ſome other form of Government than the preſent in the Church, as in the Temporal State; as that which with the giddy Multitude winneth beſt Opinion, and did at this time ſute the Peoples Humours, ſo much diſtaſting the new Courts of the Clergy, their Pomp,* &c.

(k) Ib p. 18.

(l) *Ipſius conſilio tractabat arduæ tentabat dubia, finivit inchoata.* M. Pariſ p. 998.

*A* (*m*) *fair Pretext was it to thoſe Factious Biſhops, to uſe their bitter Pens and Speeches, ſo far againſt Religious-Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church; that one of them incurred the Sentence of Excommunication at* Rome, *and Treaſon at home: For he injoined* (*n*) *the Earl of* Leiceſter, in remiſſione peccatorum, ut cauſam illam (*meaning his Rebellion*) uſque ad mortem aſſumeret: Aſſerens pacem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, nunquam ſine gladio materiali poſſe firmari. *It was not the beſt Doctrine that this Man could plant by* Liberty *or* War, *when the firſt Church roſe by* Faſting *and* Prayer. *True Piety binds the Subject to deſire a good Soveraign; but to bear with a bad one; and to take up the burthen of Princes with a bended Knee; rather in time ſo to deſerve Abatement, than reſiſt Authority,*

(m) Ib. p. 19.

(n) M. pariſ. p. 998.

*To* (*o*) *Suppreſs theſe Troubles and ſupply the King's Extremity, a Parliament* (*p*) *was called much to the liking of thoſe Lords, who as little meant to Relieve the King, as they did to quiet the State; their end, at that time, being only to open at home, the Poverty of their Maſter; to leſſen his Reputation abroad, and to breath out their own Paſſions freely, whilſt thoſe times of Liberty permit. Here they began to tell him, he had wronged the Publick State, in taking* (*q*) *to his Private Election, the Juſtice, Chancelour and Treaſurer, that ſhould be only by the Common-Council of the Realm.*

(o) Ib. p. 20.

(p) Parliam. Lond. *Ann.* 1255. M. Pariſ. p. 904.

(q) M. Pariſ. *Ann.* 1255. p. 904.

—*They* (*r*) *blame him,* &c. *to have hurt the Common-Liberty by* Non-Obſtantes, *in his Patents; to make good* Monopolies *for private Favourites,* &c. *And that* Sir Robert

(r) Ib. p. 21.

Anno 1642. Paſſelew had torn from the Borderers of his Foreſt, under pretence of Incroachments or Aſſarts, great Sums of Money: And

[s] Gualt. Coventr. therefore they (ſ) wonder, that he ſhould now demand relief from his ſo pill'd and poled Commons.

[t] Ib. p. 23. —— Upon (t) new grant of the great Charter, admittance to his Council of ſome Perſons Elected by the Commons, &c. They ſpare him ſuch apittance, as muſt tye him to their Devotion

Reg: Reſſ: Joh. de Wallingf. for a new ſupply. Thus Parliaments which before were ever a Medicine to heal up any Rupture in Princes Fortunes, are now grown worſe than the Malady; ſaith from thence more Malignant Humours began to Reign in them, than well Compoſed Tempers.

[u] Ib. p. 25. Claus. 46. & 47. H. 3. Anno. 1251. —— Before (u) the King would again ſubmit himſelf, as he had the laſt Parliament, to ſo many ſtrict Enquiries of his Diſloyal Subjects, he meaneth to paſs through all the ſhifts, that extremity and need, with greatneſs of mind could lay upon him, &c. Beginning with the Sale of Lands, and then of Jewels. —— And, in the end, having not means to defray the Diet of his Court, was enforced to break up Houſe, and with his Queen and Children, cum (x) Abbatibus & Prioribus ſatis humiliter Hoſpicia queſivit & prandia.

[x] M. Pariſ. p. 807.

[y] Ib, p. 26. This (y) low Ebb gave great aſſurance to the Rebellious Lords, that they ſhould now at laſt, have the Soveraign Power left a Prey to their Ambitious Deſignes: And to bring it faſter on, they deſire nothing more, than to ſee the King's Extremity conſtrain a Parliament: For at ſuch times Princes are ever leſs than they ſhould be; Subjects more. To haſten on the time, and adapt the means, there are ſown certain Seditious Orators, that the King's Neceſſity muſt repair it ſelf upon the Fortunes and Bleſſings of his People; that having nothing of his own left, he

[z] Ib. p. 27. might, and meant to take of others: But (z) ſeeing ſtill that Majeſty and Right ſubſiſt not without means and power; and himſelf had of neither ſo much as would ſtop the preſent Breach in his own wants; or his Subjects Loyalties, he flyeth to the

[a] An. 1258. M. Pariſ. p. 970. Boſom of his People for Relief and Council.

Infanum Parliamentum. Cokes Inſtit. part. 3. p. 2. At Oxford (a) they met in Parliament; where his Neceſſities found ſo many undutiful demands, that he was forced to render up, to their Rebellious Will, his Royal Power.

[b] Ib. p. 28. [c] M. Weſtm. 227, & p. 330, & 331. Here (b) the Commons knowing, that Quum eligere inceperunt, they were loco libertatis, ſtood with the King to have the managing of the State, put (c) to the care of XXIII. (whereof XII. by their Election (whereto they look't ſtrictly) and

and the other by him, who in all things elſe was left as a Cipher. Anno 1644.

—— Dover (d) Caſtle (the Key of the Kingdome) they had furniſhed (as moſt of the Forts of Reputation in the Realm) with Guardians of their own, ſworne reſpectively to the State: And then, taking the like aſſurance of all the Sheriffs Bayliffs, Coroners, and other publick Miniſters; ſearching the behaviour of many, by ſtrict Commiſſion upon Oath, to win Opinion in ſhew among the Vulgar, who groaned under their late Extortions; whereas their end was truly (as it proved) by diſplacing the Faithful Subjects of the King, to open a way to their own Dependents. Thus, changing ſole Power into the Rule of many, and thoſe by popular Election, made the State believe, that by this form of limitted Policy, they had utterly ſuppreſſed the Mind of Man for ever Dreaming more upon the Imaginary Humours of Licentious Soveraignty. But it fell out nothing ſo: For now every Man begun to eſtimate his own Worth, and to hammer his Head on every deſign, that might enlarge his Power and Command. Then began the great Men to rent from the Crown and Regal Seignories all ſuch Royal Sutors as Neighboured any of their Seats, whereto (e) they Inforce their Service: And ſo (as the Record ſaith) ad ſectas indebitas, & ſervitutes intolerabiles, ſubditos Regis compulerunt. Thus they made themſelves, of ſo many Subjects, whilſt they lived in Duty, totidem Tyranni (as the Book of St. Albans ſaith) when they had left their Loyalty.

Montfort, Glouceſter, and Spenſer (the Heads of this Rebellious Deſign) having by the late Prouiſions, (f) drawn to the hands of the XXIV. Tribunes of the People, the intire managing of the Royal Eſtate; and finding that Power too much diſperſed; to work the end of their Deſigns, (g) forced the King, again to call a Parliament, where they delivered the Authority of the XXIV. to themſelves, and Created a Triumvirate (h) (non conſtituenda Reipublicæ cauſâ, as they firſt pretended) for their own ends: And ſo in the intereſt of ſome private contented, the publick was ſtaid, but to make a ſpeedier way to one of them (as it fatally did) to become Dictatores perpetuos.

*Nec etiam Rex, qui jam regnando quinquageſimus extiterat, pro umbra nominis habebatur.* M. Weſtm. p. 328. [a] Ib. p. 29. & 30.

[c] Ibid. p. 31. *Magnas induxerunt Magnates, Regni ſuper ſubditos Regis, ſervitutes & Oppreſſiones.* Rot. 56. H. 3. in Scacc.

[f] *Proviſiones Oxon.* Ann. 1258.

[g] *Electis in Angliâ XXIV. capitaneis antedictis, ordinatisque ſub ipſis in Regno & curiâ regiâ cunctis officialibus & miniſtris, fuerunt eis Parliamenta continua; ſibi Eſcaetas & wardas, ac filiis ſuis & nepotibus ſpectantes, ad patronatum Regis Eccleſias provideruñt,* &c. M. Weſtm. p. 331. [h] Ib. p. 336.

Anno 1642.

[i] M. Weſtm. p. 336. *Theſe three Elect nine Councellors; and appoint,* (i) quod tres, ad minus alternatim, ſemper in Curiâ ſint, *to diſpoſe of the Cuſtody of Caſtles,* & de alijs regni negotijs, *the* Chief-Juſtice, Chancellor, *and* Treaſurer, *with all Offices,* Majores & Minores, *they reſerve the choice of to themſelves.*

[k] Ib. p. 33. & 34. *The* (k) *Lords, that had imped their Wings with Eagles Feathers, and liked no gain, but what was raked out of the Aſhes of Monarchy, made head againſt their Soveraign; and to mate him the better, called in ſome* French-*Forces. Thus the Common-Wealth turned again the Sword into her own Bowels: And, though theſe Men were more truly ſenſible of their own Deſign than of others Miſeries; yet found they no better pretext for private Intereſt, than that of the publick: And therefore, at the entry of the Warr, they cried* Liberty; *although when they came near to an end, they never ſpake word of it.*

*At* Lewes *the Armies met. Where the King endeavours a Reconciliation, but in vain:* For Perſwaſions are ever unprofitable, when Juſtice is Inferior to Force. *The Sword decides the difference, and gave the King and Prince Priſoners.* (l)

[l] M. Pariſ. p. 996.

[m] Ib. p. 35. *The* (m) *Perſon now, as well as the Regal Power, thus in the hands of* Montfort *and* Glouceſter, *found neither bound of Security, nor expectation of Liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatneſs (which now began to break out between theſe mighty Rivals) gave hope of. For* Montfort *meaning, by ingroſſing from his Partner to himſelf, the Perſon of the King; and to his Followers the beſt Portion of the Spoil; to draw more fruit from this advantage, than it ſhould in Fellowſhip yield, diſſolved the knot of all their Amity. Thus equal Authority, with the ſame Power, is very fatal (we ſee) to all great Actions: For to fit Minds to ſo even a Temper, that they ſhould not have ſome motions of Diſſenting, is impoſſible.*

[n] Ib. p. 36. *The* (n) *King now at the Victor's Diſcretion, ſuted himſelf with incomparable Wiſdome, according to the Neceſſity of the time: Neither did Humility wrong Majeſty, when there was not other means to contain Spirits ſo Inſolent, but Diſſembling.*

[o] Ib. p. 37. —— Leiceſter (a) *is become a Darling of the Common Rout, who eaſily change to every new Maſter; but the beſt durſt not Sail along his Fortune, by the Light of his Glory. Chriſtal that fairly gliſtereth doth eaſily break: And as the Aſcent of Uſurping Royalty is ſlippery; ſo the top is ſhaking, and the Fall fearful. For by this time the Impriſoned Prince was eſcaped,*

and

*and ſaſt aſſured of* Glouceſter, *by the knot of his great Mind and Diſcontent: And both, with the torn remainder of the Loyal Army, United, and by ſpeedy March, Arrived unlook't for, neer* **Evesham**, *to the Unarmed Troops of the ſecure Rebels, whom they inſtantly Aſſailed; for it was no fit ſeaſon to give time, when no time did aſſure ſo much, as Expedition did promiſe.* Anno 1642.

Diſpenſer (*p*) *and other Lords of that Faction, made towards the King, with the beſt ſpeed for Mercy; but could not break out, being hurried along the Storm with the giddy Multitude. Publick motion depends on the Conduct of Fortune; private on our carriage. We muſt beware of running down ſteep Hills with weighty Bodies; they once in motion,* ſuo feruntur pondere. *Stops are not then voluntary. But* Leiceſter, *at that inſtant with the King, and out of the ſtorm, might have eſcap'd, if his Courage and Hope had not made him more reſolute by misfortune; ſo that he could neither forſake his followers, nor his Ambition. Thus making adverſity the Exerciſe of his Virtue, he came and fell.* (p) Ibid. p. 38.

Let us now in the next place obſerve, what ready Inſtruments the *Londoners* then were to promote that Rebellion of the Barons, with their juſt recompence for ſo doing. And next the Miſerable Actors in that Bloudy Tragedy.

(q)

*Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* (a credible Hiſtorian of that time) tells us; that after the King, encompaſſed with Forces of his Enemies in the Tower of **London**, was conſtrain'd to yield unto thoſe *Ordinances*, which were made at **Oxford** by the Rebellious Barons: The Queen being very much troubled, endeavoured to paſs from the Tower to **Windsor**-Caſtle (where the Prince then lay with conſiderable Forces) was Interrupted (*q*) by the *Londoners*, Reproach't with their Opprobrious Clamours, and baſely driven back, with Stones and Dirt, which they threw at her from **London**-Bridge.

(q) — *Intercepta eſt à Londinenſibus, & ab eiſdem enormiter blaſphemata et exclamata jactuque lapidum & luti ſubtus pontem vehſſimè repulſa.* p. 315.

And the ſame Year, the King returning with his Army from **Dover**-Caſtle (which the Barons held againſt him) might have Surprized *Montfort* in **Southwarke** (which, doubtleſs had prevented that deluge of Bloud that

Anno 1642. that afterwards was ſpilt) but that the *Londoners* with all their Power, came (*r*) out to his aid, and reſcued him.

[r] — *Irruerunt Londinenſes, quorum corda habuere Barones valde propitia, cum impetu fortitudinis magna, cathenas franguntˌ portas aperiunt, & ad eum ſuccurrendum catervatim occurrunt.* Ib. p. 317.

— *Contra Leges & Canones, conſcientias ſciſmatis & erroris, trahentes ſecum, ad ſui erroris fomentum, multos pſeudo prophetas, lupos rapaces in ovium veſtimentis; contra Chriſti vicarios, & Chriſtum domini, Regem proprium murmurantes, non ut ſpiritus ſanctus eloqui, ſed ut ſuperioris poteſtatis abjectus obloqui dabat illis,* M. Weſtm. p. 332.

[s] Ib. p. 334.

And having thus link't himſelf with the Rebellious Barons, the ſame Author will inform you, what were the Fruits of all their ſpecious Pretences, for putting themſelves in Arms againſt their Soveraign; — *Violationes (s) Eccleſiarum, & depredationes, & macerationes perſonarum Eccleſiaſticarum, Chriſtianorum & Judæorum; cædes & incendia, ſine delectu conditionis aut ſexus, ætatis aut ordinis; the Violation of Churches; Robbing and Killing all manner of Perſons, Chriſtians and Jews; Fire and Sword without any diſtinction, of Sex, Age, or Order.* Nay, ſo violently Zealous were they, for the *Cauſe*; that in the Battel of **Lewes**, theſe *Londoners*, deſired (*t*) that they might undergo the firſt ſhock of the Fight, and the hazard thereof. And though it was the King's Unhappineſs to loſe the day, at that time: Yet got thoſe Citizens nothing thereby: For the Valiant Prince *Edward*, charging (*u*) them with extraordinary courage, put them to the Rout, and purſued (*x*) their Rear divers Miles.

[t] — *Inſtanter ſupplicarunt, ut primos illius Belli habere poſſint, & eventum rei ſub dubio percipere.* Anonym. Abbingd. fol. 119. 2.

[u] — *Omnibus ita terrorem incuſſit, quod illos, quos fuga non eruit, cruentatus & vibrans gladius interemit.* M. Weſtm. p. 335.

[x] Anon. Abbingd. f. 119. b. M. Pariſ. p. 995.

But, the next Year following, the Scene being chang'd by the happy overthrow of all thoſe Barons in the Battail of **Evesham**, the King (by the Adviſe of his Parliament, held at **Winchester**) ſeized (*y*) the Liberties of theſe Rebellious Citizens, and Committed the chiefeſt of them to Priſon; whoſe Redemption afterwards raiſed him no ſmall Sum of Money; and to awe them the more, demoliſhed their Bulwarks, and fortified the Tower of **London** againſt them.

[y] M. Pariſ. p. 999.

[z] *Virg.* — *En (z) quo diſcordia Cives perduxit miſeros?*

Now

Now for *Montfort* (Earl of *Leiceſter*) the principal Actor in this great Rebellion, his Haughtineſs was ſuch, after the Battail of **Lewes**, that having the King and Prince his Priſoners; he not only ſeized all their Caſtles into his own hands, but diſdaining *Clare* (Earl of *Glouceſter*) by whoſe Aſſiſtance he become thus powerful, he diſpoſed of the whole Kingdom, according as he liſted; his Sons alſo Committing many intolerable Outrages: So that *Clare* (whoſe diſcontents inclined him to return to his Duty) conſulting with the Lord *Mortimer*, how to pull down the pride of that inſolent Rebel, contrived a means, for the Prince's Inlargement. Which ſucceeding accordingly (by his clear eſcape (*a*) from **Hereford**, to **Wigmore**-Caſtle) gave that Life to the reſt of the Loyal Party; that with incredible celerity, they raiſed a Gallant Army; wherewith after he had Surprized the Earl of **Oxford**, and many other of the moſt eminent Rebels, with no leſs than thirteen Banners, at **Kenelworth**; he encountred *Montfort* himſelf, and his whole Army, the next day, (*b*) near **Evelham**; aud giving them Battel, ſuddainly put a Period to their Uſurped Authority. In which fight that great Rebel, with his Eldeſt Son *Henry*, being ſlain; *his Head, Hands, and Feet, were cut* (*c*) *off by the fury of the Souldiers*: And, though his Body, through the Charity of others, was Buryed in the Abby; the Common People out of high Indignation, towards him (who had been the Chief Inſtrument of Miſchief to the whole Realm) dig'd it up, and carried (*d*) it to a more remote place; eſteeming (*e*) it unworthy of Chriſtian Burial, by Reaſon it had been ſo much infected with the Leproſy of Rebellion.

*Anno* 1642.

[a] *In Vigilia Trinit.* M. Pariſ. p. 997. n. 50.

[b] *Pridie Nonas Aug.* Ann. 1265.

[c] *M. Pariſ.* p. 958. n. 50.

[d] *Anon. Abb.* [e] f. 121. b. & 122. [a]

Neither did the judgment for his Iniquities terminate here; but purſued his two other Sons, *Guy* and *Simon*; who, being eſcap't out of Priſon, got into **France**; and there, endeavouring to bring in Forrein Forces, ended (*f*) their Days in Miſery.

[f] *M. Weſtm.* p. 350. & 353.

As for his Complices, moſt of them periſhed in that Battail at **Evelham**: And the reſt, excepting one, (*g*) were taken Priſoners, and diſherited: (*h*) But afterwards, through the King's Special Favour, reſtored (*i*) to their Lands, upon ſeveral Fines, according to the Meaſure of their Offences.

[g] Johannes fil. Johannis. *Anon. Abb.* 121. b.

[h] *M. Weſtm.* p. 339. & 340.

[i] *M. Pariſ.* p. 1002.

CHAP.

*Anno* 1642.

## CHAP. XLVII.

The Parallel of the *Holy League* in *France.*

THE *Holy League* in **France**, is ſo exact a Pattern of ours in **England**, as we have juſt reaſon enough to conceive, that the Contrivers of this Rebellion, did borrow the Plott from thence. All the main parts, and many of the Material Circumſtances, being the ſame in both: Only the Scene is changed and the Actors divers.

The full Story of that League, would require a Volume, having been written at large by ſeveral Authors of note in ſundry Languages; *viz.* By *Thuanus* in *Latine*; by *D'aubigny* and others in *French*: But by none better than *Caterino D'avila* in *Italian*, in that unparallell'd Hiſtory of the Civil-Wars of **France**: Out of whoſe relation eſpecially, I ſhall preſent to the Reader, a brief view of ſo much as concerns our preſent purpoſe, without filling the Margin, with Atteſtations from other Authors, where they concur with him: Aud but rarely making uſe of them by way of Supplement.

In the draught of this Parallel, I ſhall endeavour to obſerve the ſame method as in the former: Firſt laying down the Original of that *League*: Then the manner, by which the Faction grew to that heigth of greatneſs, as they quite overtop'd and almoſt trampled upon the Crown. What uſe they made of this Uſurped Power, quite contrary to their Pretences: And, laſtly, how they fell from their vaſt hopes, and failed of their Ambitious ends. As alſo, by the way take notice of ſome ſuch eminent Perſons, and Circumſtances, as may ſeem to have the neereſt Reſemblance with theſe of our times.

What hath been already obſerv'd of the main deſign of our *Covenanters*; *viz.* That it was long a working under ground, before it appeared in its true ſhape of *Rebellion*. That the firſt Seeds of it were ſown in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time; grew up in K. *James*; and came to perfect ripeneſs in K. *Charles* his Reign, is proportionably true of the

*Holy*

*Holy-League.* The firſt Platform of that, was laid in the time of K. *Charles* the Ninth, ſoon after the *Reformation of Religion* got footing in **France**. It broke out in K. *Henry* the third's time; and was, at laſt, ſuppreſſed by K. *Henry* the Fourth: So that it infeſted the Reigns of three Kings, no leſs than this of ours.

The cheif pretended occaſion of it, was the *defence of Religion*; which, the Ring-Leaders of that Faction, did (if not conceive themſelves, yet) labour to perſwade the People to be in danger of utter Ruine, and Extirpation: And, that, by reaſon of ſome Indulgence and Toleration, (a) granted by *Charles* the ninth, and the Queen Mother, and continued by *Henry* the third, unto the *Huguenots*, or *Proteſtants*, who were as odious to them, as *Papiſts* were with our Men: though, the truth was thoſe Princes did as intirely deteſt the Religion of *Proteſtants*, as the moſt zealous among ours, can do the *Papiſts*: And what they did in favour of them, was meerly to preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom.

[a] *Davila* p. 75.

Before the *League* was fully hatch't, the State of that Kingdom was not much unlike this of ours, before the late Troubles. Some Grievances there were, which waited upon it into the World. For beſides the Toleration of the *Huguenots*, which diſtaſted the Zealots; the (b) greatneſs of ſome new Men at Court, bred an high diſcontent in divers of the Nobility: And the heavy Taxes, (c) and Impoſitions upon the Common-People, made them generally diſſaffected with the preſent Government. And this Variety of Malignant Humors riſing from ſeveral Springs, all met in the ſame Stream, and bent their courſe to the ſame common end, Innovation, and Subverſion of the Eſtabliſh't Government.

[b] Ib. p. 348.

[c] Ib. p. 349.

A *Parliament* (for ſo I ſhall take leave to call the general Aſſembly of the three Eſtates in **France**; not according to the modern uſe of the Word in that Country from whence this Kingdom borrowed at firſt, the name and thing, but in compliance with our own Language) was thought to be a ſure Remedy at a pinch for ſetling the publick Diſtractions. And though ſuch Aſſemblies had been long intermitted in that Realm, and the Kings of later time were grown out of love with them; *as conceiving, (d) that while they, who repreſent the whole Nation, are convened*

[d] Ib. p. 43.

Anno 1642. *convened together with ſuch Supream Power, the Royal Authority, in the mean time, remained little better than ſuſpended.* Yet, upon a conſultation had with a Council of Peers (like that of ours at York) and a motion from them to that purpoſe, *Francis* the ſecond was content to call a Parliament (*e*) at Orleans, which was quietly Diſſolved by his Death, before the States had done any thing, but only ſhew'd (*f*) their Teeth againſt the Proteſtants; taking (*g*) a ſolemn Proteſtation for Defence of their Religion; and by that excluding all others from any Vote in that Aſſembly.

Anno. 1560.
[e] Ib. p. 51.
[f] Ib. p. 52.
[g] Ib. p. 57.

By the like exigence was *Henry* the third driven to have recourſe to the like Remedy, which proved (indeed) worſe than the Diſeaſe: For after his Intimation of a Parliament to Commence at (*h*) Blois, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Allies, laid the Foundation of the *League*; who being the moſt Popular and Powerful Subjects in the Kingdome, ſought (*i*) by that means *to augment their own greatneſs, and ſecure the State of Religion, which was ſo ſtraitly twiſted with their Intereſts.*

[h] Ib. p. 324. 15. Nov. 1576.
[i] Ib. p. 325.

This Duke, beſides his Ambition, which prompted him ſufficiently to thoſe Turbulent Undertakings, had formerly received ſome diſguſt at Court, (not much unlike that of *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*) for the Keys of the Pallace were taken (*k*) from him, and beſtow'd upon the King of *Navarr*. With which diſgrace he was extreamly vexed; and his Brother the Cardinal much more, though they cunningly Diſſembled, and made a ſhew as if nothing troubled them, but the Toleration of and connivence at *Calviniſme*; by that means veiling their own Paſſions and Private Intereſts, with an honeſt Cloak, and colour of Religion. So, by little and little, the Factious among the great ones were confounded with the differences in Religion; and inſtead of *Male-Contents*, and *Guiſards*, they put on the name of *Catholicks* and *Huguenots*; Parties, which under colour of Piety, miniſtred ſo much the more Pernicious Fewel to all the Succeeding Combuſtions and Troubles.

[k] Ib. p. 71.

The League was uſhered in with *Declarations*, *Remonſtrances*, and *Proteſtations*, to the ſame effect, and much in the ſame Language with this of our *Covenanters*. (*l*)

[l] *D'aubignie Hiſt. univerſelle* Tom. 2. lib. 3. cap. 3. col. 824.

We

*Anno* 1642.

*We the Princes, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Commons (Parties to that League) profeſt, that nothing but pure Zeal, and Sincere Devotion, which we bear to the Honour of God, his Majeſties Service, the Publick Peace and Preſervation of our Lives and Eſtates, together with the Apprehenſion of our utter Ruine and Deſtruction, hath neceſſitated us to this Reſolution, which we are conſtrained to put on; for which we cannot any way be taxed, or traduced for Suſpition of Diſloyalty: Our Councils and Intentions having no other Deſign, but meerly the Maintenance, and Advancement of the Service of God, Obedience to his Majeſty, and Preſervation of his Eſtate. And, perceiving by what is paſt, that our Enemies have not, nor ever had any other aim, but to Eſtabliſh their Errors in the Kingdom; to extirpate Religion, and by little and little to undermine the King's Authority, and totally alter the Government; we can do no leſs in diſcharge of our Honours and Conſciences, than withſtand the Siniſter Deſigns of the Supream Enemies of God, and his Majeſty by a common* Covenant *and* Aſſociation; *it being (m) no more than time, to divert and hinder their Plots and Conſpiracies, for all Faithful and Loyal Subjects to enter into a* Holy Union, *and* Conjunction, *which is now the true and only means left in our Hands by God, for reſtoring of his own Service, and Obedience to his Majeſty.*

Compare with this the Preface to the *Covenant* in the Declar. of the Lords and Commons. 22. Oct. 1642 Exact Coll. p. 663.

[m] Ib. coll. 827.

The chief Heads of the League, to which they ſwore, were either altogether, or in Proportion the ſame with thoſe in our *Engliſh Covenants*, viz.

1. *To Eſtabliſh (n) Religion, the Law and Service of God, in its Priſtine State, according to the form and uſage of the Catholick Roman-Church (there, as of the Proteſtant Reformed-Church here.)*

[n] Ib. col. 830. Et *Davila* p. 327.

2. *As our Covenanters ſwore, in the ſecond Article, to extirpate all* Popery, Hereſy, *&c. So did the* Leaugers *Renounce (o) and abjure all Errors contrary to their Religion.*

[o] Ibid.

3. As our Men, in the third Article, ſwore to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliament, and Liberties of the Kingdom; and to preſerve the King's Perſon and Authority (but with a Reſervation) *in the Preſervation*

Anno 1642. *and Defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom*: So did they, *to preſerve* Henry *the third of that Name, and his Succeſſors, the Moſt Chriſtian Kings, in the State, Splendour, Authority, Right, Service, and Obedience, which are due unto him from his Subjects* (but with this Abatement) *according as is contained in certain Articles, which ſhall be preſented unto him in the Parliament, which at his Coronation he ſwears to obſerve; with Proteſtation to do nothing contrary to what ſhall be propoſed unto him, and ordained by the States.* As alſo they ſwear *to Reeſtabliſh in all the Counties of the Kingdom, their Ancient Priviledges, Prehominencies and Liberties.*

4. As in the fourth Article of the Covenant, our Men Swear *the diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Inſtruments by hindring the Reformation*, &c. *That they may receive condign Puniſhment* (not in any ordinary way of Juſtice, according to the Law of the Land, but) *as the Degrees of their Offences ſhall require or deſerve: Or* (in caſe they neither require nor deſerve) *as the Supream Judicatories of both Kingdoms, or others having Power from them ſhall think convenient.* Juſt ſo, the Leaguers Swear, *in caſe there ſhall be any hindrance, or Oppoſition in the fore-mentioned Particulars* (preſervation of Religion, &c.) *by whomſoever it be made, all the Confederates ſhall imploy their Lives and Fortunes, for the bringing of all ſuch to Puniſhment; and that either by way of Juſtice, or of Arms, without any reſpect of Perſons.*

5. The like mutual defence of all that enter into their Covenant, and their conſtant Perſeverance in it all the Days of their Lives; *not to ſuffer themſelves directly, nor indirectly, to be withdrawn by whatſoever Combination, Perſwaſion, or terror*, &c. *The promoting of it againſt all Impediments, and revealing of all Deſignes to the contrary.* which our Men Swear in the firſt Article. Juſt ſo the *Leaguers* proteſt, (*p*) thar, *if any of their Confederates ſhall be moleſted or troubled, all the reſt ſhall be bound to Revenge his Cauſe, againſt any Perſon whatſoever; and to diſcover whatſoever they ſhall know Prejudicial to their Aſſociation, they Swear* (*q*) *by Almighty God, and promiſe upon their Lives and Honours, to continue in this League, even to their laſt drop of Bloud, and not to depart from it, or go againſt it, upon any Command, Pretence, Excuſe, or Occaſion whatſoever.*

(*p*) *Davila* p. 328. *D'Ambiſie* col. 831 & 832.

(*q*) Ib. col. 827.

6 As

Anno 1642.

6 As ours profeſs in each Article, to take the *Covenant* Sincerely, &c So each of them Swears, (r) *that he enters into this Holy League Loyally and Sincerely.*

(r) Ib.

7. As our Men, in the cloſe of the *Covenant*, did make a general *Confeſſion of their Sins, and Profeſs and Declare, before God and the World, their unfeigned deſire to be humbled for them, and to amend their Lives in all Duties they owe to God and Man; and each one to go before another in the example of a real Converſation; and likewiſe invite other Chriſtian-Churches to joyn in the ſame, or like Aſſociation and Covenant with them.* So did the Leaguers in the cloſe of their Declaration, *intreat* (s) *all Perſons, of what condition ſoever, not yet confederate with them; that they would favour them, and to their Power aſſiſt them in the Execution of ſo good and holy a work: Profeſſing they will receive into their Aſſociation, all good Men, that have a Zeal to the Honour of God and his Church, and to the Welfare and Reputation of Religion.* Concluding thus; (t)

(s) Davila p. 387.

(t) Ib. p. 388.

*Seeing of neceſſity all our help muſt come from God, we intreat all good* Catholicks, *to put themſelves in good condition to Godwards, and be Reconciled to his Divine Majeſty by a thorough Reformation of their Lives, ſo to appeaſe the Wrath of God, and to call upon him with an upright Conſcience, both in publick and private Prayers, and Devotions; to the end that all our Actions may be referred to the Honour of God and his Glory, who is the Lord of Hoſts, and from whom alone we look for ſtrength, and certain deliverance.*

And the Parliament at **Blois**, though at the firſt meeting, it ſeem'd to concurr in the ſame intentions with the King; yet the effect was nothing leſs: For it was an Aſſembly packt up of Perſons diſſaffected to the preſent Government; the (u) *greateſt part of the Commiſſioners of Shires, being ſuch as had underhand Subſcribed the League, and had given themſelves up, to be guided by the Councils of the Duke of* Guiſe. Beſides the Knights or Commiſſioners of divers Counties, and the Burgeſſes of ſeveral Cities, were either not returned, or neglected to come, or were departed: And therefore the Prince of *Conde*, when certain of their Members were ſent unto him, with a Meſ-

(u) Ib. p. 335.

ſage

Anno 1644. ſage in Writing, as from the States-general, or Parliament, he *refuſed* (x) *to open the Letters, or to acknowledge them to be a Parliament; affirming, that ſuch a Congregation as that, where the Commiſſioners of ſo many Cities, Shires, and Counties were wanting; in which they went about to force Mens Conſciences, to Oppreſs and Extirpate the Total Line, and Violate the Prerogative of the Crown of* France, *to comply with the Humours of ſome Strangers, whoſe Hearts were ſet on Fire with an unſupportable, and Pernicious Ambition, could by no means be call'd a Parliament; being indeed nothing elſe but a Conventicle, of a few Suborned Perſons, corrupted by the Diſturbers of the publick Peace.*

x Ib. p. 339.

If we conſider the quality of the Perſons engaged in that League, we ſhall find them much of the ſame make with theſe of ours. They were principally of two much different ſorts; *the firſt,* (y) *for the moſt part, conſiſted of Noblemen, and Perſons of Quality; ſuch as were ill ſatisfied with the Power and greatneſs of the King's Dominion, and could not endure to ſee themſelves paſt by, in the diſpoſal of Preferments, and Court-Favours; and therefore ſided with the Faction, partly out of diſcontent, and partly out of hopes of Innovation; thinking, that by putting down the preſent, that they ſhould raiſe their private Fortunes to a better condition; and at laſt arrive to the height of their Deſires.*

y Ib. p. 329. & 367.

z Ib. p. 396. *The ſecond ſort* (z) *whereof the League was Compoſed, were Perſons, who for Quality ſeemed to be much inferior to the former; but for uſe and profit were not a whit below them. For theſe were they that won the Cities, the common People, and the Tradeſmen, generally over all the Kingdom. Theſe, for the moſt part, were Men of a free and good nature, paſſionately affected to the* Catholick Faith, *and moſt inteſtine haters of the* Huguenots: *Some of them believing in good earneſt, that their Religion was in danger of utter Ruine. Others deſirous to ſee the deſtruction of* Hereſy, *did not only readily engage themſelves in the League in their own Perſons, but contributed their utmoſt endeavours to draw on the common People, and to win others to the Faction. With theſe fell on (as a third ſort) ſome of the long Robe (Preachers and Lawyers) who, under colour of Religion, did hide either their fickle and inconſtant nature, or their Ambitious, or Covetous Deſires of their own Greatneſs and Preferment.*

To

To which we may add a fourth ſort of Men; which were moved, either out of private Spleen againſt ſome Court-Favourites; or were drawn in, to ſide with the *League* meerly upon their fair Pretences; never dreaming that their aimes were againſt the King or the Government. With which bait ſome Wiſe Men were allured into the ſnare; among whom *Villeroy* the chief Secretary of State was one, and *Briſſonius* Primier Preſident of the Parliament of **Paris**, another, the former entring himſelf one of the *League*, out (a) *of a private grudge to the Duke* D'Eſpernon, *deſired the Duke of* Guiſe's *Faction might prevail, that* Eſpernons *might be abated; never imagining, nor could be ever believe, that the League would ever attempt any thing againſt the King's Perſon, but only had an aim to caſhiere his Minions, and endeavour to extirpate the* Huguenots. *The later*; (b) *though he had been at firſt a principal Inſtrument for the League, fell off, when he perceived, that the ends of the Ring-leaders were not ſo ſincere for the publick good, as he at firſt had fancied.* Anno 1642.

[a] Ib. p. 497.

[b] Ib. p. 796.

And divers other there were (as there will be in all Factions where great Men are engaged) who adhered to that Party; not out of any ends, or Inclinations of their own, but by reaſon (c) of their Alliance with, or dependence on the Houſe of *Lorrein*, and other chief Men of the *League*.

[c] Ib. p. 518.

Having thus laid the grounds of their *League* upon theſe fair Pretences to gull the People, their means of advancing it were ſuch, as our Men have tranſcribed from their Copy: Not any thing of moment having been uſed here, which was wanting there, to increaſe their own, and undermine the King's Power and Authority. They had (d) their *Feares* and *Jealouſies* of dangerous *Plots* againſt their Perſons at home; of Deſigns to ſeize upon the City of **Paris**; to overawe them by armed force, and put an hundred of the chief to Death; of Practiſes with Forrein Princes againſt them and their Religion; and of ſuddain Invaſion intended from abroad. They had Reports broacht (f) upon no grounds, and Tumults (g) raiſed in the City, upon no other occaſion than thoſe Reports. They had their *Preachers* (h) to amaze and fright the People out of their Witts, by Strange and Miracu-

[d] Ib. p. 385.

[e] Ib. p. 494.

[f] Ib. p. 457.

[g] Ib. p. 482. & 367. 379.

lous

Anno 1642.

lous Stories, and out of their Allegiance, by traducing and inveighing againſt the preſent Government. They
[i] Ib.p.349. had (*i*) their Scandalous Libels and Pictures firſt Publiſhed in the City, and thence diſperſed abroad to Poiſon the Countrey.

They neglected no means of courting and winning the Common-People, by rubbing up their ſores of new Taxes and Impoſitions, and promiſing relief unto them,
[k] Ib.p.384. See the like of our men. Exact Coll. p.100.197. & 259. by crying (*k*) up the *Fundamental Laws, and Liberties of the Subject*, by rendring the King's Perſon contemptible, and his Actions Odious in the Eyes of his People, ſetting forth *Declarations* and *Remonſtrances* of the State of the Kingdom, of ſuch a tenor, as it will be no new thing to Tranſlate what they at **Weſtminſter**, have in a manner, already done to my hand.

They wounded the King's Honour, through the ſides of his Councellers; they ſtained the ſincerity of his Profeſſions, and Proteſtations in point of Religion; they went about to ſupplant his juſt Power and Authority, by their new and inſolent demands (ſuch as thoſe of ours in the *Nineteen Propoſitions.*)

[l] Ib.p.329. Whil'ſt (*l*) they ſeem'd to maintain his Authority, they rob'd him of it, transferring it wholly to the head of
[m] Ib.p.336. their *League*. And though their Parliament (in that point more moderate than ours) waived that antient Queſtion, and would not contend about it; viz. *Whether the King or the Eſtates concerned in Parliament be Superior* (a point determinable by the very form of holding Parliaments, and ever carried by the King in all former times) yet, they thought fit to Petition the King, that for the more expedition, and general ſatisfaction of all differences, he would pleaſe to make choice of a certain number of Judges, ſuch in whom the States might confide; who, together with *XII* of their Members, might hear and receive the ſeveral motions from the ſeveral Eſtates: And whatſoever thoſe Judges and *XII* Commiſſioners ſhould jointly agree upon, to have the force and ſtrength of a Law, without any Power (in the King) to alter or repeal it.

When this would not be granted by the King, upon grave reaſons of State, which we need not here ſet down; the Heads of the Faction and their Adherents,

took

took (*n*) a new courſe, to reſtrain the King's Power, by propoſing that the number of the Kings Council ſhould be limitted to XXIV. (the very next number, which our Lords and Commons, in the ſecond of their Nineteen *Propoſitions*, (*o*) would limit his Privy-Council to; *viz.* not to exceed *XXV.*) and they to be choſen, not by the King, at pleaſure, but by every County of the Kingdom.

[n] Ib. p. 341. 342.

[o] *Junii.* 2. 1642.

They required, (*p*) that all Moneys to be raiſed upon the Subject by way of Subſidy, or Impoſt, ſhould be imployed for the defence of the Kingdom; and that by all means, a Free-Parliament ſhould be called (*q*) every three years, at the leaſt, with full Power to any Man, to preſent his Grievances to the States ſo Aſſembled.

[p] Ibid. p. [q] 386.

They charged (*r*) upon the King his Oath taken at his Coronation; not only to be obliged to preſerve the Antient Laws, and Liberties of the Subject; but ſuch better Laws and more Commodious, as ſhould be preſented unto him.

[r] Ib. p. 327, 328, & 382.

Their firſt *grand Remonſtrance* of the State of the Kingdom, was caſt in the ſame Mould with that of ours: Which, though it were the Contrivance but of a few chief Men of the *League*; yet was it publiſhed in the name (*s*) of all the Lords and Commons of **France** (only ſigned by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, whom they made a Stale to their Ambition.) [*By this they declared*, (*t*) *that* **France** *had been miſerably tormented by a Peſtiferous Sedition raiſed for the Subverſion of the antient Religion of their Fore-Fathers: That* (*u*) *no Remedies had been applyed, but ſuch as were more proper for nouriſhing than curing the Diſeaſe: That the* Catholick *Religion being in great danger, it was moſt neceſſary to take ſome ſpeedy prudent courſe, for prevention of the imminent ruine thereof: That Agents were ſent to practiſe with the* Proteſtant *Princes of* **Germany**, *for Suppreſſing the Perſons of Honeſt Men, and pulling down the* Catholick-*Religion; and an endeavour to deſtroy the great Men, who had the principal places of Honour: That* (*x*) *the King's Favours* (*whoſe Majeſty was and ever ſhould be Sacred to them*) *and Government of the State, were engroſſed by ſuch, who had drained his Coffers, and placed Officers in the Exchequer, for their own private advantage: That though ſome Rays of hopes appeared by that Aſ-*

Compare with this the third *Remonſtrance*, made by the Members at *Weſtminſter*. Exact. Coll. p. 268.

[s] Ib. p. 385.

[t] Ib. p. 382.

[u] Ib. p. 383.

[x] Ib. p. 384.

ſembly of the States-General at **Bloys** (the antient Remedy for all Domeſtick-Wounds) yet, after their great Labours and Expences in that meeting, no Fruits were Reaped, by reaſon of the evil-Council of thoſe Men, ſo diſſaffected to God, and the good of
[y] Ib.p.385. the Common-Weal: So (y) that the abuſes, which by little and little, at firſt ſtole upon them, did then burſt in, like an Impetuous Torrent, ready to overwhelm the Kingdom; the Church of God being prophaned, the Nobility ſcorn'd and vilified, and every day oppreſt with Innumerable Grievances, and Illegal Exactions.

Compare with this the *Anſwer* of the Members at *Weſtminſter* to his Majeſties Meſſage of XI. *Sept.* 1642. Exact coll. p.587.

And, that upon theſe juſt Cauſes and Conſiderations, they declared; that they had all ſworn and religiouſly promiſed to ſtand upon their Guard, that the Church of God might be reſtored to her Honour; the true Chriſtian-Catholick Religion Eſtabliſhed; the Nobility enjoy their Liberty entirely as they ought; the People relieved, and all new Impoſitions aboliſhed.

[z] Ib.p. 386. Compare with this the *Declaration* of the Members at *Weſtminſter Aug.* 1642. Exact Coll. p.491.

And, that theſe were the occaſions (z) of their taking up Arms, for reſcuing the Kingdom of **France** from ruine, the preſervation of good Men, and puniſhment of bad; and for the ſecurity of their own perſons; there being no other means left to preſerve themſelves, and turn away the Knife from their own Throats; which yet they would not make uſe of, if their Eſtates only were in danger, and the Subverſion of Religion, and State of the Kingdom were not inſeparably joined with their own; for the preſervation of which, they ſhould not fear any hazard; concluding, that they could not chooſe a more Honourable Grave, than to ſpend their Lives in ſo Holy a Cauſe; ſo juſt a Quarrel in diſcharge of that Duty and Obligation, which they owed as good Chriſtians to the Service of God, and as good and Loyal Subjects, to oppoſe the Subuerſion of which the State, muſt naturally follow the alteration of Religion. Proteſting that they did not take up Arms againſt the King their Soveraign Lord; but for the guard and juſt defence of his Perſon, his Life and State, for whom they had promiſed and ſworn to hazard their own Lives and Fortunes to the laſt drop of their Bloud; and to lay down Arms ſo ſoon as it ſhould pleaſe his Majeſty to remove the danger, which threatned the ruine of the Service of God and ſo many good Men —— Intreating (a) all that were not Confederate with them, to favour their Deſigns, and to aſſiſt them by their Power, in the Execution of that good and Holy Work.

[a] Ib. p. 387. Compare with this their *Declaration July.* 1642. Exact Coll. p.464.

Exhorting

*Exhorting all Towns and Corporations, as they tendred their own preſervation, to judge uprightly of their Intentions; and to conſider what benefit and repoſe would accrue unto them; and ſo doing, to put their hands to that good work: Declaring, that they would not uſe any act of Violence, but againſt ſuch as ſhould oppoſe them, and by other undue means favour their Adverſaries, which ſought to ruine the Church, and Subvert the State: Aſſuring every Man, that their Holy-Armies ſhould do no Man any wrong, or oppreſſion, whether in paſſing or ſtaying in any place; but ſhould live orderly, and pay for all they took: Proteſting (b) never to lay down Arms, till they had fully Executed all the Premiſſes, but rather die with a willing Heart; deſiring to be Intombed in a Monument, Conſecrated to the laſt of French-Men, who died in Arms, for the Service of God and their Country.*

See their *Declaration* for inviting the Scotts 7 *Nov.* 1642.

[b] See the like Expreſſions by thoſe at *Weſtminſter* in their Declar. in Anſwer to his Majeſties Meſſage *Aug.* 1642. Exact Coll. p. 585. And the *Covenant* taken by both Houſes 15 *Junij.* 1643.

At which time they were ſo high in their own Opinions, and their Conceits of the Peoples Inclinations; that, in this *Declaration* (as an argument to win every Man to their Party) they Invited (c) all, *to put to their helping hands to their good Deſign; which, by the Grace of God* (as they ſaid) *could not chooſe but proſper.*

Sutable whereunto, our Men, to affright ſuch from their Loyalty, as they could not perſwade; told (d) them, *that they had brought their work to ſuch an height and degree of Succeſs, that nothing ſeemed to be left in their way, able to hinder the full accompliſhment of their deſires, unleſs God in his Juſtice ſhould ſend a grievous Curſe upon them.*

[c] Ib. p. 387.

[d] Declar. 19. *May.* 1641. Exact Coll. p. 213.

And, (e) as the *Leaguers*, backing the words of their *Remonſtrance*, with Actions of no leſs efficacy, began immediately upon it, to impatronize themſelves of many Cities and Strong-holds; partly by underhand Practiſes, and partly by open force; ſuch were **Tull** and **Verdune** (the firſt Citties in **France**, that caſt out the Kings Officers, and received the *Leaguers*) ſo did ours poſſeſs themſelves of **Hull** and **Plymmouch**, and other places of Strength, which tended ſo much to the advancement of their Deſign.

[e] Ib. p. 388.

When therefore the Leaguers had by theſe Subtilties wrought the People out of Opinion with the King; and him out of his Power over his Subjects. When (m) he could not with ſatisfaction to himſelf, neither joyn with the *Huguenots*, nor give content to the *Leaguers*; waiting

[m] *D'avila* p. 381.

to make uſe of ſuch Council as time ſhould Miniſter unto him, his Affairs going on but a ſlow pace, he ſtood rather to juſtify himſelf, than to ſtop the Progreſs of the Confederates. And, when he was aſſured from all parts, at the ſame time, of raiſing Forces, and frequent meetings of Men in Arms, he did no more than ſet forth an Edict; (n) wherein, after the uſual Preamble, he proteſted his earneſt deſire of the Publick Tranquility; and, by all good means to provide for the eaſe of his People. In which, perceiving, that ſome who were Enemies of their Peace, did labour to oppoſe him; He therefore ſtraitly prohibited all Levies, and gathering together of Souldiers; Commanding that their Leaders ſhould be Apprehended, and Proſecuted according to Law. By which he gained no more but this; *viz.* That by the continuing of their Levies, it did then ſufficiently appear who were his Enemies.

(n) 8°. *Martij.* 1685. Compare with this his Majeſties Proclamations of *May* 27. and *June* 18. 1642. Exact Coll. p. 301 & 367.

Thus did the *Leaguers* get the Start of the King, in their warlike Preparations; and it was long before he could perſwade himſelf to prepare for his Defence: But being at laſt neceſſitated (o) to make other Proviſions (than Proclamations) more ſutable to the exigency of the times; after much doubting, and deliberation, he reſolved to reſiſt the force and practiſes of the *League*, as well as he could, without any Intelligence or Aſſiſtance from the *Huguenots*; hoping that he ſhould be able of himſelf to curb them. But ſcarcely had he begun to put this deliberation in Execution, than that he diſcovered the weakneſs of his Councils, in that of his Forces.

(o) Ib. p. 382. Compare this with his Majeſties Proclamation of *Aug.* 10. 1642. Exact Coll. p. 510.

The Lord of *Truery* had raiſed for him Ten Thouſand *Switzers*: But the Counties of *Burgundy*, *Champaine*, and *Lyouns*, being all poſſeſs'd by them of the *League*, there was no paſſing for them that way. The Count of *Scomberg* was ſent to hire ſome *German*-Horſe; but in his paſſage thither, through thoſe Counties, he was ſeized on and Committed to Priſon by the Duke of *Lorrain*. Nor did the Kings buſineſs go on much better at home than abroad: The Nobility divided, partly by reaſon of their Religion; and partly by antient Feuds, (newly divided by theſe Diſſentions,) came but ſlowly in to the King. The Peo-

ple

ple generally diſſaffected, did not concur to the relief of his wants: The Revenues of the Crown, not only ſtopt by noiſe of War; but purpoſely Interrupted and ſeized (*p*) upon by the Heads of the Faction, were utterly decayed, ſo as the Sinews of War were wanting on all ſides to the Kings Party. Thoſe of the *League* therefore perceiving with what difficulties the King wreſtled; began with great earneſtneſs to gather Forces, and to put in Execution the Plot they had laid long before.

(*p*) The like did the Members at *Weſtminſter* by ſeveral Orders of 21 *Jan.* and 26 *Nov.* 1642. and by an Ordinance 21 *Sept.* 1643.

The King having, as yet, nothing to oppoſe them but his Pen, was neceſſitated to imploy it, in vindication of himſelf from thoſe Imputations, which were thrown upon his Government, and in their *Manifeſto's* reflected upon his Perſon. To which he publiſht an Anſwer (*q*) wherein, having firſt inform'd his People; that though he had ſeveral times heretofore, both by his Letters and Commands; admoniſhed them, not to ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded or perverted by ſuch as endeavoured to raiſe Inſurrections amongſt them, and to draw them into their Party; and, by ſo doing to turn them out of the ways of Peace: And had alſo proferred and promiſed Grace and Favour to all ſuch as being already engaged, ſhould return to their Obedience, after they ſhould truly underſtand his Intentions: Nevertheleſs, with great grief of Heart, perceiving; that notwithſtanding his Commands and Gracious Advertiſment, ſome of his Subjects did not forbear to engage themſelves in that Faction, being drawn into it by ſeveral Intereſts: But the moſt of them purely tranſported and blinded with the fair and ſpecious Colours, which the Authors of thoſe Seditions put upon their Deſigns; he thought it a part of his Duty, for the general benefit of all his Subjects, and in diſcharge of his Conſcience to God, and Honour to the World, to oppoſe the clear light of the Truth to thoſe Artifices of his Adverſaries: To the end that his Subjects, being guided by the clearneſs of that Light, might in time, and without any Impediment, diſcern and know the grounds and ends of thoſe Troubles; and, by that means avoid the Miſeries and Calamities, both publick and private, which were like to grow upon thoſe Commotions.

(*q*) Ib. p. 390.

After

After this Preface, he proceeds to ſhew the Vanity of their Pretences, and to remove the occaſions of their *Fears* and *Jealouſies*.

b.p.391. Firſt in point of *Religion*, appealing (*r*) *to his own conſtant practiſe of, and endeavours for the Religion Eſtabliſhed*; the dangers and hazards he had undergone for the defence of it: *That* (*s*) *he ſhould not refuſe to conſent to any Laws for the ſecuring of it, ſo they were juſt and poſſible in themſelves, and profitable for his Subjects.* Nor did he refuſe any that were offred to him, by the Parliament at **Bloys** in favour of it. Nor (*t*) did there ever any the leaſt thought enter into his Heart of Countenancing Hereſy in his Dominions.

[s] Ib.p.393. Compare with this, his Majeſties Anſwer to the Petition, which accompanied the *grand Remonſtrance Dec.* 1641. Exact Coll. p. 23. And his Declaration. Exact Coll. p.26.

Secondly, in point of Juſtice and Defence of the Laws, *he ſhewed what he had done, ſince his coming to the Crown, in favour of it; what good Laws and Conſtitutions he had made, and how deſirous he had been that they ſhould be obſerved*: But, if any default were in the Execution of them, the blame muſt reſt upon his Officers, not upon him; whoſe particular care (*u*) had been ſo great for the Rebuilding of thoſe two Pillars, *Religion* and *Juſtice*, which the violence of former times had (*x*) pull'd down, and Level'd with the ground.

[t] Ib.p.392. Compare with this his Majeſties Declar. *De.* 1641. Exact Coll. p.25.26.27. *&c.*

[u] Ib.p.393. [x] Ib.p.395.

He likewiſe intreated all his Subjects, to open their Eyes, and conſider the dangerous Conſequences of theſe Wars, which would not be ended ſo ſoon as they imagined; and not to ſtain their Loyalty, by ſuffring themſelves to be made Inſtruments of their Countries, ruine to their Enemies advancement.

Thirdly, as touching the diſpoſal of places of Honour, and truſt in the Kingdom, firſt he ſtood upon his Prerogative; that, as all his Predeceſſors, ſo he might freely confer ſuch places upon whom he pleaſed, being not reſtrained by any Law to make choice of one more than another: Appealing to the People, how groundleſs that Calumny was, when they might ſee thoſe that moſt complained, and were the Authors of thoſe Troubles,

bles, (*y*) to be ſuch as had been moſt preferred by him.

(*y*) Obſerve this rightly parallel'd in the Earls of *Northumb. Eſſex, Holland*, the L. *Say, Kimbolton*, Sr. *Hen. Vane*, Mr. *Oliver*, St. *John*, and divers others.

Fourthly, for the Grievances of the People, he profeſſed (*z*) he had already begun, and promiſed his continuance to relieve them.

(*z*) Ib. p. 396.

Fifthly, for the ſecret Plots and Conſpiracies, which the Heads of the Faction pretended to be laid againſt their Perſons; for preventing whereof they ſaid they were inforced to take up Arms; his Majeſties known Clemency might ſufficiently ſecure them from any on his part, who was naturally ſo far from all deſire of revenge, that no Man living had ever the leaſt cauſe to complain of him in that reſpect, notwithſtanding what ever Provocation he had from any. But very many have had ſufficient proof of his natural Bounty, and Mercy: Therefore his Majeſty prayed, and intreated the Heads of that Faction to Disband their Forces; to relinquiſh their *League*, and return to their Duty and Loyalty; and ſo doing he promiſed to receive them into his favour.

But after the *King* and the *Leaguers* had for a long time bandied Writing, one againſt the other, they ſo far incenſed (*a*) each other, that it was now full time, either to come to Action, and not to multiply any more words. The (*b*) Forces of the Kingdom, which adhered to the King were very weak; for he had not time ſufficient to ripen his Deſigns, being prevented by the ſagacity and forwardneſs of the Houſe of *Guiſe*; his own Followers and thoſe of his Favourites, were divided; ſome taking one part, ſome another: And thoſe which ſtood with the Royal Authority, were very cold and ſlow, their Courages being much daunted by the bold attempts of the Confederates: Nay ſome of the King's own Party, and who had been highly favoured and preferred by him, were revolted (*c*) from him to the *League*.

(*a*) Ib.p.397.

(*b*) Ib.p.398

(*c*) Ib.p.399. Was not his Majeſty thus uſed by the Earls of *Salisbury Monmouth, Weſtmorland*, the L *Coventry* and others?

But that which Afflicted the King above all, was his feares of the City of **Paris** (a juſt Parallel of our **London**) which was indeed the Head of the Kingdom; but a Head ſo great and Powerful, that which way ſoever it inclined,

inclined, it was ſure to turn the Scales. This Citty was not only united with the general *League*, but had entred into a particular *League* and *Covenant* amongſt themſelves: And, having ſecretly provided themſelves of Arms, was ready to revolt upon the firſt occaſion; and if need were to ſeize upon the Kings Perſon, which very much troubled him: For, if he ſhould ſtay in Paris, he could not do it without great danger to himſelf, being liable to every affront from the inconſiderable headineſs of the Multitude: And if he ſhould abandon it, it was ſure to revolt.

To ſecure his ſtay there, he was therefore forced to call (*d*) all the Souldiers of his Ordinary Guard to their Colours; and farther made choice of forty five Gentlemen, in whom he could repoſe confidence, whom he maintained at the charge of an hundred Crowns a Month, beſides their Expences at Court, to attend continually upon his Perſon: Yet, for all this he lived in continual Jealouſies, and Affliction of Mind, ſeeing himſelf upon ſuch an Head-ſtrong Beaſt, as was not poſſible for him to manage: Wherefore he endeavoured all fair means of accommodation with the *Leaguers*, profering them all ſecurity.

[d] Ib.

The Citty of Paris erected (*e*) a new Council of *Sixteen* (as London new-moulded (*f*) theirs) which were the moſt intereſted and affected to the *League* (according to the number of Wards in that Citty) who were to manage all the affairs and diſpoſe the minds of the People; with whom were joined one of every Miſtery in the City, who made their Addreſſes to, and received their Orders from the *Sixteen*; as well concerning the defence of the City, and Service of the *League*, as to counterpioſe the Kings Deſigns.

[e] Ib. p. 437.
[f] In *December. Anno.* 1641.

When there was no hopes of accommodation left with the *Leaguers*, the King began (*g*) to raiſe Forces too; and ſummon'd all the Nobility to aſſiſt him. Wherein he met no where with ſo much Oppoſition, as from the Turbulent Citizens of Paris, where the *Preachers* and Council of *Sixteen* never ceaſed to provoke and incenſe the

[g] Ib. p. 457.

the People, and raiſe frequent Tumults in the City, ſo as the Magiſtrates was ſet light by, and trod under foot, with danger of an open revolt, which thoſe Men deſired and endeavoured. Nor did it ſtand with the preſent condition of the King to chaſtiſe the Authors of thoſe Tumults, for fear of miniſtring any occaſion to the City of revolting from him. Whereupon they Multiplyed their Practiſes with much boldneſs, which had (doubtleſs) arrived at that end, which the *Leaguers* deſigned, but that the fear (*h*) of the *German*-Army, and the Kings *Proteſtation*, and *Oath* for defence *of Religion againſt the* Huguenots (which he had ſolemnly taken upon New-years day 1587.) did contain them within ſome bounds of Moderation.

(*h*) Ib. p. 447.

The King therefore, having (*i*) with great Dexterity and Moderation, many times ſtilled thoſe Reports, which had been raiſed on no grounds; being likewiſe heartily vexed at the Ringleaders of thoſe Tumults, but deeply concealing his Paſſion, left (*k*) the Lord *Villaclere* to be Governour, and the Queen-Mother Regent in **Paris**; and departed thence about the end of *July*, 1587.

(*i*) Ib. p. 457.

Thus was that King driven from **Paris** by the Tumults.

The Houſe of *Lorrein* (who were the prime Men in the *League*) puſt up with the Opinion of their own Power, forgot all Moderation, and ſpread their Sailes to vaſt hopes; talked of nothing, but utter extirpation of the *Huguenots*; of depoſing the King, and thruſting him into a Cloyſter (as they found in Stories that King *Chilperick*, had been ſerved:) of expelling all Favourites from the Court; ſharing the great places of the Kingdom amongſt themſelves, and Governing all **France** as they pleaſed. And ſo high were they in their own Conceits, that their Councils were not bounded, either by Juſtice, or Poſſibility. For ſuppoſing all things to be now in their own hands, they imagined their Merit to be ſuch, as they might lawfully undertake, and their Power no leſs, as that they might eaſily perform, any the higheſt and moſt advantagious atchievement what ſoever.

What was this other, than, as our Men told his Majeſty, *If they ſhould make the higheſt Precedents of former Parliaments their Patterns, it would be no Breach of Modeſty*: To which purpoſe they cauſed, or ſuffred thoſe Infamous Stories of King *Richard* the Second's time, to be Publiſhed in Print.

[l] See their third Remonſtrance Exact Coll. p. 265.

*Davila* p. 481.

When all their Plots were now ripe, and they in readineſs for Execution; they took the very ſame courſe, and upon the very ſame Grounds, as our Men did actuate their Deſigns; which was (forſooth) by an *Humble Petition.* (*m*) For they agreed, that the Duke of *Guiſe*, and other Lords of the *League*, ſhould not immediately ſet upon the King with open force: But to make a ſhew, as if the nature of the Affairs themſelves, did carry them on to their Deſigned end, they ſhould preſent a Petition, which ſhould contain many demands, very advantagious to themſelves; and ſuch as would neceſſitate the King to declare himſelf to the full. For if he granted their Requeſts without more ado, than they had their end, but if he ſhould hold off, and be unwilling, than he would give them occaſion to make uſe of their Armes; and to take that from him by force, which he was not willing to part with of his own accord.

[m] Like the Petition for the *Militia*, and the XIX *Propoſitions.* Exact Coll. p. 59. & 307.

The chief Heads of their Petition (preſented to the King, by the Duke of *Guiſe*) after many Preambles and Reaſons couched together with a great deal of cunning, were theſe; *viz. That the King would cordially Joyn with the* League *for Extirpation of the* Huguenots [His Majeſty join with his Parliament, for defence of Religion] *That he would diſmiſs from his Privy-Council, and other places of Truſt and Command; and from the Court, and their ſeveral places, all ſuch Perſons as they ſhould name; ſuch as were ſuſpected by them* [Such as they could not confide in, diſſaffected to the *Catholick* Religion] *That* (*n*) *he would grant the Confederates ſome places of Strength, wherein they might place Garriſons for their own ſecurity, and thoſe to be maintained at the charge of the Crown. That an Army ſhould be maintained on the confines of* **Lozein**, *to hinder any Forreign Invaſion, and that to be commanded by one of the Confederates* [This the *Militia* * juſt] *That he would confiſcate and cauſe to be ſold, all the Goods of the* Huguenots

Exact Coll. p. 102.

[n] *Davila* p. p. 482.

* See the like demands by the Members at *Weſtminſter* in their Propoſitions Exhibited to his Majeſty 23 *Nov.* 1644.

Huguenots [Papiſts *and* Prelates] *and with the price of them, defray the Charges of the former War, and help to maintain the* Leaguers *for the future.*

And in their Articles of Treaty at *Edenborough* 29. *Nov.* 1643. A full Relation at the Treaty at *Uxbridge.* p. 6. & p. 72.

To this Petition, which was preſented to the King, in the beginning of *February, Anno.* 1588. his Majeſty was not haſty to return an Anſwer; nor did the Duke of *Guiſe* much deſire it, becauſe the ends of their Demands, were only to make the King contemptible, and odious to his People, as alſo ſuſpected as a Favourer of Hereticks: And, in the mean time to give occaſion to the *League*, to riſe in Arms, and Proſecute their Deſigns, while Fortune ſmiled upon them.

The (*o*) Citizens of **Paris** being led away by their new *Council of Sixteen*, could no longer endure the Kings Government; but were full of Scandalous Libels, politick Diſcourſes, Satirical Verſes, and feigned Stories, wounding the Kings Honour. The *Preachers* likewiſe, after their uſual manner, but with more freedom, ſpeaking againſt the preſent State of things, filled the Peoples Eares with new, ſtrange, and miraculous Stories. Which poiſon being derived from the Citty of **Paris**, as from the Heart, ſpread abroad into all other parts of the Kingdom; all Counties being poſſeſs'd with the like Impreſſions in favour of the *League*, and diſadvantage of the King.

(*o*) Ibid.

The (*p*) Duke of *Guiſe*, purpoſing to derive all the Kings Authority upon himſelf and his Adherents, applyed himſelf moſtly to the *Pariſians*, being inform'd by the *Sixteen*, that the City was at his Devotion, with Twenty Thouſand Armed Men, under Sixteen Commanders of their ſeveral Companies, ready for any Imployment. But not confiding in thoſe Commanders, he thought fit to leſſen the number, and ſent them five Captains to regulate and Command the Popular Arms; viz. *Briſſac*, *Boſdaufin*, *Chamois*, *Eſcaroles*, and Colonel St. *Paul*; with whom was joined the Lord of *Menevil*, as the prime inſtrument of the Plot.

(*p*) Ib. p. 483.

And, though the King, in his own Perſon, was a moſt Rigid Oppoſer of the *Huguenots*, and none more Zealous in his Religion than himſelf; yet did they defame him to the People, as a Favourer of *Hereticks*; yea and to For-

rein Princes too; *Traducing him* (ſaith *Thuanus*) (q) *who was otherwiſe a moſt inteſtine Enemy to the Proteſtant cauſe, both in* France, *and with Forrein Princes, as if what he did for the Peace and Quiet of his Kingdom, he had done it in favour of the* Proteſtants.

[q] Hiſt. Lib. 85. *Anno.* 1586.

Touchiug the point of *Placing* and *Diſplacing Councellors*; as their Demands and Colour for them, were alike with our Mens; ſo was the Kings Anſwer not much different.

It (r) was the publick diſcourſe of the *Guiſards* in Paris, that the Kingdom could never be ſetled in Peace, nor the Minds of true *Catholicks* at eaſe, ſo long as they ſaw the Kings Perſon inviron'd with non-confiding Perſons, and of uncertain reſolutions in point of Religion.

[r] *Davila.* p. 492.

The King made anſwer he was very willing to any thing that might conduce to the ſettlement of Religion; and that (s) he was heartily inclin'd to the Extirpation of *Huguenots*; there being no Prince in *Chriſtendom*, that more hated, and deſired the Suppreſſion of *Hereticks*, than himſelf. And, that for thoſe about his Perſon, they had never ſuggeſted to him any Councils to the contrary: That all Kings had ever enjoyed the free Liberty of preſerving and favouring whom they pleaſed; and to chooſe their Companions according to their own Guſt. Were it not ſo, the liberty of Kings ſhould be chained, and limitted to that which private Men enjoy free, and without reſtraint; there being no perſon ſo mean, but hath Power to live and converſe with whom he pleaſe, according to his own *Genus* and liking. But if it ſhould be proved againſt his Miniſters, that they had in any thing, demeaned themſelves with leſs Sincerity than they ought, he would be ready to puniſh them accordingly, to the quality of their Offence; but would not Baniſh them from his Court to humour other Men.

[s] Ib. p. 493.

Compare with this his Majeſties Anſwer to the Petition which accompanied the Grand Remonſtrance *Dec.* 1641. Exact Coll. p. 13. And his Anſwer to the Petition concerning the *Militia* Exact Coll. p. 60.

When the King, by reaſon of the Tumults in Paris, had (as was ſaid) for his own Security, enlarged the number of his Guard, the Duke of *Guiſe* and his Partiſans ſpread (t) a Rumour in the City, that the King had a purpoſe to put a Hundred and Twenty of the Principal *Catholicks*

[t] *Davila* p. 494. & 495.

*Catholicks* to Death, and to put Garriſons in the chief places of the City, to awe the Citizens; and therefore, that it was neceſſary for them to ſtand upon their Guard.

Compare with this that Scandalous Aſperſion againſt his Majeſty that he had a deſign of actual violence upon the City of *London*. 4 *Jan.* 1641.

Upon this Succeeded (*u*) the Barricados at **Paris**, when the King was in a manner wholly in the Duke of *Guiſes* Power: But yet he made a ſhift to ſlip away privately, from his Palace (the **Louure**) attended only with Sixteen Gentlemen. The Duke not taking care to prevent the eſcape, whether (*x*) out of Honeſty, of which he pretended to be the Protector, or that he deſired to cloak all his Deſigns with the Mantle of Piety and Religion; or that he intended nothing more but his own ſafety, and Reformation of the Government; promiſing to himſelf that all would fall into his Lap, by means of his cunning Carriage; and that he needed not to make uſe of open Force; brought the King to ſuch a low Ebb, that he muſt of neceſſity yield up himſelf to his Diſpoſal, and condeſcend to ſuch Conditions as he deſired, which he doubted not but would be approved by the general conſent of the People.

[u] Ib. p. 501.
[x] Ib. p. 498.

The King, being deſirous of an accommodation, imploy'd the Queen Mother to treat with the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Adherents. [Which had the like ſucceſs as his Majeſties Meſſage from **Nottingham** to thoſe at **Weſtminſter.**]

But the Duke's demands were (*y*) extream high and Exorbitant, more like an abſolute Conquerour, than a Subject; *viz.* That the King ſhould declare him his Lieutenant-General over all the Provinces of his Dominions; That a general Aſſembly of the States ſhould be called at **Paris**; and this Authority being then confirm'd to him by them, that the Taxes and Impoſitions upon the People ſhould be moderated; That, for removing all ſuſpition of Innovations, all Forms of Government ſhould be ſetled in ſuch a way, as it might not be lawful for the King to make any alteration; That the Duke *D'Eſpernon*, and ſeveral other Miniſters of State, (as perſons ſuſpected to keep Intelligence with the *Heretick*s, and to be continually hammering out new Projects,) ſhould be put out of their Places and Commands, and for ever Baniſhed from the Court; That to remove the Jealouſies

[y] Ibid. p. 499. & p. 500.

ſies generally conceived of too remiſs Proceedings againſt the Hereticks, the ſole managery (z) of that War ſhould be Committed to the Duke; That to take away the ſuſpition of any Tyrannical Intentions, or Actions from the King, he ſhould diſmiſs (a) his Guard of forty ſix, and interdict them all [*his Majeſty to return to the Court, and content himſelf with ſuch an ordinary Guard, as his Predeceſſors uſed to have.*]

[z] Compare with this, the Propoſitions to his Majeſties Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge*, concerning the War of *Ireland*. Full Relation, &c. p. 95.

[a] See the like demands by the Members at *Weſtminſter*. Exact Coll. p. 259. & 465.

That *Griglion*, the Captain of the Guard, ſhould be diſplaced and another put in his room, in whom the *Catholicks* could confide: That the forts of **Provence** ſhould be conſign'd to the Duke *D'Aumarle*, and others to others of the *League*; and that the King ſhould depoſite in the hands of certain Lords of the *League*, ſix other ſtrong Holds, ſuch as they ſhould nominate, which ſhould be Garriſon'd by them, and have ſuch Governours as were to their liking: That a convenient Aſſignment ſhould be made to the Cittizens of **Paris** for reimburſing the Expenſes they had been at: And that the Government of the City ſhould be confer'd upon the Count of **Briſſac**, the Duke of *Mayne* made high Admiral, and *de Chatres* Ld. Mareſchall.

When the Duke of *Guiſe* failed of his Intentions upon the Kings Perſon (by reaſon of his eſcape) and his Deſign of obtaining from him, as his Priſoner, what Conditions he pleaſed, was by that means cruſhed, he bent (b) his thoughts to the ſecuring himſelf of the Command of the City of **Paris**. For, perceiving that he muſt now go to War with the King; he knew very well, that he could have no ſtronger Foundation, than the Power and Aſſiſtance of the *Pariſians*: Therefore to aſſure himſelf of the City, he got into his Hands the *Baſtile*, diſpoſſeſſing *Teſtate*, who held it formerly for the King, but was now forc'd to ſurrender it into the hands of the People, who inſtantly made the Duke Governour of it. The Duke therefore, looſing no time, call'd the People together in a Common-Council, and cauſed *Hector Peroſe*, provoſt of the Merchants [a place anſwerable to that of Lord Mayor of **London**] to be depoſed, as a dependent on the King; Committed him to the *Baſtile*, and made *Ca-*

[b] Ib. p. 502.

*pello*

*pello Martell* to be choſen (*c*) Provoſt in his place; he being a Principal Incendiary among the People, and chief Miniſter of the *League*. (*c*) Ib. p. 503.

[Juſt a *Pennington* for a *Gurney*.]

The Duke of *Guiſe*, ſeeing the King was got out of the toyl, and that he could not bring his firſt Deſign about, endeavoured (*d*) to make it appear, that it was done with his conſent (the King's Eſcape) though it hapned by his Inadvertence: Therefore, with many fair words and plauſible reaſons, laid down in ſeveral Writings, both to the King and People of **France**, he ſtrove to make them believe, that all his Actions had no other aim, but the benefit of the Kingdom, Allegiance and Obedience to the King, and Zeal to the publick good. That the Tumults (*e*) in **Paris** were occaſion'd by the fears of the People, without any conſent of his: That his Intentions were ever moſt Inclin'd to Loyalty, and all due Obedience, deſiring nothing, but that Evil Councillers might be removed, and due care taken for the ſecuring of Religion. And though (ſays my Author) his Actions were for the moſt part, quite contrary to his Profeſſions; yet the colour of *Religion* was ſo lively and plauſible; he knowing ſo well how to demean himſelf, that the People generally believed him ſtill, a Loyal Subject to the King; and that all he did was only out of Zeal to *Religion*, and an Ardent deſire for promoting the publick good of the Kingdom. (*d*) Ib. p. 508. (*e*) Compare with this the *Expreſſion* of the Members at *Weſtminſter* in their Petition to his Majeſty 26. *Martij.* 1642. Exact Coll. p. 123.

When things were in this State, there followed the face of an accommodation betwixt the *King* and the *Leaguers*; and for the compoſing of all differences, another Parliament was convened at **Bloys** 16. *Oct.* 1588. In the Election (*f*) of Members to aſſiſt at it, though both parts laboured to have ſuch choſen, as were their own dependents, yet thoſe of the *League* prevailed by much above the Kings Party: For the Commons being vexed with their preſſing Grievances (their end being mainly to ſhake off that Burthen) did willingly adhere to the Kings Enemies, who promiſed and profeſſed an earneſt deſire of eaſing the People of their unſupportable burthen by Taxes and Contributions. (*f*) Ib. p. 118.

In

In this Parliament all the States took a Solemn Oath or *Proteſtation*, (*g*) for defence of *Religion*, with the Kings Perſon and Authority. Which Oath they ordered to be taken by all the Subjects of the Kingdom. Notwithſtanding all which Obligations, whereby the *Leaguers* bound themſelves to abandon their former Practiſes, and to apply themſelves to a ſincere obedience of the King: yet did they not remit any thing of their former Machinations: For not only the Duke of *Guiſe* aſpired to obtain the expreſs Title of Lieutenant General (which he could not before accompliſh, though he had the Power) but the reſt ceaſed not to tamper with the States, that the Government migt be reformed in ſuch a manner, as that the King ſhould have no ſhare left him in it, but the bare name and ſhadow of a Prince; the whole Power to be transferred to this Duke, and his Dependents of the *League*.

[g] Compare with this the Proteſtation framed at *Weſtminſter*. 3 *Maij*. 1641.

Nay the very number of the States [which equaliz'd ours in the Houſe of Commons] engaging themſelves in the Intereſts of the Faction, did contend, and ſquable for the ſame ends with them, without any regard of their ſo many and Solemn Oaths, in evident contempt of the Perſon, Name, and Majeſty of the King.

[h] Ibid. p. 523. The (*h*) Commons in this Parliament, (notwithſtanding they had reſolv'd upon a War with the *Huguenots*, which muſt needs be expenſive: Yet) demanded from the King a moderation of Taxes, and diminution of new Impoſitions; which [*like that of Ship-money*] amounted to two Millions of Crowns, yearly; as alſo the Reformation of many Offices erected about the Cuſtomes, and the total aboliſhing of ſome other Grievances. They declared the King of *Navarr* (who was next Heir to the Crown) incapable of Inheriting; and Sollicited the King to make a new Decree upon it, unto which they would have him ſwear, as a Fundamental Law.

After many other Plots and Practiſes in this Factious Parliament; when buſineſs was now fully ripe, and the Duke of *Guiſe* having ſufficiently canvaſſed and prepared the States, both in general, and particular: Grown now ſecure and bold, upon confidence of former Experience, he

he began to bring his Plot upon the Stage, of being made Lieutenant-general, at the Requeſt and by the Authority of the Parliament, which was the laſt end of his preſent hopes. But thoſe hopes were quickly fruſtrate by His untimely Death.

After which his Brother the Duke of *Maine* took up Arms to Proſecute that deſign of the *League*: And, though the King wrote kind Letters to him; yet were they of no force, to make him hearken to any Concord: For making himſelf Head of the *Holy Union*, he was by the *Pariſians* declared Lieutenant General, of the State and Crown of **France**, with the ſame authority and power, wich is naturally inherent in the King (abating only the name) which Power was intended to continue, until the States-General ſhould think fit to alter it: Upon the poſſeſſion whereof he entred 22. *Febr.* 1589 Having taken a Solemn Oath to Protect and defend the *Catholick* Religion againſt all Perſons whatſoever; to preſerve the Eſtate belonging to the Crown of **France**; to defend the Priviledges of the three Eſtates of Parliament, the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons; to cauſe the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Realm to be obſerved; and the Authority and Power of the Courts of Juſtice.

Having done this, he choſe and ſetled the Council of the Union [*like a cloſe Committee*] conſiſting of fourty the chief and moſt eminent Perſons of the *League*, to manage all the moſt Important Affairs with his Aſſiſtance; leaving ſtill the Government of the City of **Paris** with the Sixteen. And, as our Men had their Committies in ſeveral Counties, which received Directions from, and ſent Informations to their great Council; So did theſe of the *League* ordain, (*i*) that there ſhonld be ſix, eight, twelve, or more of them, nominated in ſeveral places of the Kingdom, to propoſe what was fitting to the Council; and, having received Directions from them, to act accordingly.

(*i*) *D'Aubignie* Tom. 2. lib. 3. cap. 3. col. 828.

Nor hath ſcarce any act of Inſolence been Commited by our Men, in which they might not urge theſe for an Example. What hath been done to Juſtice *Mallet*, taken off the Bench, and Committed to the Tower; the like was done in **Paris**: For they, (*k*) in a Tumultuous manner, beſet the Hall of the Pallace, where the Judges

(*k*) *Davila* 2. 548.

than ſate; ſeiz'd upon *Harle* and others, whom they deem'd to be well affected to the King, and Committed them Priſoners to the Baſtile.

The King (upon like Motives as his Majeſty Adjourn'd
[1] Ib. p. 566. the Term from London to Oxford) adjourn'd (*l*) the Courts of Juſtice; the Parliament of Paris to Tours; that of Roan to Caen; that of Dijon to Chalon.

And, that nothing might be wanting in this Rebellion, which was in that: As our Men took upon them, to make a *new great Seal*, ranſackt the Kings Pallace at White-Hall; ſeiz'd all his Revenues, Forts, and Magazine into their own hands; uſurped his Authority, and called in a Forreign-Nation (the Scots) to their Aſſiſtance; their Parliament Voting it, and their Preachers being the Trumpeters of War againſt the King. So our
[m] *Annal. Eliz.* in *An.* 1589. p. 557. own *Camden* tells (*m*) us, the *Leaguers* of France did. —— *Populus ubique Magiſtratibus parere dedignatus; Regias ædes* Lutetiæ *diripuit.* —— *Conjurati, novo conſilio inſtituto, novo Sigillo ad res adminiſtrandas confecto, Regiam ſibi authoritatem arrogarunt; munitiſſima quæque loca, immo integras Provincias ſibi raptarunt; Regni reditus interceperunt, Auxiliares Hiſpanos è Belgio evocarunt, Parliamentis ſuffragantibus; & Eccleſiaſticis Bellum in Regem ubique buccinantibus.*

[n] *Davila* p. 561. The (*n*) King, after all this, being ſtraitned for Money, and entertaining no Thoughts but of Peace and Accommodation, procured the Popes Legate to Interpoſe for that end; promiſing to refer all difference to his Holineſs. Which when the Legate moved to the Duke of *Maine*, he refuſed to hearken to it; alledging it to be but a ſhift of the King to gain time, in regard he found himſelf at preſent unprovided and unarmed. All hopes of accommodation therefore fayling; the King being perſuaded, that he had uſed all means poſſible on his part, and that not without deſcending far below the honour of his perſon, began to alter his Opinion: And, to the end
[o] Ib. p. 562. (*o*) he might not be ſurprized (without aſſiſtance) by the Power of his Enemies; the urgency of his neceſſities conſtraining him perforce to look about for ſome Supplies, he began to hearken to an accord with the King of *Navarre*, a Profeſſed *Proteſtant*.

Certain

Certain it is, that in his own Inclination, he was ever averſe from ſuch an accord; his nature being incompatible with all Commerce with the *Huguenots*. But there being an evident neceſſity, (p) that he could not then do otherwiſe; all his Councillers, with one voice told him, he muſt needs reſolve and ſide with one Party, unleſs he would ſtand alone in the midſt of his Potent Enemies; one on one ſide the **Loyre**, and the other on the other ſide, having poſſeſs'd themſelves of all.

[p] Compare with this his Majeſties Anſwer to the two Papers concerning *Ireland*. *Full Relation* &c. p. 215.

What Moneys, what Friends, what Armies, what Forces had he ſufficient to grapple with ſuch Factions at the ſame time? Tis clear, which way ſoever he could turn himſelf, he muſt have one Enemy before his Face, and another behind his back: His Kingdom alſo being divided, and Forrein Princes likewiſe divided betwixt two Religions; he (a new Example) ſhould have both averſe; both Enemies to him, would he continue in this diſtraction; without Forces, without Moneys. While one ſide Invades one part; another ſide another part of the Regal Authority.

He is now, what he was always, affraid of, in the midſt of two Violent Torrents. He did as much as man could do for Peace: He forgot his own Honour to be reconcil'd with the Seditious; and gave the Rebels and Deſpiſers of his Authority that ſatisfaction which they little deſerved. With unheard of Patience he endured all the Injuries of the People, the Invectives of their Preachers, the Villanous Inſolencies of the Factious Commons, and the bold Decrees of the *Sorbon*; ſubmitting his Royal Majeſty to the inordinate deſires of the Reliques of the *Guiſes*. He did that which never King before him would have endured to have done. What could he do more, unleſs to pleaſe the *Spaniards*, he would patiently wait, without providing any defence, till he were miſerably torn in Pieces by his Enemies; and the like outrages Committed upon his Perſon, as had been already done to his Statua's, both in **Paris** and **Tholouſe**. It is more then time therefore, that he ſhew he hath the Heart of a Lyon; and, making uſe of the King of *Navarr's* Aſſiſtance —*de Inimicis ſuis vind care Inimicos ſuos*, to revenge himſelf of his Enemies by his Enemies; this being no new nor unheard of Courſe. His Brother K *Charles* many times, and

Was not his Majeſties Statua abuſed, both at the Old *Exchange* in *London*, and at *Winchester*?

himſelf ſometimes, when Neceſſities were leſs preſſing, had made Peace with the *Huguenots*. Why ſhould he not, therefore, ſeek all juſt means to reſtrain the Seditious, to recover his own Power; and now at laſt to reſtore Peace and Reſt to his Kingdom?

Ib. p. 563. Upon (*q*) this then followed ſeveral adverſe *Declarations* of the King's; juſtifying his own Proceedings. The like by the Duke of *Mayne* in behalf of the *League*.

After theſe Inſtigations of his Councillers, the King beginning to incline to an accommodation with the King
Ib. p. 564. of *Navarr*, and the *Huguenots*: Though (*r*) all his followers deſired that he ſhould not come to an accord with them; yet, ſuch was the obſtinacy of the Duke of *Mayne* and the *Leaguers*, and ſuch the State of the Realm, by reaſon of the preſent Seditions, that none of them could blame him, though they all abhorr'd it.

Ib. p. 565. Seeing (*s*) therefore, that of neceſſity he muſt take up ſome reſolution; and that his Affairs were in danger of utter ruine, if he did not; he concluded a Truce for one Year with the King of *Navarr*, upon theſe Conditions.

1. That the publick Exerciſe of the *Catholick* Religion ſhould be reſtored in all places under the Command of the *Huguenots*, without Exception.

2. That the Clergy ſhould be reſtored to their Means; and the Priſoners which they had in their hands ſhould be ſet at Liberty.

3. That the King of *Navarr* ſhould be obliged to ſerve him in Perſon, with four Thouſand Foot and twelve Hundred Horſe, whereſoever he ſhould be Commanded.

4. That all Cities, Countries, and places of his Party ſhould obſerve all the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, obey the Courts of Juſtice, and the Kings Magiſtrates; and receive ſuch Orders as the King had or ſhould hereafter give them.

On

On the other ſide it was agreed, that the King of *Navarr* ſhould have the City of **Samur**, and keep it as a free paſs for him, upon the River **Loyre**; but be bound to yield it up again at the Kings Pleaſure.

[*How fully applicable is this to the Ceſſation made in* **Ireland** *by his Majeſty?*]

Hereupon the King ſet forth a *Declaration* (*t*) againſt the Duke of *Maine* and his Adherents, who had cauſed the Cities to revolt, and were then up in Arms; intimating to them; that if they did not return to their Obedience within the ſpace of XV. days, and forbear to trouble the Realm by making Levies; as alſo not lay down Arms; they ſhould incurr the Crime of Rebellion, and all their Goods be Confiſcate. (*t*) Ib. p. 567.

[*Like to this was his Majeſties* Proclamation (*u*) *againſt the Earl of* Eſſex *from* **York** 9. *Aug.* 1642.] (*u*) Exact Coll. p. 503.

Which Writings were attended with Actions ſutable: [*as his Majeſty did ſet on foot his Commiſſions of Array*] the King granting out Commiſſions to ſeveral Governours in ſundry Provinces, for making of Levies, and drawing the People together in Arms. Nevertheleſs he ſtill continued his Inclinations to Peace; and having (*x*) excuſed the Truce, which he was neceſſitated to make with the King of *Navarr*, and promiſed to perſevere conſtant in the *Catholick* Religion; he intreated the *Pope's Nuncio* once more to trye the Mind of the Duke of *Maine*; and by conferring with him in Perſon, to labour him to an Accommodation; in regard, that, neither by the Duke of *Loreyne's* means (to whom he had Written) nor the Dutcheſs of *Nemurs*, (who had been imploy'd to that purpoſe) he could at all work upon him, to lend the leaſt Ear to any Treaty for Peace. (*x*) *Davila* p. 568.

And to make it evident to the World, how deſirous he was to be free'd from the neceſſity of an accord with the *Huguenots*; he delivered to the Cardinal, a Paper, Written with his own Hand, wherein was contained what things he would be content to grant to them of the *League*:

Offring

Offring to make the Prince of *Loreyne* Governour of **Metz**, **Tul**, and **Verdun**; to Marry the Inheritrix of *Bullion*, with the Cities of **Gaunes** and **Sedan** to the Count of *Vaudemont*. To the Duke of *Mayne* he was content to yield the Government of the whole Countrey of **Burgundy**, with the nomination of all under-Governours there; and that to paſs to his Son after him. To the young Duke of *Guiſe*, the Inheritance of **Champaine**, **St. Deſir**, and **Rocroy**, for ſecurity of his Perſon; with Thirty Thouſand Crowns a Year of Eccleſiaſtical Revenue for one of his Brothers: To the Duke of *Nevers* the Government of **Lyons**: To the Duke *D'Aumarle* **Saint-Eſprit du Rac**, for his ſecurity; To make his Brother General of the Foot, with Twenty Thouſand Franks a Year: To the Duke of *Elleboef*, the Government of **Poictiers**. To theſe and others, divers large penſions, and preferments; ſo deſirous was he to purchace his Peace, at any rate.

[*Which* Propoſitions *were not much unlike his Majeſties Inſtructions to his Commiſſioners, for the Treaty at* **Uxbridge**, *and wrought as little with the Leaguers*]

But this Paper of the King's wrought nothing at all; the Duke of *Mayne*, meeting with the Legate, refuſing peremptorily to hearken to any Agreement; pretending (*y*) that he could not accept of any Conditions, without calling all the Eſtates of the *League*, and all the Princes of his Family together, to have their Conſent. Which he ſaid indeed, becauſe he thought himſelf by much, Superior in force to the King, and becauſe both the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy* had promiſed to aſſiſt him with Men and Money.

[y] Ib. p. 569.

The News of the Truce, which the King had made with the King of *Navarr* no ſooner arrived at **Paris**; but 'tis incredible what Malice they thereupon conceiv'd againſt him, and all his Followers; what exorbitant (*z*) Demonſtrations they made of it; even by their publick Ordinances, prohibiting any Prayers to be uſed for him, in the Service of the Church, as had been ever done for all the Kings of **France**; which the *Catholick Church* many times, and *Piety* allows (particularly on *Good-Friday*) even to Hereticks, Idolaters and Infidels. Nor is it

[z] Was not the like done by our Men againſt his Majeſty for Aſſenting to the Ceſſation in *Ireland?*

it poſſible to account the innumerable quantity of Libels, Declarations, and Pamphlets, Printed and Publiſhed againſt him, beyond all bounds of Reaſon and Modeſty.

To conclude, the noiſe of Arms did ſoon drown that of their Libels, and Seditious Sermons: And many Battails were Fought, in which the King had the better, and came Victorious before that proud City of Paris: But, in the Seige of it, he was baſely Murthered by *Jaques Clement*, a *Dominican* Fryer; 1. *Aug.* 1589.

After this Untimely Death of that King (*Henry* the 3*d.*) the Crown of France with its Troubles, deſcended upon the King of *Navarr*, *Henry* the 4*th*: Who being acknowledged (*a*) by the Catholick Nobility, in the Camp; they ſwore Allegiance to him; he mutually promiſing (*b*) to maintain and defend the *Catholick Roman-Religion* to the utmoſt of his Power, and not to endeavour any alteration in it: And likewiſe to maintain [*the Priviledges of Parliament*] the three Eſtates of France, in their wonted Power, Priviledges, Immunities, Prerogatives, *&c.* without any prejudice or innovation whatſoever.

[a] Ib. p. 591.

[b] Ib. p. 593.

But all this had little Operation on the *Leaguers*, they perſiſting in their wonted Obſtinacy and Rebellion, though he omitted not any means to win them to peace and reconcilement. For firſt he ſent (*c*) unto them, that *Villeroy* might come to Treat with him; but was refuſed. Then he imploy'd a private Gentleman to Paris, to whom the Duke of *Maine* would not give Audience, but appointed that he ſhould deliver his Meſſage to *Villeroy*: Which was, that the King had expreſly commanded him, to aſſure the Duke of his Majeſties good Inclinations to peace; as alſo to repreſent unto him how neceſſary it was for the publick good; what great account he made of the Dukes perſon; how much he deſired to make him his Friend; and to have him near at hand, that he might afford him an honourable ſhare in his favour, ſutable to his Condition. Likewiſe that the Duke might then lay aſide the vain hopes of ſeeing the King abandoned by his Subjects, conſidering in what a good condition he did at that time ſtand. Deſiring therefore, that he would

[c] Ib. p. 596.

would propoſe ſome Conditions, his Majeſty being ready to gratify him in any thing he might.

[*This hath ſomewhat of his Majeſties Letter to the Earl of* Eſſex, at **Leſtithiel**]

Whereunto, the Sum of the Anſwer, which the Duke gave Commiſſion to be made, was [*in this ſomewhat more civil than that of the Earl of* Eſſex] that he had no private Quarrel with the King, whom, for his own part, he did highly Honour and Reverence; but his Religion, and his Conſcience would not ſuffer him to enter any Treaty with him. *For if* (quoth he) *my Deceaſed Brethren took up Armes in the Kings Life time, upon a ſuſpition of danger: Now that the Neceſſity is more urgent, and the danger preſent, I cannot lay down thoſe Armes, which I have taken up, without ſinning againſt the Memory of my Deceaſed Brethren* [Eſſex *might have urged his Father*] *and my own Conſcience, and that Solemn Oath which I took* [*the* Covenant *forſooth*] That I *engaged my Faith, and Conſecrated my Life to the publick Cauſe, when I accepted the Charge of Lieutenant General of the State; and that I could not reſolve upon any-thing without the publick Convention of all of my Party.*

[d] Ib.p.597. & 599. Some there were, who urged (*d*) this Duke of *Mayne*, to uſurp the Title of King of **France**; but others, on better grounds diſſuaded him.

[e] Ib.p.601. The (*e*) King therefore (in theſe great Diſtreſſes) Summon'd a general Convention of the Eſtates, to meet in *October*, at **Tours** (the chief City of his Party) But his

[f] Ib.p.603. Army mouldring (*f*) away (and he with thoſe left him, not above ſix Thouſand Foot, and fourteen Hundred Horſe) retired to **Dieppe**, and there fortifyed. Where-

[g] Ib.p.606. & 609. upon the Duke of *Mayne* purſued, (*g*) and put the King in danger; but loſt the Opportunity of a Victory; and, at the Battail of **Arches** was forc't to retreat with loſs, though his Forces were Superior (by much) to the Kings.

[h] Ib.p.612. Which ſucceſs (*h*) in that Battail (upon the addition of four Thouſand *Engliſh*, and a Thouſand *Scotts*, then ſent to **Dieppe** by Queen *Elizabeth*) ſo encourag'd the King, that he preſently Marcht towards **Paris**, and came before it upon the laſt of *October*, 1589. Which unexpe-

cted

cted Approach, ſtroke no ſmall Terror (*i*) into the Multitude; eſpecially the Ladies, ſeeing him come on ſuch a ſuddain, ready to aſſail that proud City; and at a time, when they were perſwaded he would have had enough to do to defend himſelf: Alſo; that in regard of the weakneſs of his Forces, he would either by that time have been ſubdued, or driven out of the Realm. For the Duke of *Mayne*, when he went againſt the King at Dieppe; by way of oſtentation of his Forces before the People, writ to Paris; that, *within a few Days, he would either bring the King Priſoner, or force him to flye into* England *with ſhame enough.* And now the City not well provided, and out of hopes of relief, their Mindes were full of Fears and Vexation. But, upon the Duke of *Mayne's* Approach, the King roſe from before Paris, having firſt taken the Suburbs and ſackt them. (*i*) Ib. p. 613.

The Convention of Eſtates thus met (*k*) at Tours, put out a *Declaration* in behalf of the King: And that at Paris Publiſht another againſt him. After which contrary *Declarations*, the Schollars being as eager to contend for their ſeveral Parties, as the Souldiers, there were publiſh't many Ordinances of Parliament; infinite Writings of particular Men; Deciſions of the *Sorbon*; Letters of the Pope's Legate; Anſwers of the Biſhops that adhered to the King; and ſuch a number of Books every where diſperſed; that it was a clear caſe, there was not a Witt in the Kingdom, but was Imploy'd: Not a Pen but writ in defence of the Reaſons of one ſide or other; but with ſo much Obſtinacy of Mind in their Arguments; that it was eaſy to diſcern, that the Arms of the Spirit, when they are diſtorted and miſuſed in divers manner, in the Heat and Incogitancy of Wars, are more apt to adminiſter new Fewel to the Flame, than quench the Fire already begun (*k*) Ib. p. 627.

At this time the Affairs of the League were in a very tottering condition; the diverſity of Pretenſions, and contrary ends of the Confederates much diſturbing the courſe of their Enterprizes; holding not only their Councils, but the Effects and Actions of their common Intereſts in ſuſpence. Which, in regard of the ſpeedy Expedition, and Reſolutions of the King, could not admit of delays.

(l) Ib. p. 6: 8. The (l) Duke of *Mayne* being Prince of the Faction, and head of the Deſign (who, by the Authority of his Perſon, Prudence of his Government, and experience in Marſhal-matters, bore the chief burthen of their Affairs) conceiving that the reward and fruits of his Paines, did of Juſtice belong to himſelf, projected therefore, either to transfer the Crown upon himſelf, or upon ſome of his Houſe: But in caſe he could not obtain ſo much; then, at leaſt, to ſet it upon the Head of ſome ſuch Prince, as might totally and abſolutely be beholding to him for it; being reſolv'd that the Kingdom ſhould not be divided; much leſs that it ſhould fall into the Hands of a Forein Prince.

On the contrary, the King of **Spain** (who, in the beginning ſecretly, but now openly protected and fomented the *League*, and had of late Years laid out two Millions in the Service of the Confederates; and was now to contribute vaſt Sums of Money, both in publick and private, beſides his maintaining of Foot and Horſe; ſeeing, that without his Aſſiſtance, which they deſired might be great and ſtrong, not only the main Deſign was like to come to nothing, but the *League* could not long ſubſiſt without being Diſſolved) thought, more than reaſonable and more than juſt, that, as the Expences and Loſſes were his, ſo the Fruits and Benefits ſhould be his alſo: And therefore, beſides an under-hand ſecret Deſign of Uniting the Crowns, and gayning that of **France** to his Daughter *Iſabella* the *Infanta*, (whom he had by his Queen *Elizabeth*, King *Henry* the 3*ds*. Eldeſt Siſter) he farther endeavoured, to get himſelf publickly declared Protector of the Crown of **France**, with Sovereign Power and Authority to diſpoſe of the Offices of the Crown; to chooſe the Governours and Captains of the Army, to conferr Biſhopricks, and to have all the Prerogatives pertaining to an abſolute Prince. All which was demanded, and publickly Sollicited by his Agents *Mendoza*, *Mornea*, &c.

But the Citizens of **Paris** (who perceived well, that the main ſtrength of the Faction conſiſted in them; not only in regard of the Multitude of their People, and Power of the City; but by reaſon of their continual Contributions, from whence the Sinews of the War were derived)

rived) thought it was come to their ſhare, to diſpoſe of the Crown: And, being all apay'd with the Duke of *Mayne's* bad Succeſs in the Wars [*the ſame fate which the Earl of* Eſſex *had with the* Londoners] Imputing the loſs of their Suburbs to his ſlackneſs (whom they called Coward and Block-head *p.* 741.) and that the City was now in a manner Beſieged, and much ſtraitned for want of Proviſions, by reaſon of his want of Care, inclin'd to ſubmit themſelves to be ordered by the *Spaniards*; hoping by the help of their Forces, to deſtroy the King's (whoſe very Name was odious to them) and to extirpate the Religion of the *Huguenots*, whereunto they were naturally Enemies; and, by means of the *Spaniſh*-Gold, to be eaſed of the inſupportable burthen of Contributions: For the King of *Spains* Miniſters bore them in hand, and went about cunningly with fair Promiſes, and big Words, both in publick and private, in order to their Aſſiſtance.

On *(m)* the other ſide, the Nobility, which took part with the *League* (in whoſe hands were the Arms and Forces of the Kingdom) were much averſe from ſubmitting to the *Spaniſh*-Yoke, inclined to the Duke of *Mayne*; conforming themſelves to his Pleaſure, to be guided by his Authority. But, in this great diſtraction of the Kingdom, divers of them were not without their own particular Deſigns. And of ſuch variety of Councils was the *League* compoſed; that, by claſhing with one another, they interrupted the courſe of their Affairs, and abated the heat, by which they firſt Conſpired in that Band, which ſeemed to have no other end but Religion.

*(m)* Ib. p. 629.

The King, therefore, taking advantage of theſe their Diviſions, diſmiſſed the Marqueſs of *Belin* upon his Parole (whom he had taken Priſoner at the Battel of Arches) with Commiſſion, in his name, to proffer Peace to the Duke of *Mayne*; and to exhort him, as a Prince of an honeſt and moderate temper, not to aſſent to the Pernicious Deſigns of Foreigners; but, freeing himſelf from the baſe uſage of the Vulgar, and cunning of the *Spaniard*, that he would hearken to an honeſt and ſafe Peace; whereupon, *(n)* anſwerable to his Merit and Honour, he ſhould have as great a ſhare in the Kings Favour as himſelf could deſire.

*(n)* Ib. p. 630.

When the Marqueſs made this overture to the Duke, the Opinions of the Councillers about him, were much divided; ſome favouring it; others declaming againſt it: Telling how the War was founded upon the point of Religion, and therefore nothing muſt be done in it, without the Popes Approbation: Alſo, that the Duke of *Mayne*, being not abſolute Prince of the *League*, but only the Head of his Party, ought not to adventure upon ſuch an Important Action, without the joynt conſent of all thoſe that followed that Party, and all the Princes, that adhered to, or favoured the *League*; who (if they ſhould not follow his deliberation) might chooſe another Head, and he be left deſtitute of the ſupport of the *Catholick* Party, to the will of his Enemies. And, that this was but a trick of the Kings, to work a diffidence in the Dukes Party, and to ſow Diviſions and Suſpitions amongſt the Confederates, though the King might promiſe Golden-Mountains, to the end he might diſſolve the Union of the *League*; yet there was no ſecurity; but that ſo ſoon as he ſhould be Eſtabliſhed King, in Peace, he would not obſerve the leaſt Tittle of his promiſes.

The Duke, therefore, on the one ſide, by the diſdain, which he had conceived againſt the Inconſtancy, and Impertinency of the Citizens of **Paris**, and the want of Money to pay his Souldiers, was troubled much: But above all, the Subtilty and ſurlineſs of the *Spaniard* vexed him moſt; who having cauſed *Seignior de la Mot*, the Governour of **Gravelin**, to come out of **Flanders** with their Forces, to the confines of the Kingdom; refuſed to let him advance one Foot further, or to iſſue any Moneys, for the maintenence of the War, unleſs the *Catholick* King was firſt declared Protector of the Crown of **France**; with Authority to diſpoſe of the Principal Dignities, as well Eccleſiaſtical as ſecular, which they called marks of Juſtice; whereby he deſired to have Dominion and Superiority over the *League*.

Which demands ſeemed ſo Exorbitant unto him; ſo prejudicial to the Crown, and ſo diſhoneſt, that he could not endure to think of them himſelf: Nor did he believe, that any one Man of the Confederates, from the *Pariſians* downwards, would ever condeſcend to Decree them: Knowing, that this were to put the Bridle into the King

of

of *Spaine's* hands, to let him carry all things to ſuch ends, as he pleaſed himſelf [*Nor did the Brethren of* **Scotland**, *ſell their Aſſiſtance at a much cheaper rate, as is plainly to be ſeen by their Treaty of the* 29th. *of* November, 1643. *For their advance into* **England**; *and their ſecond demands for their managery of the Government of* **Ireland**]

But, on the other ſide, his Fears of being abandoned, and left alone; his diſtruſt of the Kings Sincerity in his Promiſes, and the Antient grudge he bore to him; but eſpecially his hopes of getting the Crown for himſelf, would not ſuffer him to hearken to thoſe overtures, made by the Marqueſs of *Belin*, whom he ſent back to his Impriſonment, with ſome Ambiguous and General Expreſſions, and cut off the Negotiation for any Accord.

[*So ſtill the King ſeeks, but the Faction declines all occaſions of Peace*]

For (*o*) the People of **Paris** were ſo far Tranſported with *Zeal* to the *Cauſe*, by reaſon of the continual denunciations from the Pulpits, that there could be no Peace, or accommodation made, unleſs they would damn their own Souls; that they were reſolved to endure any thing, rather than to hearken to an Accommodation: Inſomuch as many, who had inconſiderately ſlipt a Word or two out of their Mouths, ſaying, *that Accommodation was better than ſtarving, and rather Peace than a Siege*; were, in the Rage and Fury of the People, either publickly Condemn'd and Executed; or without more ado, thrown into the River, as damn'd Miſcreants, Enemies of the *Catholick* Religion, and infected with the Poyſon of Hereſy. (*o*) Ib p. 662. & 663.

It is not unworthy Obſervation, what Artifices the Heads of that Rebellion uſed to abuſe the People. During (*p*) the Seige of **Paris**, both the Duke of *Mayne* without, and other Lords within the City, imploying all their Art and Induſtry, in giving out Reports, and ſpreading News; ſometimes of a ſtrong Power from **Flanders**, coming to raiſe the Seige; ſometimes of great Proviſions of Victual for Relief of the City; ſometimes of ſome Accident, in favour of their Party, Letters and Meſſengers coming in every day, with a Mixture of true and Falſe Reports together: Which being Publiſhed in their Pulpits, and divulged amongſt their Guards, ſerved to feed the People for a few days. (*p*) Ib. p. 669.

And

[q] Ib.p.676. And (q) when there were certain Commiſſioners ſent from **Paris**, to treat with the King about an Acommodation: Notwithſtanding his Majeſties Anſwer was returned in Writing, with much ſweetneſs of Language, and proffer of all ſecurity and poſſible ſatisfaction, upon return to their Obedience; with Letters, to the ſame effect to the Duke of *Nemure*, and others; exhorting them to Peace, and aſſuring them, that they ſhould receive more from his Grace than they could deſire: Yet, upon return of the Commiſſioners, the Duke of *Nemure*, and other great Perſons, diſſaffected to Peace, would not permit the true Copy of the Kings Anſwer to be Publiſhed to the People; but cauſed Reports to be given out, that the King would not have any Peace, but upon condition of an abſolute Submiſſion; and that the Duke of *Mayne*, and other Lords of the *League*, ſhould not be included in the Pardon.

[r] Ibid. p. 733. The (r) King of *Spaine*, therefore, (upon the Duke of *Parma's* Advice) finding how much thoſe of the *League* relyed upon his ayd, and the neceſſity thereof, endeavoured to prolong the War: That, by the wearineſs and weakneſs of the *French*, he might, at length compaſs thoſe ends upon them, which he ſaw it was impoſſible for him, at firſt to obtain. The Duke of *Parma* himſelf alſo, to win the more upon the People, when he came into **France** with his Army in aſſiſtance of the *Leaguers*; conſidering that the name of a *Spaniard* was there odious; ſtrayn'd himſelf, with all poſſible earneſtneſs of Mind, for to order his Army; as that his Souldiers ſhould not commit any Outrage or Oppreſſion, nor give any occaſion of offence to the *French*.

Such hath been the Pollicy of the *Scots* with us. *Anno.* 1591.

[s] Ib.p.679.

[t] Ib.p.701. The (t) War thus Prolonged, and the charge thereof grown heavy, occaſioned much repining in the People againſt the Duke of *Mayne*, notwithſtanding all his Faithful Services and Paines taken for the *League*; againſt whom none complained (u) more than the Cittizens of **Paris**; who Accuſed the Duke of miſgovernance, of an over greedineſs to keep all things in his own Power, and too much profuſeneſs of other Mens Means.

[u] Ib.742.

[x] Ib.p.702. With them Concurred (x) the Miniſters of **Spain**, who liked not to ſee ſuch a Supream Power in the hands of the Duke, of whoſe Affection to their Deſigns they had no good Opinion.

Beſides

Beſides theſe diſcontents, *Briſſonius* Primier Preſident of the Parliament at **Paris** (who had been, at firſt, a principal Inſtrument for the *League*) when he perceived (as his Friends ſaid) that the ends of the Grandees were not ſo ſincere for the publick good, as he at firſt had conceived of them; (or as his Enemies reported;) being corrupted by large proffers made unto him, on behalf of the King, by ſome who were Priſoners in the City; or (as it was generally believ'd) out of the Levity and Inconſtancy of his nature, began to favour the King's Party; who, taking heart unto them by means of his Protection; making a conſiderable Body, began to Plot, how to bring the City to revolt, and to reduce it to the Kings Obedience. One (*y*) of which Revolters (who had been a chief Fomenter of the *League*) being diſcovered, for holding Intelligence and Plotting for the King, was, by the inſtigation of the *Sixteen*, hurried to Priſon: But whilſt they made ſlow proceeding to his Tryal, he eſcaped; which ſo vexed the *Sixteen*, as that, ſuppoſing the Judges had a hand therein, they furiouſly rayſed the People in Arms; and upon the XV*th.* of *November*, beſet all the Paſſes to the Palace of Juſtice; ſeized upon three of the Judges, *Briſſon*, *Archier*, and *Terdiu*, hauled them to Priſon; and there, without any Legal Proceſs Strangled them the ſame day; Hang'd up their Bodies upon the Gallows next Morning; and like Mad Men, ran about the City, ſetting Guards in ſundry places, with Threats of the like Cruelty to divers others.

(*y*) *Brigard.* lb. p. 742.

Upon endeavour to ſuppreſs which Uproar, the City Garriſon refuſed to obey; being ſo much Devoted to the Councils and Actions of the *Sixteen*, that *Alexander de Monte* ſaid plainly, *He would not move againſt them, who managed the Cauſe of God and all good Men with ſo much ſincerity*: The (*z*) Council of the *Sixteen* Condemning and Executing many Citizens (whom they ſuſpected to incline to the Kings Party) in a precipitous manner.

(*z*) lb. p. 740.

About that time, there being a conſultation held at **Rens** by the chief Heads of the *League*, where they Treated long about their Common Intereſts; though every one did palliate their divers Pretences, and coloured their private Deſigns; yet was it plain enough, that they would never concur in the ſame end.

As

As for the *Spaniards*, they wholly truſted to their own Power, and the neceſſity in which the reſt ſtood of their Aſſiſtance: The Popes *Nuncio* inſiſting upon the Majeſty of the Apoſtolick See, and the Foundation of Religion, which the Pope muſt diſpoſe. The Duke of *Lorreyne* ſtood upon his credit, as Head of the Family, and pretended that the reſt in Modeſty muſt ſit down to him. The Duke of *Savoy* had an aim at the Compaſſing of **Provence**; The Duke of *Mercur* at **Buttain**; The Duke of *Namurz* meant to Cantonize the Government; The Duke of *Mayne*, as Head of the Army and chief of the Faction, relyed upon the Union of the People and aſſent of the Nobility, who ſtood well affected to him. But things being not yet ripe, and every one, proceeding with great Caution and Secrecy, concealed his own Deſigns, and made a ſemblance as if he were moved with no other Conſiderations, but of the publick good.

[a] Ib.p.726. The Duke of *Mayne* attempted (*a*) to Storm *Mant*, where the Kings Council, many Lords, and Prelates, and chief Officers of the Crown were, with a leſs Guard than the Quality of the Perſons and weakneſs of the place required: To which purpoſe he brought divers of the Citizens of **Paris**, drew out the Garriſons of **Meaux**, **Dreux**, and **Pontois**; but was repulſt by the Valour of the Lords themſelves, and their Families.

[b] Ib.p.733. Preſident *Janin* was ſent (*b*) into **Spain**, to negotiate with the King of that Realm, in behalf of the *Leaguers*, but return'd without any reſolution: For it was deſired in **Spain**, that the War ſhould move but a ſlow pace; that the Duke of *Mayne* ſhould not grow ſo much in Credit and Authority with his Party.

[c] Ib.p.740. The (*c*) Council of the *Sixteen* at **Paris** (to whom the Preachers ſtuck cloſe) which was at firſt the Baſis and Ground-work of the *League*; pretending to carry all things according to their own liking, demeaned themſelves with much partiality and Paſſion, proper to a Faction, without any regard to preſerve the Rights of the Crown, or the Honour and Reputation of the *French* Nation; their only Studies and whole Endeavours being ſet upon ſuch things, as might ruine the King, whom they hated moſt perfectly, and extinguiſh both his Name, and all the *Huguenot*-Party, ſo that they might put the

Reins of Government into the hands of ſuch Perſons, as would rule all things according to their Humours. But the Duke of *Mayne*, ſtudying how to curb and moderate their turbulent deſires, inſtituted a *Council of State*, diſtinct from that of the *Sixteen*, conſiſting of many Wiſe and Moderate Men, to counterpoiſe and reſtrain the heady courſes of the other: Amongſt which were *Villeroy*, *Jannin*, &c. Men not tainted with *Spaniſh* Practiſes, nor the inconſiderate Zeal of the Preachers; which kindled a great Heart-burning and emulation betwixt the Council of the State, with the Parliament at **Paris**, and Council of the *Sixteen*, eſpecially ſome of the Zealots amongſt them.

Thus have we ſeen the main reſemblance of the *Holy-League* with this of ours, as to the Original and Proſecution of it; though in the ends of them, they did ſomewhat differ.

Apparent it is, that the carriage of the *Scotts* here, was the very ſame with that of the *Spaniards* there: Their Pretences the ſame; *viz. Religion, and Aſſiſting their Brethren*; Their private ends the ſame, *the advance of their own greatneſs*. Which were no ſooner fully underſtood by the *French*; but even thoſe which were the Kings greateſt Enemies began to deteſt them; and choſe rather to ſubmit to the juſt Obedience of their King, than undergo the *Spaniſh*-Yoke.

For (*d*) when the Council of **Spain** were reſolv'd to ſend but ſmall Forces into **France**, and to ſpin out the Wars to their own leaſt coſt and moſt advantage: Hoping, by that means, to obtain their ends upon the *French* (who without their help, were not able to ſtand againſt the Kings Forces) which were to procure the Lady *Infanta Iſabella* of **Spain**, to be declared Queen of **France**, in a full Aſſembly of the States, which they intended (*e*) to force the Duke of *Mayne*, to call for that purpoſe: The Duke perceiving it, began utterly to diſguſt them, complaining (*f*) of their niggardly and ſparing aſſiſtance afforded to the *League*, and eager deſires of domineering, which had occaſioned the loſs of all their former pains; and given the King opportunity of recove-

[d] Ib. p. 747.

[e] Ib. p. 761.

[f] Ib. p. 792. & 851.

ring ſuch ſtrength, as that he was now Superior to them both, in Reputation and Forces; (with much more bitter Language to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors) he underhand began to Treat (*g*) of an accord with the King; yet remitted nothing of his Violence, and purſuit of his Ambitious ends; but calling an Aſſembly of the States at **Paris**, declared (*h*) himſelf fully againſt the King; and Propoſed the new Election of another; hoping the Crown might be conferr'd upon himſelf, for his great Actions in the Wars, none having merited more of the *Cauſe*. Yet could he not prevail with thoſe of his own Family; the Dukes of *Lorrein* and *Guiſe* thinking as highly of themſelves as he. And (*i*) when the matter came to be opened in a *Cloſe Committee* of the chief *Leaguers*, before ſome ſelect Delegates of the three Eſtates; the Duke of *Feria*, in a ſet Speech, full of Art and Eloqnence, recommended (*k*) the *Infanta* to their Election (a thing which the *Spaniſh* Agents had before Practiſed (*l*) under hand) with many large proffers of Honour and Reward to thoſe of the Houſe of *Lorrein*, and other chief Agents of the *League*.

[g] Ib.p.724.

[h] Ib.p.811. & 821.

Thus did *Cromwell* here.

[i] Ib.p.862.

[k] Ib.p.865.

[l] Ib.p.837.

Which Propoſal ſounded ſo ſtrange in the Ears of the *French*, generally; that (*m*) the Biſhop of *Saintliz* (*William Roſa*) a Man of an harſh Temper and dogged Eloquence (which he had many Years Exerciſed againſt the King and his Adherents) though a Fiery-Zealous *Leaguer*, could not endure to hear with Patience; but inſtantly ſaid, *he now ſaw the Kings Party was in the right of it; who had always given out, that they of the* **League**, *did nothing but veil their State-Intereſts with the Mask of Religion: Which Imputation himſelf and his Companions had ever laboured to confute out of the Pulpits; and that now it grieved him to the Heart, to ſee it confirm'd from the Mouths of the Embaſſadors themſelves*: adding, *that hereafter he ſhould learn to know the Policies of* **Spain** *to be no leſs than thoſe of* **Navarr**; And therefore Intreats them, for their Honours Sake, and Credit of the *Holy-Cauſe*, to deſiſt from all Thoughts of altering the *Fundamental*, the *Salique-Law* of **France**, by Transferring the Crown upon a Woman, and Submitting the Kingdom to the Dominion of a Stranger.

[m] Ib.p.161. & 866.

But

But this Propoſal of the *Spaniard* was reſented (*n*) with no leſs Indignation by moſt of the Members of the State, than by the Biſhop of *Saintliz*, who ſcorned that Strangers ſhould rule over them; as if they were, either ſo baſe, as to make themſelves inſtantly Slaves; or ſo fooliſh as not to underſtand their own Intereſts. Above all, they of the Houſe of *Lorrein* were netled (*o*) at it, who thought to have ſhared the Cake amongſt themſelves. Yea, the very People of **Paris**, being wearied (*p*) out with neceſſities and wants; and having taſted a little of the Sweets of Peace (by means of a ceſſation (*q*) concluded, during the time of the Treaty at **Suren**) did impatiently deſire an Accord with the King; and began to threaten the States, unleſs they would hearken to an Accommodation: The *Spaniards* being now grown ſo odious to the *Pariſians*, as that their Embaſſadors could not peep abroad in the Streets, but they were entertain'd with Scoffs and Curſes; though, but two Years before, they were ſo high in their Books, and gracious in their Eyes, that (*r*) they of **Paris** thought to have yielded the City freely, to be under the Subjection of the King of **Spain.**

[n] Ib.p.867.
[o] Ib.p.868.
[p] Ib.p.879.
[q] Ib.p.845.
[r] Ib.p.743.

No ſooner was this great Myſtery of *Spaniſh* Policy and Ambition revealed; and publickly made known through the Kingdom, and that Aſſembly of States (which was Call'd in Rebellion) Diſſolv'd in Diſorder; but that the Cities, which formerly held for the *League*, and Governours of the Garriſons made haſt (*s*) to return, by their Obedience, to the King: **Meaux** led the way; **Peron, Pontois, Orliens, Bruges, Lyons,** and **Aix** followed after; and **Paris** it ſelf was not long behind. **Roan,** and **Amiens,** and the reſt came flocking in, and were all received to Grace.

[s] Ib.p.901.

The *Spaniards* therefore, when they ſaw their main Project for the Crown thus to fayl, had thoughts to reimburſe themſelves, by getting Poſſeſſion of as many ſtrong places, upon the Frontiers of **France,** as they could, either by Force or Fraud; **La Fera,** in **Picardy, Capella, Croiſil,** and **Blavet** in **Brittany,** and **Calais,** they Surprized. By which means they had ſo ſtrengthen'd themſelves, as that the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Mayne* (after they had made their Peace with the King)

and other Leaders of the *League*, were now content to joyn their Forces, to beat them out as Enemies, whom they had formerly call'd in as Friends.

And ſurely, if our *Covenanters* had been as truly ſenſible of the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, and *Scottiſh*-Practiſes, as the *French Leaguers* were of theirs, they wanted not as juſt Provocations on one ſide from the *Scotts*, and fair Invitations on the other from the King to joyn with him, in delivering this exhauſted and bleeding Kingdom from the Miſery which it did at that time ſuffer; and from that Slavery, which moſt good Men feared was at firſt intended by the *Scotts*; who had ſolemnly ſworn (*t*) to ſubdue this late flouriſhing Church to the Tyranny of a *Scottiſh-Presbytery*: And, not content with that, demanded, (*u*) in effect the Supream Command of **Ireland** to be put into their Hands: As alſo to have an equal (*x*) ſhare in the Government of **England**. Which Deſigns, of that inſolency in them, and diſhonour to us, were ſuch, as our Fore-Fathers would not have endured the mention; and at the Memory whereof, our Poſterity will doubtleſs bluſh.

[t] See their Solemn *League* and *Covenant*.
[u] See the full Relation of the Treaty at *Uxbridge* p.209.
[x] Ib.p.206.

And to bring theſe their ends about, 'tis very well known, that they made themſelves Maſters of the ſtrongeſt Cities in this Kingdom, upon their own confines; *viz.* **Barwick, Newcaſtle,** and **Carliſle**: Out of which, and ſuch other Footing as they had gained here, how they were got, the Precedent Story doth ſufficiently manifeſt, whereof I ſhall not give any touch; that of the *Spaniards* departure out of **France,** having no reſemblance therewith. For the King of **Spain** found, while he was Fighting to gain the Neighbour Kingdom of **France,** he had almoſt loſt his own in the *Low-Countries*. Likewiſe, that neither his Forces, nor Moneys were ſufficient to maintain two ſuch Expenſive Wars at the ſame time: And that he did not gain ſo much in **France,** but the *Hollanders*, by occaſion of that diverſion, got as much of him in **Flanders,** and therefore was willing to hearken to a Treaty for Peace: And the *French* (whoſe Kingdom was now miſerably waſted by a long Civil War) not unwilling to imbrace the motion. Whereupon a Peace was con-

concluded betwixt those two Crowns at **Uervins** upon the second of *May*, *Anno.* 1598. Whereby the *Spaniard* was to restore all the Towns he had taken in the *French* Dominion, and go away only with Bagg and Baggage.

It is not unworthy of Observation, that in all the several Compositions, which the *Leaguers* made with the King, upon their Reconcilement, and in all the Articles of the Treaty at **Uervins**, for the general Peace, there is not the least mention of *Religion*, or Extirpation of Heresy, though that was the *great Cause*, for which they ever pretended to take up Arms: Only they were careful to preserve their secular Interests; and to secure their Persons and Estates upon as good Terms as they could: A plain Evidence, that *Religion* was but the Stale; *Honours* and *Preferments* being the Mark which they aimed at. Yet the *Protestants*, whom they had devoted to Destruction in their *Holy-League*, fared in the end never the worse for it: For the King was content to confirm and Republish in *Anno.* 1595, the same Edict in favour of them, which *Henry* the third had granted in *Anno.* 1577. and which had been the chief Eye-sore to the *Papists*, and a ground of their *League*. Which Edict (*y*) he caused to be verified in the Parliament at **Paris**, where *Coquilius*, one of the Judges, formerly a Violent *Leaguer*, was a special Instrument to further and facilitate the Publication, and reception of it in the Parliament. (*y*) *D'avila* p. 943.

And, and when the Kingdom had some Liberty to Breath and Recover her Senses, even those that were professed *Papists*, did not much repine at the Toleration of *Protestants*, and enlargement of their Priviledges by the Edict of **Nantz**, *Anno.* 1598. Which the Historian (*z*) relating, labours, in part, to excuse, by discoursing to the Reader —— That the Common Peace of **France**, Pressed and almost Oppressed with the Tragical Impetuosities of Schisms and Divisions, made every thing that was just, to be thought necessary, and all that was profitable be esteemed just. So that, seeing the torrent of *Religion* could not be stopt without a Breach in the (*z*) *Pierr Matthew Lib.* 2. *Narrat.* 1. *Sect.* 4.

the State; that the Diſeaſe was inveterate, and a hard matter to remove what was ſo deeply ſetled: That the Reſtauration of a Church, is the work of God, as well as the Plantation: Men muſt be content to do no more than they can, and leave the Triumph and Conqueſt of Souls to the Wiſdom of God, who only forms and Reforms the Hearts of Men as he pleaſeth; and gives the ſignal to many wandring Souls, to bring them into the way of Salvation; it being not poſſible for Men to impoſe a neceſſity upon that, which God hath left at Liberty, the *Conſcience*, which ſhould be as free in a State as *Thought*.

Where, (going on) he ſhews, by the continued Practice of former times, that ſuch Princes, as were well adviſed, never killed their Subjects to Convert them; nor waſted their Dominions by War, to inform their Conſciences by the Sword; knowing, that *Religion* is an Act of Union and Concord, and muſt be planted by Inſtruction; whereas Wars are all for Diviſion and Deſtruction: And thoſe, who, in theſe later times, have mingled Heaven and Earth together, to compell the Conſciences of their Subjects to an Unity in *Religion*, have, at laſt, been fayn to give over, and let them alone; and to reject the adviſe of thoſe unskilful Phyſitians, who preſcribe nothing but *Antimony*, and Letting Bloud, for all Diſeaſes. Then he proves that the accord made with the *Proteſtants*, was both juſt, neceſſary, and profitable. The whole Diſcourſe is not unworthy the conſideration of our times; but I ſhall not trouble the Reader with Tranſcribing farther.

Having now diſpatch't the *Holy-League*, and made good (I hope) ſo much as I undertook; that it was, for the moſt part, parallel to this of ours: One thing, only, I have not inſiſted on; not knowing whether it be convenient to particularize in it; namely the ſtrange Diſaſters, and Unfortunate ends, which befell many Eminent Perſons of that *League*. Like to which our own Story hath afforded us ſome Examples already, and Poſterity may be able to obſerve more.

To

To ſay nothing of any that were Kill'd in thoſe Wars, on either Party; nor much of the Tragical ends of many of that Family, who were the firſt Authors and conſtant Upholders of that *League*; it cannot be forgot, that the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Brother the Cardinal, were both of them ſuddainly taken away by (*a*) Trechery, when their hopes were at higheſt: And the Duke of *Nemure* (their Brother by the Mother) Betray'd by one whom he moſt truſted, Dyed in Deſpair in the declining of the *League*. Likewiſe, That one of the Duke of *Guiſe* his Sons (a Perſon of ſpecial note for his Valour) was, ſome Years after the Peace, miſerably torn in peices by (*b*) a Canon at **Arles**, which burſt, when he gave Fire to it, Shooting at a Mark. The (*c*) chief of the Duke of *Lorreynes* Family, who thought to have gained the Kingdom of **France** to his Son from the Father; (*d*) that Son loſt all his own Dukedom to the Son. (*e*) The Duke of *Mercur*, who aimed to have had **Brittany**, at leaſt, for his ſhare, Dyed (*f*) of the Plague in a Forrein Countrey, left no Heir Male; ſo that his whole Eſtate came to the Duke of *Vendoſme* with his Daughter much againſt her Will. The Count of St. *Paul*, who had been advanced by the Duke of *Mayne*, to the Title of Mareſchal of **France**, was in the time of the *League*, Stab'd by the young Duke of *Guiſe*, as he came forth of the Church at **Remes**. *Villiers*, the Admiral, was baſely Kill'd (*g*) by a *Spaniſh*-Soul-dier, in cold Bloud, and his Finger cut off by another for his Ring. *Briſſon*, the Primier Preſident of the Parliament at **Paris**, who had been firſt moſt Violent againſt the King; upon ſuſpicion of complying; afterwards, was, with ſome others Strangled by the Tumultuous Citizens of **Paris**: And the Lord *Gomeron*, Governour of **Han**, in **Picardy**, who ſold that place to the *Spaniard*, was Beheaded before the Walls of the ſame Town; a Reward not much Inferior to that of the two *Hothums*.

[a] *Du Tillet.* p. 242.

[b] *Davila* p. 994.

[c] *Duplex Hiſt.* p. 27.

[d] *K.* Henry *the* 4*th.*

[e] *K.* Lewis *the* 13*th.*

[f] *Davila* p. 629. *Du Tellet.* p. 263.

[g] *Davila* p. 936.

I take

I take no pleaſure in reckoning up many of theſe Inſtances. He that will ſeek, may find more in **France**; and he that will obſerve (I do not wiſh, but fear it) in time may diſcover as many in **England.**

One Obſervation more, I ſhall Intreat the Reader to carry home with him, and then I have done with the *Holy-League.*

It hath already been ſhew'd at full; that when the *Leaguers* firſt took up Armes, and bound themſelves by Oathes againſt their King; the pretended grounds of the one, and the Subject of the other, were nothing but *the Defence of the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties, and Property of the Subject,* with many fair Promiſes *to make the King a Glorious King.* Where I cannot chuſe but obſerve, how the Hand of God, by a ſtrange Providence, turned all their Vows into Prophecies, and their Promiſes into Predictions; by fulfilling them all, though in far different ſence from what they intended. By ſetling the *True Religion,* they meant the *Roman*; but God fulfilled it of the *Proteſtant*: And thoſe Armes, which they Vowed to the Ruine, God Converted to the Advancement of it; the *Proteſtants* of that Kingdom, having upon that occaſion obtain'd, and ever ſince enjoyed greater Immunities, and a more free and ſetled courſe of the Profeſſion of their Religion, than ever they had before.

As to the *Laws,* the Fundamental Laws of **France** (to ſpeak with the *French*-Man) the *Salique-Laws,* touching the Succeſſion of the Crown, and Prerogative of the King, which they intended to alter; they did, in the event, confirm.

And as *Henry* the third was Advanced to a State of Glory, by the cruel Hands of *Jaques Clement* (an Inſtrument of the *League*) and *Henry* the fourth, by *Ravilliac* (one Trained up in the ſame Principles:)

Principles:) So was King *Charles* the first, by his bloudy Murtherers here.

But, as it fell out, consider what a purchase the Glorious Nobility, the Gallant Gentry, the Rich Citizens, and the Secure Farmer had; when, by siding with the *Leaguers*, they Exchanged their Loyalty, and present Peace, which they enjoyed under the King's Protection, for the aiery hopes of a greater Liberty; and, if not bettering, at least securing their Estates. Did not the long continuance of those Wars, so inure the Souldiers to a Military course of Life, and the People to Patience under *Contributions*, and *Impositions*, that the former could never since be won to lay the Sword out of his Hands; nor the latter get the Yoke shaken off their Shoulders? Only the Scene is somewhat altered; for whereas before, their own Countrey was the Stage of the War; they have now removed it to their Neighbours: And the Crown of **France**, by reason of their many Victories and Successes, is now become justly formidable to a great part of **Europe**; whereby the promise of the *Leaguers* is fully verified, *the King is made Glorious*; but how far they so intended, is easy to imagine. And how the *Liberty of the Subject* in general, is enhaunted, and their *Property* Establisht, by these Glorious Atchievements of the King, when their Yearly Taxes, for support of his Wars, amount almost (if not altogether) to the value of their Lands, let the *French*, if they have any cause, make their boast.

And the People of **England** may now see, how by tracing them too far in the forbidden Paths of a conceited *Liberty*, they not long since fell into the known Slavery of the *French*-Pesant: A Misery, which some of them felt but a little; when, for fear of it, they first Petitioned to be put into a *Posture* of *Defence*; but justly brought upon themselves, by those undue Courses, which they took to prevent it: God, in his Wisdom thinking it fit, to punish this Nation by a real Slavery, unto some of their own Fellow-Subjects, for fancying to themselves an imaginary, under their Lawful Sovereign, as a ground to

juſtify their Rebellion, when there was no cauſe for it.

Wherfore I ſhall now Conclude, with the Words of Sr. *Edward Coke*, at the end of this Chapter, (*h*) concerning Treaſon.

[h] *Cokes Inſtit.* part. 3. p. 35.

——*It appeareth in the Holy Scriptures*, (ſaith he) *that Traytors never proſpered, what good ſoever they pretended, but were moſt ſeverely, and exemplarily puniſhed; As* (*i*) Corah, Dathan, *and* Abiram, *by Miracle*——*dirupta eſt terra ſub pedibus eorum, & aperiens os ſuum, devoravit illos. Athalia* (*k*) the Daughter of *Amri*, *interfecta eſt gladio: Bagatha* (*l*) and *Thara*, againſt *Aſſuerus*, *appenſus eſt uterque eorum in patibulo. Abſolon* (*m*) againſt *David*——*ſuſpenſus in arbore*; *and* Joab, *infixit tres lanceas in corde ejus. Abithophel* (*n*) with *Abſolon*, againſt *David*;——*ſuſpendio interijt*, he Hang'd himſelf.

[i] *Numb.* 16. 31, 32. & 27. 3.
[k] *Reg.* 11. 36.
[l] *Eſther* 6. 2, 3.
[m] *Sam.* 2. 18. 9. 14.
[n] Ib. 17. 23.

*Abiathar* (*o*) the Trayterous High-Prieſt againſt *Solomon*;——*Abiathar ſacerdoti dixit Rex*——*Et quidem vir mortis es, ſed hodie non interficiam*, &c. *Ejecit ergo Solomon, Abiathar, ut non eſſet Sacerdos.*

[o] *Reg.* (2) 21. 26, 27.

*Shimei* (*p*) againſt *David*——*gladio interfectus. Zimri* (*q*) againſt *Ela*, who burnt himſelf. *Theudas* (*r*) (qui occiſus eſt, & circiter CCCC. qui credebant ei, diſperſi ſunt & redacti ad nihilum) and *Judas Galilæus*; *ipſe perijt, & omnes quotquot conſenſerunt ei, diſperſi ſunt.*

[p] *Sam.* (2) 16. 5, 6. *Et Reg.* (1) 2. 8. 4. 6.
[q] *Reg.* (*b*) 16. 9. 18.
[r] *Act. Apoſt.* 5. 36, 37.

Peruſe over all our Books, Records, and Hiſtories (ſaith he) and you ſhall find a Principle in Law; a Rule in Reaſon; and a Tryal in Experience; that Treaſon doth ever produce Fatal and Final Deſtruction to the Offender, and never attained to the deſired end (two incidents inſeparable thereunto) and therefore, let all Men abandon it, as the moſt Poyſonous Bayt of the Devil; and follow the Precept in Holy Scripture, (*s*) *Fear God, Honour the King, and have no Company with the Seditious.*

[s] *Prov.* 24. 21.

FINIS.

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*Suetonius.*

*Swalve* Alcali.

*Severini* Synopſis Chyrurgiæ.

*Terentii* Flores.

*Trelcatii* loci Communes.

*Balduinus* de *Calceo* & *Nigronius* de *Caliga Veterum.* Acceſſerunt ex Q. Sept. Fl. *Tertulliani*, Cl. *Salmaſii* & *Alb. Rubenii* Scriptis plurima ejuſdem Argumenti, 1667.

*Ottonis Tachenii* Hyppocrates Chymicus, 1671.

*Theodori Kerckringii*, D. M. Commentarius in *Currum Triumphalem Antimonii Baſilii Valentini* à ſe latinitate donatum, 1671.

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*Aulus Gellius.*

*Beſterfeldus* Redivivus.

*Herls* Wiſdoms *Tripos.*

*Wilkins* Beauty of Providence.